

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 28, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

MICHAEL SCHWAB, Samuel Fielden, Albert Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, and Louis Lingg have been condemned to death, and Oscar Neebe (probably more unfortunate than the others) to imprisonment for fifteen years. If they had anything to do with throwing the bomb, Society will not attempt to justify itself for slaying these men, but will consider that it has done well. But, as was said in these columns when the news of the conflict first came, whatever had taken place before the meeting, at that meeting itself it was a matter of battle, and the men were defending their lives as all soldiers must; and truly revolutionary soldiers do always fight with a rope round their necks. For the rest no thoughtful and honest man, whether he be Socialist or not, who has ever considered the nature of a "White Terror," the shopkeeper in terror for his shop, will doubt that it was impossible that these men should have a fair trial. We do not need the evidence of Wm. Holmes's very interesting and useful letters as given in our last and present issues, to show us that victims were needed, and would be found whatever the evidence might be. To American respectability all Socialists are Anarchists, and all Anarchists are bomb-throwers to be so treated whenever the opportunity shall occur.

The following paragraph is sufficiently significant of what is going on in America in this matter: "It is understood that the Chicago authorities contemplate the immediate arrest of all persons even indirectly connected with the May riot on the charge of conspiracy." "Indirectly connected" may stretch widely enough to include any one who has said a word against the system of robbery on which "Society" rests in America, as elsewhere; or who, if it must be so, and when the assent of the real Society, the Society of the producers, becomes general, is prepared to use what force may be necessary; though he may lament isolated outbreaks like the Chicago affair; for such outbreaks irritate "Society" without shaking it, and are aimless as long as the mass of the workers have not learned to understand their true position.

Some of the correspondents of the bourgeois papers state the verdict and sentence against the Anarchists was received with cheers. It is to be hoped for the credit of human nature that this is a journalist's lie, founded on the bitterness of capitalistic society against those who have attacked it openly. It would be difficult to find words to express one's disgust at the baseness of people who live at ease on the labour of others, exulting over the condemnation of their fellow-men to an ignominious death.

"A fair trial" quotha! Well, I mean a *legally* fair trial. After having been an ear-and-eye witness of our own small experience in trials (a comedy, or rather farce, as set beside the Chicago tragedy), I must conclude that under the law of a Society founded on robbery sustained by violence, as ours is, a fair trial is impossible. The maxim, apparently uncontradicted, that the event which is being judged must be isolated as to both time and place from all surrounding circumstances makes the whole thing absurd. So acting, you set out from the first with the determination of not getting at the real facts of the case. All you can know about it on such terms are certain formal facts, illumined perhaps by a word or two which has dropped from an eager witness before the judge has had time to stop him; and which the judge takes care to tell the jury they must not consider as evidence, as though they could possibly help doing so when they have once heard it.

Take for example our own case, *The Queen v. Williams and Mainwaring*. In the minds of all people who have interested themselves in the street-corner preaching the chief point was and is whether the police had made an unfair difference between the Socialists and the religious and other bodies. If it could be shown that they had been doing so, then, apart from the duties which the "Religion of Socialism" imposes on us as Socialists, in the eyes of all ordinary persons of any good will the defendants would have been public-spirited persons resisting the injurious misapplication of a very stretchable law. If on the contrary it could have been shown (as it couldn't) that the police had made no difference between the Socialists and other bodies, then to the general public the defendants were acting as rebels against a law presumably made for ensuring the convenience of the whole public, and the case would have been on quite a different footing. But any evidence that tended towards showing the facts on this point was

rigidly excluded by the judge; and we have to appeal from a so-called "court of justice" to the press or other extra-judicial means of publicity.

Parliament has met again to give the Ministry an opportunity of declaring their policy, and to transact a little "business." The "policy" is just what might have been expected—an attempt to live by doing nothing. Lord Randolph Churchill put down his foot on any concession being made in the eviction war, as he was bound to do. "Her Majesty's troops" are to act as they have acted, as bum-bailiffs—an occupation entirely suitable to them, but somewhat expensive to the tax-payers at home; who, however, deserve a great deal more than they will get for their behaviour in the late elections. Meantime the evictions now going on in Galway are a sufficient commentary on the speech of this champion of the landlords and Tory Democracy.

However, the little game now being played in Bulgaria, news of which is lately to hand, will no doubt afford the Ministry a welcome opportunity for a diversion from the home matters which press upon them, since they will be able to get up another Russian scare, not without some foundation. This will be easy to them, but it will not be easy to carry on a war with a great European power, if they should drift into that. Doubtless this consideration does not trouble them.

"A good deal is heard about gambling on the Stock Exchange, but there is reason to believe that the amount of gambling which goes on under the guise of legitimate trade is often more wild and excessive still. The public do not follow so closely the dealings in produce, iron, etc., as in securities, and therefore, on the principle *omne ignotum pro mirabile*, ordinary observers are apt to believe that dealings in Mark Lane, Mincing Lane, and the Baltic, are of a superior tone and morality to those which go on in the Stock Exchange. The following incident, however, rather disturbs this complaisant view of the state of British trade. In the Baltic this afternoon it was stated that wheat and linseed for shipment from Calcutta in April to June next year have been already sold; and as these articles are hardly yet even sown—if, indeed, either buyer or seller concerns himself in the least about their existence, present or future—the operation may be stigmatised as gambling of the most shameless description."—*Daily News*, August 21.

No comment is needed on the above.

"POLICE AND OPEN-AIR PREACHING.—Dear Sir,—The police have been trying to put down our Saturday evening open-air services, and have now given notice of their intention to summon us. We conduct the services on our own property, fronting the main thoroughfare in the parish. The prosecution is to be under some old statute which they say they have discovered. Amongst your many readers there may be legal gentlemen skilled in this question, who would be only too glad to help us in our struggle to preach the gospel of Christ, as our Master did, in the open air. The question is an important one, for if the police were successful it would give them a decision which might prove a dangerous precedent in all future evangelistic effort.—Yours truly, Wm. Adamson, vicar. The Vicarage, Old Ford, E."

The above letter, addressed to the *Christian*, shows that the police are trying to put a good face on their difficulty by attacking other bodies besides the Socialists; and they will doubtless try to convince the public that they have always done so. Comrades should all the more make careful notes as to such meetings and the amount of complaisance with which they are treated by the police. WILLIAM MORRIS.

## CAPITALISTIC ADVANTAGES OF VEGETARIANISM.

The vegetarian capitalists have just issued their circular, setting forth the advantages to be derived, both morally and monetarily, from a vegetarian diet. The circular opens with the following explanation:

"The four primary essentials of healthy bodily existence are Light, Air, Water, and Food. The first three of these we enjoy without any effort on our part" [The devil we can!]; "but the fourth cannot be obtained without labour. The effort required, however, to derive our food direct from the soil is light and pleasant, and, the best of all, bodily exercise. Three hours a day devoted to the preparation of the soil and the cultivation of its products, is amply sufficient to provide any one with abundance of nourishing diet. So perverted, however, has human existence become, that most people are toiling from early morn till dark in one unceasing, worrying struggle to obtain for themselves and families the necessaries of life. Millions of them are dragging out a miserable existence, scarcely able to procure sufficient food to keep body and soul together."

Socialists are often sneered at when they affirm that three hours' work per day would be ample to supply all that a man needs to keep him in vigorous health; therefore, I am thankful to the vegetarian capitalist for his help in this direction. After the above paragraph,

they give several quotations. The first, extracted from a report on "Diet in Prisons," and next, an extract from the *Manchester Weekly Times*, all showing, or rather pretending to show, the superior nutritive qualities of oatmeal, peas, and beans, etc., etc. Then follows some "Practical Illustrations," from which it appears that "in 1840 some experiments were instituted in Glasgow Prison on the diet of a selected number of inmates." This fare consisted of: "For breakfast each had eight ounces of oatmeal made into porridge, with a pint of butter milk; for dinner, three pounds of boiled potatoes with salt; for supper, five ounces of oatmeal porridge, with half-pint of butter milk. At the end of two months they were all in good health; each person had gained four pounds weight, and they liked the diet, the cost of which, including cooking, was *twopence three-farthings per day*." (The vegetarian capitalists charge sixpence for a dinner of three courses.) On the above diet they gained two pounds of flesh in the two months. "Twelve others were fed on the same allowance of porridge and milk for breakfast and supper as the first ten, but for dinner they had soup containing two pounds of potatoes to each, and a quarter of a pound of meat. At the end of two months they had lost in weight one and a quarter pounds each, and they all disliked the diet; the expense of each daily was threepence seven-eighths." They take the above from (where do you think, reader?) a 'Book of Scottish Anecdotes.' Then we get the following:

"*Experiment at the Boys' Home, Southwark*.—As was previously our custom, the boys are allowed to have porridge, cocoa, and bread *ad libitum* at these meals. For dinner they have haricot beans, baked potatoes, and jam turnover; pease-pudding, baked Spanish onions, and a lump of dates; lentil soup and tapioca pudding; or savoury pie and bread-pudding, with figs, apples, etc., occasionally.

"The night before our first month's trial began we weighed the boys on an accurate machine in their shirts, and we must confess we somewhat anxiously awaited the result at the end of the month, when they were weighed again. Out of the 150 boys in the Home only two had lost weight (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. in each case) and in one instance—a crippled youth—this could easily be accounted for. All the others had put on flesh even up to the amount of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. in the month. This was very satisfactory, but not less so has been the very noticeable fact that a kind of after-dinner *ennui*, observable formerly on certain days, is now replaced by a healthy spontaneity every afternoon, both in work and study.

"This change has been introduced without the least friction, because all the boys know that we would not sanction a dietary unless we believed it was adapted for nourishment and contentment. Many of them, of course, retain their British confidence in the strength-imparting power of beef-steak, and good-humouredly twit us in their own funny way, but they are being surely convinced *propria persona* that one can be hearty and strong without animal food.

"The economical aspect of the matter is most important for one like myself, upon whom, under God, 250 boys are depending for all they need in life. We can give our elder lads in this branch—many of them big fellows of 15 and 16, wolfishly hungry after recent hardships on the streets—a nutritious and palatable dinner (as much as ever they care to have) at a cost of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per head."—J. W. C. FEGAN, from *The Rescue* (March, 1885), Organ of the Boys' Home, Southwark, London.

This is the latest capitalist dodge with which to gull the workers into lowering their already scanty standard of living. We are told we can save something if we become systematic vegetarians. Of course, while a few individuals take the advantage of a cheaper diet they may save a little, *if they are very economical*. But if the workers as a body were to do so, the "iron law" of wages would intervene, and then, alas! the old tale. They would find out that they had only made larger profits for the capitalist, and would only get as wages sufficient to enable the most skilled to buy vegetables; for the workers, as a body, what small portion of meat they are able to obtain now, would be a thing of the past.

Let the workers ignore these philanthropic twelve and fifteen per cent. capitalists, in the assurance that "he who would be free himself must strike the blow," and that it will not be struck by the very being whose interests are diametrically opposed to those for whom the blow must be given.

H. DAVIS.

FEASTING THE EXPLOITERS IN DUBLIN.—Our Colonial visitors have had a "high old time of it" here lately. Railways, that never gave poor school children's excursions better terms than return tickets at single fares, and then crammed them into the worst of third-class carriages, have placed saloon carriages and special trains *free* at the disposal of opulent Parsee, Buddhist, and Christian. Tramway companies gave special cars free who never gave a trip to a children's school. Special steamers, free hotels, "banqueting and junketing," and excursions, by exploiters to exploiters, have been the rule of the day. When will half-starved workers who supply all and get nothing open their eyes?—J. E. M'C.

The great millionaire and monopolist of South America (says the *Woman's Journal*, Boston,) is a woman, Madame Isadora Cousino. She owns vast tracts of land and the richest coal-mines in Chili, besides smelting-works, brick-kilns, and agricultural plantations of every description. She owns the whole of the town of Lota, and nearly all Coronel (seven or eight thousand inhabitants), and pays from 100,000 dols. to 120,000 dols. a month in wages in these two towns—most of which, however, comes back into her pocket through supply stores, where she sells food and clothing to her own people. In one of her plantations, a superintendent's time is occupied "in teaching the natives on the place how to operate labour-saving machinery." (How eagerly folk learn to sew their own shrouds!) Farming in Chili is feudal in nature, each estate having its retainers, who are given houses, etc., and are paid for their labour, and who are subject to their landlord in time of war. Madame has no taste for art, and no love of dress; horse-racing and diamonds are her amusements. She is, of course, an acute woman of business, and it is scarcely necessary to say that of all the beautiful places in her domains, she prefers as a pleasant abode the mining town of Lota, as dirty and smoky as any of its counterparts in Pennsylvania.—M. M.

## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

### CHAPTER X.—POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN ENGLAND.

DURING the French Revolution, especially during its earlier stages there was a corresponding movement in England. It made some noise at the time, but was merely an intellectual matter, led by a few aristocrats—e.g., the Earl of Stanhope—and had no sympathy with the life of the people; it was rather a piece of aristocratic Bohemianism, a tendency to which has been seen in various times, even our own. For the rest, there certainly was in England a feeling, outside this unreal republicanism—a feeling of which Priestly the Unitarian may be looked on as a representative; this feeling was of the nature of that felt by respectable and thoughtful Radicals of later days, and was distinctly bourgeois, as the other was aristocratic.

The French Revolution naturally brought about a great reaction, not only in absolutist countries, but also in England, the country of Constitutionalism; and this reaction was much furthered and confirmed by the fall of Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbons in France. We may take as representative names of this reaction the Austrian Prince Metternich on the Continent and Lord Castlereagh in England. The stupid and ferocious repression of the governments acting under this influence, as well as the limitless corruption by which they were supported, were met in England by a corresponding progressive agitation, which was the beginning of Radicalism. Burdett and Cartwright are representatives of the earlier days of this agitation, and later on Hunt, Carlile, Lovett, and others. William Cobbett must also be mentioned as belonging to this period—a man of great literary capacity of a kind, and with flashes of insight as to social matters far before his time, but clouded by violent irrational prejudices and prodigious egotism; withal a peasant rather than a bourgeois—a powerful disruptive agent, but incapable of association with others. This period of Radical agitation was marked by a piece of violent repression in the shape of the so-called Peterloo Massacre, where an unarmed crowd at a strictly political meeting was charged and cut down by the yeomanry, and eleven people killed outright.<sup>1</sup>

This agitation, which was partly middle-class and partly popular, was succeeded by the Chartist movement, which was almost exclusively supported by the people, though some of the leaders—as Feargus O'Connor and Ernest Jones—belonged to the middle-class. Chartism, on the face of it, was as much a political movement as the earlier Radical one; its programme was wholly directed towards parliamentary reform; but as we have said, it was a popular movement, and its first motive power was the special temporary suffering of the people, due, as we said in our last chapter, to the disturbance of labour caused by the growth of the machine industry; and the electoral and parliamentary reforms of its programme were put forward because it was supposed that if they were carried they would affect the material condition of the people directly: at the same time, however, there is no doubt that the pressure of hunger and misery gave rise to other hopes besides the above-mentioned delusion as to reform, and ideas of Socialism were current among the Chartists though they were not openly put forward on their programme. Accordingly the class-instinct of the bourgeoisie saw the social danger that lurked under the apparently political claims of the charter, and so far from its receiving any of the middle-class sympathy which had been accorded to the Radical agitation, Chartism was looked upon as *the enemy*, and the bourgeois progressive movement was sedulously held aloof from it. It is worthy of note that Chartism was mainly a growth of the midland and northern counties—that is, of the great manufacturing districts—and that it never really flourished in London. In Birmingham the movement had the greatest force, and serious riots took place there while a Chartist conference was sitting in the town. The movement gave birth to a good deal of popular literature; and it must be remembered that the press was very strictly controlled by the Government. No paper was allowed to be issued without a stamp, the expense of which prevented the issue of cheap papers; and one of the incidents of the struggle was the determined opposition to this law kept up by some courageous agitators, who published unstamped papers in the teeth of the certain imprisonment that awaited them.

The Chartist movement went on vigorously enough till the insufficiency both of its aims and of knowledge as to how to carry them out found out the weak places in it. The immediate external cause of its wreck was the unfortunate schism that arose between the supporters of moral force and physical force in the body itself. The fantastic folly of supposing that there can be any "moral force" in matters political which does not rest on the resolution of a party to attain their end by the use of what "physical force they may have, if it should become necessary to use it, does not call for much comment here; although some thoughtless persons may even at present *think* that they believe such a "moral force" exists. On the other hand, it is clear to us now that a Chartist revolt had no chance of success at that time, and but for self-deception would have been clear to both leaders and rank and file of the party then.

It may here be mentioned that the trump-card which the Chartists were always thinking of playing was the organisation of an universal strike, under the picturesque title of the Holy Month. In considering

<sup>1</sup> The readers of *Commonweal* will find an article on this subject in the first number (Feb. 1885), by our comrade E. T. Craig, who was in Manchester at the time, though not an eye-witness. It is interesting to note that the scene of the massacre, St. Peter's Fields, is now a mass of streets in the very centre of the city of Manchester.

the enormous difficulties, or rather impossibilities, of this enterprise, we should remember that its supporters understood that the beginnings of it would be at once repressed forcibly, and that it would lead directly to civil war.

The truth is that there were two distinct groups in the party, one of which went about as far as our ultra-Radicals of the present day; and another which was at heart Socialist, only deficient in knowledge, and consequently without definite principles on which to base action; and these two groups pretty much corresponded to the division between the supporters of moral and physical force.

From 1842, when the schism came to a head, Chartism began to die out. Its decay, however, was far more due to the change that was coming over the economical state of affairs than even to its incomplete development of principle and ill-considered tactics. Things were settling down from the dislocation caused by the rise of the great industries. The workers shared in the added wealth brought about by enormous expansion of trade, although in an absurdly small proportion to the share of the middle-classes; but those classes tended ever to become more numerous and more contented. The trades' unions began to be powerful, and improved the prospects of the skilled workmen. So-called co-operation began to flourish: it was really an improved form of joint-stockery, which could be engaged in by the workmen, but was and is fondly thought by some to be if not a shoe-horn to Socialism at least a substitute for it; indeed Chartism itself at this time became involved in a kind of half co-operative half peasant-proprietorship land scheme, which of course proved utterly abortive.

As this improvement in the condition of the working-classes weakened that part of the life of Chartism which depended on mere hunger desperation, so the growing political power in the middle-classes and the weakening of the mere Tory reaction swallowed up the political part of its life.

Chartism, therefore, flickered out in the years that followed 1842, but its last act was the celebrated abortive threat at revolt which took place in April 1848. And it must be said that there was something appropriate in such a last act. For this demonstration was distinctly caused by sympathy with the attacks on absolutism then taking place on the Continent, and Chartism was always on one side of it a part of the movement which was going on all over Europe, and was directed against the reaction which followed on the French Revolution, and which was represented by the "Holy Alliance" of the absolutist sovereigns against both bourgeoisie and the people.

On the fall of Chartism, the Liberal Party, a nondescript and flaccid creation of bourgeois supremacy, a party without principles or definition, but a thoroughly adequate expression of English middle-class hypocrisy, cowardice, and short-sightedness, engrossed the whole of the political progressive movement in England, and dragged the working-classes along with it, blind as they were to their own interests and the solidarity of labour. This party has shown little or no sympathy for the progressive movement on the Continent, unless when they deemed it connected with their anti-Catholic prejudice. It saw no danger in the Caesarism which took the place of the corrupt sham Constitutionalism of Louis Philippe as the head of the police and stock-jobbing régime, which dominated France in the interests of the bourgeoisie, and hailed Louis Napoleon with delight as the champion of law and order.

Any one, even a thoughtful person, might have been excused for thinking in the years that followed on 1848 that the party of the people was at last extinguished in England, and that the class-struggle had died out and given place to the peaceable rule of the middle-classes, scarcely disturbed by occasional bickerings carried on in a lawful manner between the two parties to that false free-contract, which is the lying foundation on which Commercial Society rests. But, as we shall show in a future chapter, under all this, Socialism was making great strides and developing a new and scientific phase, which at last resulted in the establishment of the International Association, whose aim was to unite the workers of the world in an organisation which should consciously oppose itself to the domination of middle-class capitalism. The International was inaugurated in England in 1864, at a meeting held in St. Martin's Hall, London, and at which Professor Beesly took the chair. It made considerable progress among the Trades' Unions, and made a great impression (beyond indeed what its genuine strength warranted) on the arbitrary Governments of Europe. It culminated in the Socialistic influence it had, in the Commune of Paris, of which we shall treat in a separate chapter. The International did not long out-live the Commune, and once more for several years all proletarian influence was dormant in England, except for what activity was possible among the foreign refugees living there, with whom some few of the English working-men had relations. From this connection sprang, however, a new movement, which we must barely mention, though it cannot yet be considered a matter of history. In 1881, an attempt was made to federate the various Radical Clubs into a body, with a programme which, though for the most part merely Radical, had an infusion of Socialism in it, and which took the name of the Democratic Federation. The Radical Clubs, however, that had joined soon seceded, mostly from disagreement with the revolutionary attitude taken by the Federation on the Irish question. In 1883, the programme became more definitely Socialistic, and the next year the title was changed to that of the Social Democratic Federation; but in the last days of 1884 differences of opinion which had been developing for some time, chiefly centering on the questions of Parliamentary Opportunism and Nationalism, ended in a secession which founded the Socialist League as a definite Revolutionary Socialist body early in 1885.

At the present time the Socialist bodies, though relatively small, tend to attract various elements to them; the discontent of the workmen with an outlook of ever increasing gloom; that also of the Ultra-Radicals unable to make any real impression on the dense mass of mingled Conservatism and Whiggery, which really governs the country. The aspirations of thoughtful people who have studied the works of the great Socialist thinkers; the permeation of Socialist feeling from its centres on the Continent; and lastly and chiefly the steady march of events towards a new state of Society, which is making itself felt even amongst those who are unconscious of the advance of Socialism, or hostile to it—all these causes combining together, are forcing even England, the stronghold of middle-class domination, to pay attention to the subject, and will certainly before long form a new and powerful Party of the People, whose outlook will be far more hopeful than that of any of those we have told of; since its aim will no longer be partial or one-sided, but will be the realisation of a new Society with new politics, ethics, and economics, in short, the transformation of civilisation into Socialism.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued).

## CORRESPONDENCE.

MARSHALL & CO.

If a man hits me in the dark with a loaded bludgeon, he is scarcely justified in saying that it is not a personal attack, because he only strikes at me as a type of a class which he considers objectionable, and all whose members he may equally wish to attack.

Yet this is, morally, what your correspondents J. L. M. and T. M. have done in your issue of July 10. Their weapon is their pen, and it is loaded, though they may not know it, with falsehood.

They have put together a statement respecting the firm of Marshall & Co. in which (with the exception of one paragraph, the fourth, treating of a very small matter) every figure is erroneous, some to a ludicrous extent, and nearly every so-called "fact" about the firm is false.

The last paragraph of your correspondents' is a purely personal one. In these days it would be idle for any man who expresses an opinion on public affairs to complain of newspaper criticisms, or even to feel aggrieved by mis-statements of his views, actions, or intentions. Nor is it likely that even the kindly wishes of J. L. M. and T. M. will induce my brother to expatriate himself.

JOHN MARSHALL, Leeds.

[We shall be glad to print a statement from Mr. Marshall of the way in which the firm *did* deal with their work-people. This would be the best way of confuting our correspondents' statement.—EDITORS.]

## RIOTS AND REVOLUTION.

In one of the last numbers of your paper one of your writers condemns riots as means of propagating our ideas and as a waymark for the coming Revolution. Likewise in the meeting on Friday in Arlington Hall one of your speakers spoke in the same sense, without giving any other reason than this, that the riots will not bring the revolution, which is as illogical as if any one would refuse to build his house with bricks or stones because one brick or one stone is not sufficient. It is a matter of historical fact that riots or other acts of force have been the precursors of all great social or political changes, and—what is of greater importance—that such acts and only such acts are what indicate to the people the way they have to go. If you condemn riots, who can say when the revolution will come that people shall take part in, or what is the mark or sign to distinguish between these two things? And what is revolution if not a series of revolts against the tyranny, which leads to one riot which is more important, and brings the cause to final victory? The bomb at Chicago has robbed us of eight of our best comrades, but has advanced us ten years nearer to the Revolution. You are right to say that one riot does not bring the Revolution, but it is your duty to make them oftener.

RUSSIAN ANARCHIST.

## A DISGRACEFUL OUTRAGE AT A PUBLIC MEETING.

SIR,—Whilst standing amongst a large and orderly crowd which was being addressed by Socialist speakers on Sunday evening last at Clerkenwell Green, I was struck heavily on the upper part of the cheek by a thick piece of glass. The blow came with such force that for half a minute I was so stunned as to be conscious only of the sound it made, and became aware that I was hit only by feeling a dull pain, and by finding blood on the hand which I had raised in dazed fashion to my cheek. Had the missile struck me a half an inch higher up my eye would have been cut out; as it is I am glad to say that a slight shock and the loss of a little blood sums up the injury done.

Now, sir, I wish not to occupy your space with further reference to my own inconvenience, but to proceed to the most important consideration arising out of this matter, viz., that from the force with which the missile was thrown, and from the fact that it appeared to have been aimed at the speakers, near whom I stood, it is extremely probable that it was an attack on the Socialists themselves, made, probably, by some cowardly scoundrel in the employ of still more cowardly paymasters who fear the Socialists, cowardice, sir, being nearly always cruel and brutal. Putting aside the question of Socialism entirely, I must indignantly protest against such a contemptible and criminal assault on the right of citizens meeting together to discuss political questions—a right that, as that able historian, John Richard Green, has emphatically pointed out, dates among Anglo-Saxons back to the days of their primitive civilisation in their German homeland. In other words, the act I speak of is an attack on free speech. But a word of warning in the ears of the skulking hirelings who are the instruments of such attacks (I use the plural because word has since reached me of another such outrage), if they be once caught throwing stones at any English crowd earnestly bent on listening to a public speaker—be he Socialist, Liberal, or Conservative—it will go extremely hard with them. The real honest English temper is apt to rise fiercely against this method of tampering with public debate.

AN INDEPENDENT RADICAL.



"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.

As all articles are signed, no special significance should be attached to them because of the position they may occupy in these pages. None, therefore, are to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

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

Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s.; six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

All business communications to be addressed to the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must not be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### 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.

W. R. (Halifax).—Would you mind communicating with the Manager at this address?

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 25.

ENGLAND		PARIS—Cri du Peuple (daily)	
Justice	Boston—Woman's Journal	Le Socialiste	La Revue Litteraire
Southport Visiter	Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer		
Freethinker	Little Socialist	BELGIUM	
Bristol Mercury	Toledo (O.)—Industrial News	Brussels—Le Chante-Clair	
Norwich—Daylight	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	SPAIN	
Leicester—Countryman	San Francisco (Cal.)—Truth	Madrid—El Socialista	
Club and Institute Journal	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-	Cadiz—El Socialismo	
	man's Advocate	Barcelona—La Justicia Humana	
INDIA		HOLLAND	
Madras—People's Friend	Washington (D. C.)—National	Recht voor Allen	
Allahabad—People's Budget	View	HUNGARY	
Bombay—Times of India	Portland (Oreg.) Avant-Courier	Arbeiter-Wechen-Chronik	
CANADA		NORWAY	
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Social-Democraten	
UNITED STATES		SWITZERLAND	
New York—Volkszeitung	Herald	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	
Der Sozialist	Tribune		
Freiheit	Times		
Truthseeker	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt		
		FRANCE	
		Guise—Le Devoir	

RECEIVED.—"Moderation"—"The Government and Ireland"—"Advertisement"—"Crime under Socialism."

## MISANTHROPY TO THE RESCUE!

A PAPER read by Mr. Wordsworth Donnisthorpe at the Fabian Conference has been printed in the *Anarchist*. It excited much interest at the time when it was read, and aroused no little indignation in the minds of some of the Socialists that heard it; but printed, it does not seem a very remarkable piece, being simply an example of the ordinary pessimistic paradoxical exercises which are a disease of the period, and whose aim would seem to be the destruction of the meaning of language. Thus Mr. Donnisthorpe declares himself an evolutionist, but his evolution simply runs round the circle; and in fact what he really means is the ordinary assertion that no condition of things but the present one is really natural and enduring; or, to put it in another way, that slavery is a necessity and that the latest development is the best, as it is the most veiled and therefore the safest for the slaveholder. This is indeed the due conclusion for the secretary of the Liberty and Property Defence League to arrive at; but it is a little curious that some people should have been ensnared by his not very ingenious fallacies, and supposed that he was covertly supporting some advanced doctrine or other. To these I commend his concluding sentences: "The best system that I could bethink myself of if my opinion were asked would be the system of private property. To every man the fruits of his labour. If this view was adopted a state of things would arise exactly like what we have now," etc. "To every man the fruits of his labour." Might one make bold to ask Mr. Donnisthorpe what are the fruits of the labour of a duke, a shareholder, or a lawyer? The worst enemy of the non-producing classes would scarcely grudge them the fruits of their labour—nothing, to wit. If Mr. Donnisthorpe is not misreported, this sentence is a curious one to come from a man who affects such exactness of thought.

But indeed all these abstractions of Mr. Donnisthorpe's are but Politics in the Moon. In spite of his dyspeptic pessimism, human beings will always take interest in one another, and will have some

sort of common aspirations; even, what doubtless will be a frightful word to Mr. Donnisthorpe, some religion, some bond of responsibility to each other. It is impossible for no other relations between men to exist long save those between the better and the bested, the slave and the slaveholder; society will arise and grow in spite of all calculations founded on a one-sided view of men's struggles for self-preservation: nay, it exists now outside the world held together by those arbitrary rules which are sustained for the upholding of private property, and which Mr. Donnisthorpe really means when he speaks of liberty; and indeed it is just that rudimentary and as yet vague society of well-wishers, into which people are attracted by the interest in each other as human beings, which holds the world together until it shall be forced into a completer society by the march of economical events. It is true, as Mr. Donnisthorpe says, that the working-classes are degraded, though whether they are more degraded than their degraders is another matter; but it is not because they produce that they are degraded, but because they are kept poor by arbitrary rules in favour of property. But poor as they are, they now have before them the prospect of getting poorer, while at the same time they are growing less ignorant; or say the luxury of keeping masters to employ them is getting so expensive that it threatens to ruin both master and man, and that while the masters have no way of escape, the men have a simple one—to wit, the getting rid of their masters. This they are beginning to learn, and when they get more perfect with their lesson, and come to understand that they can produce without the help of the lookers-on who pocket so large a part of their product, in spite of all abstractions, and in spite also of misanthropical prophecies they will insist on having "the fruits of their labour." Nay, they will be forced to take steps to having them from the breakdown of that very slave-system of which Mr. Donnisthorpe is such a sedulous supporter. That slave-system is at best preparing widespread commercial ruin, and thereby is performing the last action that it is capable of; it is expending the last force that it has in giving force to the new order of things; it is putrid, but still useful—as dung.

Let us, then, take to heart some of Mr. Donnisthorpe's taunts, and use them for what they are worth. He tells us in a great many words, considering the simplicity of the statement, that if the workers can take over the artificially protected property of the useless classes they have a right to do so, and sarcastically cheers them on in the attempt. It is our business to accept the challenge; and we may at least thank him for not hypocritically deprecating the use of force as a wickedness and immorality in the ordinary fashion of the day. But though the day of change will come at last, surely it will come the quicker if we take to heart those taunts aforesaid. True it is that it is the surroundings of the workers acting on exactly the same material as that of the useless classes which has produced their degradation; but it is possible for men who have once had a religion implanted in them to make that surrounding overcome the others—at least for the practical purposes of revolution. It has been seen over and over how a religion, a principle—whatever you may chose to call it—will transform plothoos into heroes, by forcing men to make the best of their better qualities and making the excess of what they have got in them that is good supply the defects of their lacking qualities. So I think we may, in spite of Mr. Donnisthorpe, each one of us, make ourselves good enough for revolutionists, though in this generation we may fall short of perfection. Yet I admit that it is a difficult thing to do, for it means giving a sense of responsibility in greater or less degree to a great many people; so once more let us take warning by the enemy, and remember that the Religion of Socialism which our manifesto speaks of does call upon us to be better than other people, since we owe ourselves to the Society which we have accepted as the hope of the future. WILLIAM MORRIS.

## A BENEFIT CONCERT

WILL BE HELD AT

FARRINGDON HALL, 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.,

ON

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 18th, AT 8 O'CLOCK,

For the purpose of raising Funds to pay the Fine (£20) imposed on SAMUEL MAINWARING at the Middlesex Sessions.

Admission by Programme only. . . Sixpence Each.

Which can be obtained from WM. BLUNDELL, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.; H. G. ARNOLD, 6, Little Carlisle Street, W.; E. POPE, 6, York Street, Church Street, Bethnal Green, E.; and T. E. WARDLE, 9, Charlotte Street, Bedford Square.

NOTE.—As some of the country Branches have written asking why Mainwaring did not go to prison like Williams, we take the opportunity of stating exactly what the sentence was, viz., That each of the two men should find two securities of £50 each to keep the peace for twelve months, and in addition pay a fine of £20 with no alternative; the two months' being the penalty in the case of not finding the securities, and as Mainwaring is a householder the Crown could sell his goods to levy the £20. The League has no intention of allowing young policemen to buy Mainwaring's furniture at their own prices, so we have determined to pay the fine.

THOMAS E. WARDLE,  
pro Concert Committee.

SALIENT (Catalonia).—Seven factories here have stopped work or diminished the hours of work.

BARCELONA.—A large part of the employés at the bottle factory have struck, the remainder following suit.

CASTELLON.—The Printers' Society have declared a strike at the Armengot establishment, and seem firm and determined to hold out.

## ORGANISED LABOUR.

## The Duty of the Trades' Unions in relation to Socialism.

## III.

I therefore urge it upon the unions as their highest duty to humanity that they should without delay come to some understanding with the advocates of Socialism. As a Socialist myself it has always appeared to me that Socialism is but the expression of the ideal of Trades'-unionism. The Socialist aims at the emancipation of Labour, the equality and fraternity of the peoples, and the overthrow of class-dominance. This being the very antithesis of the present condition of society, implies the destruction of the existing wage-slavery, by which a privileged class is enabled to live in luxury and idleness upon the labour of others.

The present society is social war. It is a system based on inequality of rights and duties, upheld and maintained by force, in order that a few men may be enabled to exploit their fellow-men,—in short, that the Classes may profit by the misery and degradation of the Masses. As a cure for the strife and wretchedness which increases and spreads wherever the baleful influence of capitalism extends, the Socialist advocates the establishment of Co-operative Commonwealths, or communes, which should own and control all the raw material, instruments of labour, and means of transit. The object of such communes would naturally be, not the wholesale production of shoddy goods and Brummagem ware, but the general diffusion of happiness and contentment. Every member of such communities, in return for moderate and congenial labour performed under the most wholesome conditions and with the best appliances obtainable, would be insured the means for enjoying a rational life with due satisfaction of his or her needs, material, moral, and intellectual. Surely there is nothing in such proposals but what should command the assent and approval of every honest man and woman, to whatever class of society they belong; and least of all should those who live by the sale of their labour oppose them.

Whether this necessary and inevitable social change shall be brought about gradually and safely, and with comparative ease and tranquillity, or shall be delayed till a violent and irresistible wave of popular fury overwhelms the present accursed system, depends largely—I might almost say entirely—on the attitude of the trades' unions. Their action henceforth ought to be solely directed to preparing the way for the new social order; in organising and federating nationally and internationally, with the distinct intention of constituting themselves the nucleus of the Socialist Commonwealth. That this is their true function will be at once apparent if we analyse the present society and briefly examine the elements of which it is composed. We find that there is only a small minority of the population engaged in really useful and necessary work, by far the larger proportion being either idle or uselessly employed. For example, there are all those who minister to the laziness and luxury of the rich; the shopkeepers and assistants, the travellers, clerks, etc.; the hawkers, and itinerants of all kinds; the swarms of officials, lawyers, soldiers, priests, policemen, pawnbrokers, publicans, peers, princes, paupers, etc., etc.—not to mention prostitutes, pickpockets, and the criminal classes generally. All these classes are doomed to disappear with the corrupt society which makes their existence possible. But the unions contain within themselves all the elements essential for the constitution of a rational society; they are therefore pointed out as the natural pioneers of the New Era. By the discipline of their organisation and the solidarity which comes of association and collective action, trades'-unionists have been fitting themselves for the fraternal communal life which Socialists hope and believe is to follow the present fratricidal régime; while the administrative capacity developed by the conduct of the unions will be of enormous value in organising and assimilating the heterogeneous host of non-producers to which I have referred above.

I call upon the unions frankly to recognise their mission, and to make common cause with all those whose fundamental principle is that the brotherhood of labour should be the basis of society. The emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem. Labour is of no country. The interests of the workers are everywhere identical. Whatever political party be in power, whether the form of government be republican, constitutional-monarchical, or absolutist,—everywhere the workers have to contend with the same evils. The cause of all social misery is the economical subjection of the labourer to the monopoliser of the means of labour, whereby the masses of the people are compelled to sell themselves by a kind of Dutch auction to the capitalist classes in order to obtain the wherewithal to maintain a bare existence. There is absolutely no hope for the workers but in the utter abolition of wage-slavery and the reconstruction of society on a labour basis. Everything that has been put forward as a panacea and for the purpose of keeping the people in a fools' paradise has been tried and failed, and left them in even a worse condition than they were before. Surely they must be blind indeed who do not perceive that neither free trade nor improvements of machinery, no appliance of science to production, no increased means of communication nor new colonies, emigration, opening of new markets, nor all these things put together, can do away with the miseries of the industrious classes; but that whilst society remains on its present false base, every fresh development of the productive powers of labour can only tend to deepen social contrasts and to embitter and accentuate the class-struggle.

It is useless for the trades'-unions to waste further time, trouble, and money in fighting the "bosses" for some petty concession, which is maintained with difficulty, at best benefits a very few, and is only hindering

the cause of the People. The present cowardly attitude of the unions is fast bringing British Trades'-unionism into contempt amongst all earnest, honest champions of progress. The charge has been made, I am afraid with only too much truth, that we have allowed ourselves of late years "to be dominated by a pettifogging set of self-seekers—men with no grit—bowers and scrapers to the middle-class god, Respectability." I earnestly entreat my fellow-unionists to exert themselves to remove this reproach. Let us show that we are capable of better things, that we can look beyond the narrow range of our everyday life and the mere selfish struggle for our own advantage. A mighty movement is in progress throughout the whole of the civilised world. Society is steadily, irresistibly dividing itself into two camps—the People on one side, the Privileged Classes on the other. All the ebullitions taking place in the various countries to-day, whatever may be their immediate origin or object, and by whatever name they may be described, have only one root-cause—the revolt of Labour against Monopoly—and are but the preliminary skirmishes before the great and decisive battle that remains yet to be fought ere the Curse of Capital be utterly overthrown and the cause of Labour won.

The paramount duty of the trades' unions seems to me to be clearly defined. It is to make plain to all men that they have no part nor lot with those who would maintain the existing unjust social arrangements, but that they recognise the absolute identity of their interests with those of the opponents of class privilege and domination. The trades' unions have hitherto kept commendably clear of party politics, but there appears some danger at present that they may be "got at" by the professional politicians, and may be induced to turn aside from their proper work to waste their efforts in Parliamentary pottering. The unions should steadily reject all alliances with any of the present political parties; they should refuse to take part in those disgusting farces termed royal commissions; and above all, they should guard against being cajoled by the blandishments which are being craftily bestowed upon some of the weak-kneed "representatives" of labour. The attention of trades' unionists ought to be solely directed to the social question. Nothing short of an Economic Revolution can emancipate labour, therefore no amount of legislative tinkering is of any use, so long as private property in the sources of life is permitted.

The existence of great organisations like the trades' unions with no definite programme is a strange anomaly in these times of active revolutionary propaganda, and with the social question agitating the minds of the workers throughout the whole of the civilised world. It is time that a joint committee was appointed to draw up a manifesto setting forth clearly and distinctly the aims and objects of organised labour. The monstrous doctrine of the bourgeois political economists, that human labour should be dealt with exactly like machinery or raw material, should be utterly repudiated. The workers should no longer contentedly allow their labour-power to be bought and sold like a commodity to make profit for the possessing classes, but should claim for themselves and for all men equal rights as free citizens to work together and to enjoy the fruits of their labour. The future action of the trades' unions, then, ought to be solely directed to the end of substituting production for use in the interest of the whole of the community, for the present system of production for profit in the interest of landlords, capitalists, usurers, etc.

To accomplish this desirable alteration the principle of solidarity must be much more widely accepted amongst all classes of workers than obtains at present; the spirit of fraternity must extend beyond the narrow bounds of nationality and bring about a common understanding with the peoples in other lands. Our brethren in America are considerably ahead of us in this matter. They have realised the inability of local unions among a comparatively small section of the workers to cope with the international conspiracy of the plundering classes, and are consolidating themselves into a vast organisation, which may be termed the New Society in embryo, which will undoubtedly at no very distant date develop into a Co-operative Commonwealth. Let us emulate their example and rally to the standard of labour all those who are willing to do their duty; all who suffer from the present condition of society and all who sympathise with the sufferers; in a word all those who acknowledge truth, justice and morality as the bases of their conduct towards all men, without regard to colour, creed, nationality, or occupation. Only by so doing will it be possible to close the era of social injustice and class war and to inaugurate a happier state of society for all, in which life shall be a thing to be enjoyed, instead of, as now, for far too many of us, a burden to be endured.

Comrades, I have sought to prove the inability of Trades'-unionism alone to liberate Labour from the grasp of Capital, and I have pointed to Socialism as the next stage in the evolution of society. I earnestly hope my words may lead you to inquire more fully into the subject; and I am sure if you do so, you will acknowledge the wisdom and goodness of the principles of Socialism, and will henceforth subscribe yourselves Socialists as well as Trades'-unionists.

THOMAS BINNING.

Sire, the fundamental principles of Society require men to regard each other as brothers and to work together for their common welfare. Do not forget this! Remember, to do grand things we must have enthusiasm. All my life resolves itself into one great thought—to secure for all mankind the most unfettered development of their faculties.—*St. Simon*.

Revolution means merely transformation, and is accomplished when an entirely new principle is—either with force or without—put in place of the existing state of things. Reform, on the other hand, is when the principle of the existing state of things is continued, and only developed to more logical or just consequences. The means do not signify. A reform may be carried out by bloodshed, and a revolution in the profoundest tranquility.—*Ferdinand Lassalle*.

## SCOTTISH NOTES.

The visit of a fat old lady from England to the Edinburgh Exhibition has been the sensation of the week.

Said fat old lady who has been exhibiting herself happens to be the Queen, otherwise she is not "so very fat or yet so very funny," as the old song has it, or indeed possessed of any other remarkable physical or mental quality to make her person of any interest to the public. You could pick up old women quite as fat and as pompous by the bushful in the country—particularly at butcher-shop doors and public-house doors.

However, being "the Queen," and one of the horde

"Of princes, the dregs of their dull race who flow  
Through public scorn, mud from a muddy spring,  
Rulers who leech-like to their country cling  
Till they drop blind with blood without a blow,"—

she was of course received by the vast rabble of sycophants with hallelujahs and vociferous applause. Grey-beard professors, statesmen, land-thieves, labour-thieves, and the race of "money-mongers all," bowed and adored her as if she were a goddess and by no means made of the same clay as any other pauper old woman in the country.

It was a vast barbaric show—but it was a show merely. Therein is at least a moiety of consolation. It is but just to the crowd of idolators to say that they were all hypocrites. There was not a sincere act done or an honest word spoken during the entire ceremony. All was feigned; every man and woman there (with possibly the exception of the "mere masses," who were kept outside) was there not to honour the Queen but to display and advertise themselves. Supposing the Queen had been a wooden effigy or a piece of cracked old china, everything would have gone on quite the same. If she were to die to-morrow, and the King of the Cannibal Islands were to be stuck in her place, the loyal multitude would repeat the performance. Not a lord or money-bag was there but would kick herself and her crown into the Firth of Forth to-morrow if it would serve his interest or vanity to do so. There are more knaves than fools in the world. If there is any comfort in the fact, let us humbly avail ourselves of it.

The Tyree expedition has ended neither in tragedy nor comedy, but in burlesque. As in the case of Skye, no battle took place. The marines have fraternised with the people, and the island has been the scene of much merrymaking. A few days ago a tug-of-war took place between the marines and the crofters, when the marines suffered a serious defeat. Meanwhile we hear that the people are still in practical possession of the farm concerning which all the exhibition of war was about. It is generally anticipated that the net result will be the same as in the Skye affair, where scarcely any rent or taxes have been paid during the last two years.

The strike of the miners of Messrs. Dixon & Co.'s pit at Blantyre—of which I gave an account some time ago—has unfortunately collapsed. The company succeeded in getting almost as many "black-nebs" as they needed, mostly from other districts. Further resistance being useless, the strikers agreed to return.

There are signs at last of a great national miners' union being formed. Meetings all over the country have been held during the last fortnight, and a unanimous feeling expressed in favour of common action. At present, in the great majority of the districts the men have adopted a restrictive policy—viz., a "darg" of 2s. 6d. a-day, and five days' work a-week. When it is remembered that if the miners were concerned each one only for his own immediate interest, they could earn not 12s. 6d. but 20s. or 25s. per week, the sacrifice for solidarity made by these poor fellows must command our admiration.

If the secretaries of labour unions throughout the country were all made of the stuff of William Small, miners' agent, Blantyre, the solution of the labour problem would not long be delayed. Not only is he not afraid that the cause of the miners will suffer by their listening to "dangerous Socialist theories," but he boldly proclaims himself a Socialist and assists in organising Socialist meetings amongst them. Many of the local leaders also avow themselves Socialists and do not hesitate to express their belief that any rise of wages they may force the masters to grant will bring only a temporary and but paltry relief, and that the only real emancipation of the miners will be the entire destruction of the fabric of landlordism and capitalism.

The Scottish Land Restoration League, which has given little public manifestation of life since the general election in last November, when its candidates were defeated, is at last beginning to bestir itself. A strong Branch was formed in Govan last Wednesday. Like the Socialists the Land Restorers perceive the necessity of outdoor propaganda, and have already held several successful open-air meetings. The Land Restoration League is almost the only political body with which we, as Socialists, are not in antagonism. "The Land for the People" is a cry which Socialists can join in lustily; and although the methods by which the Land Restorers propose to give the people the land are faulty in the extreme, yet the fact that they preach the principle, and that they advocate the confiscation of private property in land for the public weal, gives their propaganda a comradeship with our own. Wherever they till we shall surely sow. Already their converts are

fast joining our standard, and wherever they have been we are made welcome.

The progress which Land Nationalisation has made in Scotland during the last three years, of itself presages well for Socialism. Prior to the visit of Henry George in 1883, the notion of land nationalisation scarcely existed in the minds of the people, or at least there was no expression of its existence. Yet the speeches of that one man and the subsequent efforts of a few earnest and enthusiastic disciples have spread the teaching throughout the land, filled the newspapers with discussions upon it, and compelled would-be members of Parliament to frame an additional batch of "equivocal answers."

In these days when clergymen preach, doctors cure, artists paint, poets sing, philosophers speculate, soldiers fight, and governments govern, all for money, it is no wonder that Socialists should be looked upon askance, and their ardour attributed to mercenary motives. At one of our open-air meetings in a country district, when after two hours' speaking we had succeeded in selling some 4s. worth of literature, on a comrade announcing that we would pay the people a visit again, a stout housewife, who had been jealously eyeing the commercial part of our propaganda, was heard to declare, "Ay, they may weel come back again, they've made a right guid haul." Our joint railway fares to the place amounted to 5s.!

As illustrating the growing interest in Socialism in Scotland, I may mention that the *People's Journal*, a Dundee weekly newspaper having a very large circulation, is about to publish a series of articles on "Socialism, Old and New." J. BRUCE GLASIER.

## THE GREAT TRIAL IN CHICAGO.

## II.

WHEN, on the 31st of July, the defence, through Mr. Solomon, made their opening address to the jury, the case against the eight Anarchists was certainly anything but hopeful. Cunning, unscrupulous, backed by the whole power of the State, and with unlimited resources at his command, the prosecuting attorney had succeeded in weaving a mass of testimony together which, to an outsider, seemed impregnable. Two at least of the defendants—Messrs. Spies and Fielden—seemed irrevocably doomed. The *Chicago Tribune*, on Saturday morning, July 31st, gleefully declared that nothing now could save at least seven of the Anarchists from the halter. The cry for blood and for vengeance went up simultaneously from every capitalist sheet in Chicago, and was echoed by hundreds of newspapers throughout the land. States Attorney Grinnell was praised for his fearlessness and ability in probing to the bottom this "heinous conspiracy"—and, in short, the verdict was given for death, and nothing but the consummation of the great tragedy was wanting to complete the scene.

In one short week all has been changed. The liars and perjurers have been unmasked (the tools, but not the principals, I fear), and what seemed a week ago to be a hopeless case against the eight brave men on trial, now looks, as I predicted it would turn out to be, like a monstrous conspiracy to take the lives of brave and innocent men in revenge for the retribution which fell upon the police as a natural consequence of their own acts.

It is true the defence have not disproved what the prosecution apparently showed, that there was a movement on foot to precipitate the social revolution; but the defence have not attempted to disprove this. Mr. Solomon distinctly stated in his opening address to the jury that the defendants were not on trial as Socialists, or Anarchists, or revolutionists, but as criminals, as murderers. And the defence have fully shown how guiltless our comrades are of murder, or of any petty crime.

To any unprejudiced and fair-minded person, after reading the evidence presented during the past week, the innocence of these men must be perfectly apparent. Not one vestige remains of the "solid and impregnable wall of damning testimony" presented by the State. Not one iota of so-called "proof" but what has been met by overwhelming proof on the side of the defence. In the eyes of every unbiased person those men stand acquitted of any crime, and loom up, grandly and heroically, as the brave champions of an unpopular Cause. Should the prosecution, in spite of innocence established, now secure a verdict (of which they are still very confident), and our comrades suffer the extreme penalty of the law, it seems as if the very stones of their prison cells must cry out against the judicial murder.

In spite of all this, however, in spite of the evidence which the hireling press dare not suppress—and how gladly they would if they dared—those very newspapers, which in their news columns contain convincing testimony of the innocence of the Anarchists, still persist in their editorials that the case of the prosecution is as strong as ever, still insist that the testimony of the defence is weak, that the great mass of testimony counts for nothing, and still howl for the blood of these devoted comrades. Relying upon the fact that business men have no leisure to follow up the trial through all the evidence offered, the papers daily print short editorials, notoriously false and misleading, which are read by the majority of the people, and from which opinions are formed.

But let the discriminating and unprejudiced readers of the *Commonweal* examine for themselves the important testimony produced during the past week, and judge whether or not our comrades are the victims of a devilish plot to swear away their lives.

A week ago none of the eight seemed so deeply enmeshed and so utterly lost to us as August Spies. He it is that was claimed to be the head and front of the whole affair, and against him the mass of testimony was hurled. Witnesses had sworn that he had led the strikers on to McCormick's factory day before, that he had urged the sacking of the works and the killing of "scabs." The fiend Gilmer had testified to seeing Spies in the alley, and lighting the deadly bomb; some of the officers had sworn to finding dynamite, etc., in the *Arbeiter Zeitung* office, and they had charged the preparations for an extended emeute upon him. But not less than a dozen witnesses, some of them leading citizens, have testified for the defence that Gilmer's character is infamous, that he cannot be believed under oath, and that his morals in every way are corrupt. Numerous witnesses have sworn that they stood in the alley at the time the bomb was thrown, that neither Spies, nor Fischer, nor Schwab was there. It has been clearly proven by several witnesses that Spies was on the wagon at this time. Others have testified that Spies, so far from inciting the crowd to attack McCormick's factory, actually warned them to keep away from there. Again, it has been shown that at the time of Spies' arrest, there was no dynamite in the office of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*. In short, for every witness—most of whom, remember, were policemen—who testified against Spies, a dozen proved him innocent.

Fielden's case was little if any more hopeful than that of Spies. Three police-

men had sworn that he answered Capt. Ward's command to disperse by shouting "There come the bloodhounds; men, you do your duty and I will do mine," and that he crouched behind the wagon, firing upon the officers. This the capitalist press thought convincing proof of his complicity. But now a dozen men have sworn that Fielden never uttered these words, that he answered Captain Ward's command to immediately and peaceably disperse with the words, "Why, captain, this is a peaceable meeting." Other witnesses have sworn that Fielden was at a meeting of the American Group which had met to form a plan for the organisation of the working girls; that while there he received a message to speak at the Haymarket meeting, and that previous to that he had not known of the intention to call such a meeting. Those who heard Fielden when upon the witness-stand in his own defence, state that his attitude was heroic. Even the newspapers admit that his bearing was frank and manly, and that his answers had all the appearance of truth. He was subjected to a most rigid cross-examination, but never once faltered or wavered. When describing the scene at the Haymarket, and explaining portions of his speech made there, he was deeply impressive.

A great many witnesses have sworn that not a shot was fired by any person but the police, and a physician was put on the stand who proved that the bullets he had extracted from wounded officers were of the "regulation" pattern used by the police. From all this mass of testimony it is clear that the officers, in their excitement and fright, shot one another down.

In the case of Fischer, Parsons, and Schwab alibis have been proven. A number of witnesses swore that Schwab was addressing another meeting four miles from the Haymarket at the time of the disturbance. Parsons was several squares away—with Mrs. Holmes, Mrs. Parsons, and others—at the time of the explosion. As nothing definite had been proven against Lingg and Engel, little needed to be offered in their defence. Against Nesbe the State has not the shadow of proof, and counsel for the defence laboured long and earnestly with Judge Gory to have the jury bring in a verdict of "Not guilty" in his case. All to no purpose, however, and this innocent man—whom the authorities consider dangerous—is still undergoing his trial for murder.

As a proof of the unfairness which characterises the actions of the court and the prosecution in this trial, I will mention two out of a number of instances which I have personally gathered. A large number of flags and banners belonging to the Socialists were allowed to stand against the wall *opposite the jury*, the outermost one bearing the inscription, "Down with all law." When Major Harrison was upon the stand, and was being questioned by Captain Black for the defence, an objection was made by the States' attorney to the question. At this the major winked and nodded his head at the prosecuting attorney, when Mr. Grinnell, understanding the "tip," immediately withdrew his objection.

Several times during the past week the defence have tried to show that the police were heard to declare that "blood would flow before twelve o'clock" on the night of May 4th, which would have proved conclusively that the officers were meditating an onslaught upon the crowd. Witnesses *did* testify that the police rushed up to the meeting in great haste and with impetuosity, and some swore they saw revolvers in the hands of many of the officers.

Ere this reaches England the great trial will be ended, and we shall probably know the fate of our brave comrades. At this writing, I dare not speculate as to what their fate will be.

W. H. HOLMES.

August 7.

## FRANCE.

PARIS.—Fourteen persons were arrested for participating in last week's agitation against the Bureaux de Placement.

The scandalously partial conduct of the magistrate and jury last week at the Assize Court of the Seine has succeeded in making the condemned Socialists extremely popular, the Parisian press almost unanimously criticising the two sentences very severely. This fact must be taken for what it is worth, for of course each party takes up the cry to fashion it for its own benefit. I quote haphazard from several papers. *Le Figaro* (Reactionary): "The truth was said by Mlle. Louise Michel on leaving the court—'The jury is conscienceless.'" *La Gazette de France* (Reactionary): "The liberty of public meeting is not so well understood and not so readily admitted as the liberty of the press." *L'Intransigent*: "Monarchy does not disquiet them (the magistrates and juries) most of them having already served her, and feeling quite ready to serve her once more; but Socialism affrights them. The condemnation of our Paris friends makes a companion-picture to that of Villefranche." *Le Paris* (Opportunist): "The Republican revolutionaries will go to prison for having said something similar to that which the Bonapartist revolutionary, for his part, has written. And while they are under lock and key, M. Mariotte can quietly turn to the editing of his articles and can placard them throughout Paris."

VIERZON (Cher).—A few days back all the workers at the "Société Française de construction de matériel agricole" left off work. Though they did so quietly and there was no prospect of rioting, yet military help was called for and obtained and the place was filled with two companies of infantry plus six brigades of gendarmes. The population was very indignant at this step, and in a short time some 4000 persons had collected before the workshops of the Société. In spite of provocations by the police, the strikers (and indeed all the inhabitants of Vierzon, for the indignation and sympathy is general) have behaved throughout with calmness and determination, say the correspondents of the *Cri du Peuple*. A member of the Municipal Council at Vierzon writes that about thirty mounted police charged through the crowds without the least reason. A meeting has taken place, of over 1500 persons, presided over by Citoyen Vaillant, who hastened to the scene of action. In a letter to the *Cri*, the latter writes that all are in open sympathy with the strikers, not only the workers but clerks and bourgeois also, and that in face of such a strong chance of success for the strikers, the Société thought only to be able to intimidate them by the intervention of military force, always at the service of capitalists. The soldiers, be it said, obviously recoiled from the work set them to do. At the meeting it was resolved to demand the withdrawal of troops and the immediate release of those arrested, and to set on foot political subscriptions in aid of the strikers. Vaillant speaks of Vierzon as a "Socialist town."

THIERS (Puy-de-Dôme).—A severe crisis is taking place here, the workshops closing one after another. The masters of course can live on their past gains meanwhile, but one trembles to think of the helpless misery of the workers.

CALAIS.—A Socialist meeting took place here last week in spite of the local administration refusing until the last moment the use of the Hippodrome, thinking no doubt by their indecision they had done sufficient to spoil the meeting. They were disappointed, however, for the meeting of 1200 persons was very enthusiastic and listened with great attention to Jules Guesde, who spoke for over an hour on the "Social Question in the Nineteenth Century." Guesde also assisted at two other meetings here, the "order of the day" at one being "The State before, during, and after the Revolution," and at the other "Family, Religion and Property."

MAY MORRIS.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

### Notices to Members.

Reading Room.—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m.

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

General Meeting.—Monday August 30, at 9 p.m.

### Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Croydon, Merton, to May 31. Clerkenwell, Dublin, Mile-end, North London, Norwich, to June 30. Bloomsbury, Hackney, Hammersmith, to July 31. Bradford, Leeds, Manchester, to August 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Marylebone, Oxford, to September 30. Branches not mentioned here have not paid to date, and some are months in arrears. This laxity on the part of Branches is one of the greatest hindrances to the propaganda of the League.—P. W.

### Executive.

A special meeting of the Executive was held on Thursday 19th, to consider the attempted suppression of open-air speaking. A deputation was sent to the Social Democratic Federation and invitations issued to the Fabian Society, Socialist Union, and Christian Socialist Society to send delegates to confer upon the subject.

At their usual weekly meeting on Monday August 23, the Council passed the following resolutions:

"That the Council of the Socialist League expresses its abhorrence at the cowardly conduct of the Government in Chicago in passing a sentence of murder on men against whom nothing else can be proved than sympathy with the suffering masses."

"That the members of the Council desire to record their sympathy with our comrade Laurence Gronlund upon the death of his wife."

Edward Aveling bade farewell to the assembled comrades ere departing on his American lecture tour.

The deputation which had been sent from the special executive meeting on Thursday to the S. D. F., having reported that they had refused to co-operate with us, Morris was asked on Monday whether it was true that he was to speak at the Trafalgar Square Demonstration next Sunday. Answering in the negative, he explained that his name had been placed upon the bills entirely without his knowledge or consent.

The Hulme Radical Association send us a numerous signed protest against the recent exhibition of legal brutality, in the following terms: "We, the undersigned, hereby protest against the sentence of £20 fine, and £50 sureties or two months' imprisonment, passed upon J. E. Williams and S. Mainwaring at the Middlesex Sessions last week, and regard this as a disguised attempt to abolish freedom of speech and thereby compelling agitation to take the form of secret conspiracy."

## 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.)

BLOOMSBURY.—On Friday, August 26, at Aqueduct Hall, W., Edward Aveling lectured to a good audience upon the "Social Revolution." The meeting enthusiastically wished Aveling good-speed on his journey to America. One new member made.—W. A. C.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, August 18, E. E. Wardle lectured on "The Fallacies of Society" to a good audience; several questions were asked and answered satisfactorily; 3s. 7d. collected for Defence Fund.—On Sunday, August 22, H. H. Sparling, A. K. Donald, and Blundell held a good meeting, at which a resolution condemning the police action was passed unanimously. At this moment some bystander was assaulted by a glass missile flung from the outside of the audience. (For further particulars, see letter in another column.) After this, we marched back to the hall, singing and playing the Marseillaise and the "March of the Workers," and secured a good audience for an indoor lecture given by A. K. Donald on "Law and Order"; many questions and good discussion followed; 1s. 5d. collected for Defence Fund. *Commonweals* have sold well at our meetings during the week.—W. B.

CROYDON.—On Sunday morning, August 22, W. H. Utley gave a vigorous address at our open-air station, Cross Roads, Canterbury Road, which was well received by a very good audience. The audience would have been much larger still had we commenced earlier. In the evening, at the Royal County House, Utley again delivered a splendid lecture on "The Golden Age," which was loudly applauded at the close. Collection and sale of literature good.—

HACKNEY.—On Sunday, August 22, we held our usual meeting in Well Street, at which Barker spoke to a fair audience. At 3.30, in Victoria Park, Lane addressed a good meeting. On Wednesday, August 18, we opened a new outdoor station in the Broadway, London Fields, and had a very good meeting, the speakers were Graham, Allman, and Flocton.—J. F., sec.

MARYLEBONE.—On Sunday morning, B. Somerville, of the London Patriotic Club, addressed a large meeting at the corner of Stillsbury and Church Street. Four policemen were in attendance; they did not seem inclined to interfere, but one of them went to the station, and returned in company with an inspector after we had closed the meeting.—In the afternoon, we had a large audience in Hyde Park, which was addressed by comrades Burcham, Wardle, Donald, and Mainwaring. The meeting was very sympathetic, and at the close 8s. 2d. was collected for the Defence Fund.—H. G. A., sec.

MILE-END.—On Tuesday, August 17, H. H. Sparling lectured here on "Killing no Murder," to a large and sympathetic audience. He showed in the course of his remarks that the law often killed while the actual perpetrators of the crime went scot free; anything which man needed for the enjoyment of a full life and could not be obtained, resulted in deprivation of life in that proportion.—H. DAVIS, sec.

MERTON.—Although we have discontinued our lectures and outdoor meetings, we have by no means been idle, every Sunday evening we have sallied out armed with a supply of literature and advertisements, and "respectable" people have found as a consequence of our activity some surprising statements affixed to their gate posts and fences, in many cases enclosing stolen land. Last Sunday our intended meeting on Mitcham Fair Green fell through in consequence of our comrades' tardiness in mustering. Next Sunday we shall hold a meeting upon the Green at 11 a.m. prompt. Merton subscribers and members of the Branch will please show up at club-room by 10 a.m. prompt. We average 1½ quires of *Commonweal* weekly to regular subscribers, and hope that our Merton friends will endeavour to increase this amount.—F. KIRZ.

NORTH LONDON.—It was decided at the business meeting of the Branch on Friday night to postpone the meeting at Ossulton Street from Saturday until Tuesday, and to take up Harrow Road in co-operation with the Marylebone and Bloomsbury Branches. On Saturday night, accordingly, a very strong contingent of members gathered at the contested ground at Harrow Road, and Nicoll, Allman, and Mrs. Taylor spoke, with the result that the three names were taken.—On Sunday morning, Henderson addressed a large meeting, opened by short speeches from Nicoll and Cantwell, in Regent's Park. The audience was most

enthusiastic, and some spirited opposition followed. There were 53 numbers of *Commonweal* sold, and some Manifestos. For the Defence Fund 8s. 6d. was collected.—F. H. sec.

GLASGOW.—This Branch carried on a vigorous propaganda last week. On Monday evening, August 16th, comrades Greer and Glasier addressed an open-air meeting at Rutherglen, and on Tuesday evening an open-air meeting on Glasgow Green.—On Saturday afternoon, a propaganda excursion was made to Hamilton, where two outdoor meetings were held, one at the Low Quarries, which was addressed by comrades Small (miner's agent) and Glasier, and another at the New Cross, where comrades Small and Greer spoke. At both meetings the audiences were in entire sympathy with the speakers, and ss. worth of literature was sold.—On Sunday afternoon, comrades Downie and Glasier addressed a large and sympathetic audience on the Glasgow Green, where *Commonweal* sold well.—On Sunday evening in our Rooms, an admirable lecture on "White Slaves" was given by John Adams, our little hall being filled. In the discussion which followed, J. Shaw Maxwell, of the Land Restoration League, in an excellent speech expressed complete sympathy with our doctrines.—J. B. G.

HULL.—On Friday, 20th inst., E. Teesdale lectured on "The Evolution of Property" to a small audience. In future the meetings will be held on Tuesday evenings. On September 7th, the Tuesday in Trades' Congress week, a special lecture will be given on "Trades' Unionism and Socialism."—T.

LEEDS.—On Sunday morning we held our usual open-air meeting on Hunslet Moor. Comrades Chapman and Maguire addressed a large and very attentive audience on the "Prosecution of Socialists for Obstruction" in a place where no real obstruction was caused. Comrade Maguire drew attention to the infamous conduct of Assistant-Judge Edlin whilst conducting the trial, and called upon the audience to show their sympathy for the Socialists by subscribing a little towards paying Mainwaring's fine, and 4s. 3d. was collected.—In the afternoon we met the members of the Bradford Branch at Bingley, and held a good meeting on Myrtle Green. Comrade Lea officiated as chairman, and comrades Mitchell, Maguire, and Minty addressed the audience on the "Principles of Socialism." This is the first Socialist meeting that has been held in Bingley, but it is very probable that a Branch will be started there before very long.—F. C. sec.

MANCHESTER.—The usual open-air meetings was held on Sunday, at both of which comrade Carpenter spoke. He gave a very encouraging report of the work being done by the Sheffield Socialists. In the evening he gave a lecture in the Mechanic's Institute, entitled "Justice before Charity," showing that the relations of men must be founded on justice, not on greed and competition, and that if this was the case there would be no need for so much of the soup-kitchen form of charity. He explained very clearly how modern philanthropists were floundering about in the mire without getting to the bottom of the evils which they try to cure, and that nothing but Socialism will really remove the cause. The lecture was much appreciated; some discussion followed, the objections being ably answered by the lecturer. Strong indignation was expressed by the audience at the unjust sentence on the London comrades, and 8s. 5d. was collected for the Defence Fund. Five new members joined.—R. U.

CANNING TOWN LECTURE SOCIETY.—Last Sunday, H. H. Sparling, of the Socialist League, gave an excellent address at the corner of Beekton Road, upon "Current Events," which was listened to attentively and highly appreciated. There was slight opposition from Mr. Bowen, a temperance friend, on "Temperance and Wages," but this was satisfactorily replied to. About three quires of *Commonweals* were sold, and 4s. subscribed by the bystanders towards "persecution" expenses.—Mr. W. H. Smith, President of the South West Ham Radical Association, gave an address at the Rooms, 144, Barking Road, upon "Social Democracy," and was fairly received, but the usual cry of "details" was raised.—J. O'S.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—An open-air meeting of Socialists took place on Monday evening last on the unoccupied space at the corner of Fargate and Surrey Street, and the principles of Socialism were expounded to an attentive audience of 200 or 300 people. S. W. Drury, of Attercliffe, presided, and pointed out that the object of Socialism was the formation of a true Society formed on the teaching of Christ, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," in opposition to the false society of to-day, whose motto is, "Each for himself and the devil take the hindmost." He was followed by John Furniss, of Rivelin, who, taking up the words of the opener, showed very conclusively that the rich, instead of being the brethren of the poor, are practically preying on their vitals, taking from them the main part of the wealth they produce, and putting many to a slow death in the process. Edward Carpenter attacked the system of interest, showing that the key of Socialism was the abolition of rent and interest, going to a class as they do now. He pointed out that £33,000,000 a year go to railway shareholders alone for no work done by them, and gave a plan by which the railways and other industries could be taken over into the hands of the nation, and so these enormous sums become available for the use of the people, instead of going into the hands of an idle few. R. F. Muirhead, of the Glasgow Branch of the Socialist League, then gave an account of the movement in Glasgow, showing that considerable activity in the Cause was prevailing in Scotland. An animated discussion followed, in which Mrs. Maloy took part; but the opposition was feeble, and the sense of the audience was strongly in favour of the Socialists. A considerable amount of literature was sold.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W. Friday, August 27, at 8.30 p.m. A. K. Donald, "Terrorism."—A meeting of this Branch will be held on Friday September 3, at 8 p.m., in Communist Club, 40 Tottenham Street, W., to discuss the position of the Branch. Members wishing to move any resolution at that meeting are asked to send the same to the Secretary, W. A. Chambers, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., on or before August 30.
Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.
Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday at 7 p.m.
Hackney.—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every alternate Tuesday at 9, for the enrolment of members and other business.
Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays, at 8 p.m. August 29. Touzeau Parris, "Socialism from an Anarchist Point of View."
Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday August 23, at 7.45 p.m. A. K. Donald, "Methods of Propaganda."
Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m. Mile-end.—East London United Radical Club, Mile-end Rd. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. North London.—32 Camden Road. Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m. South London.—Business meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 at 112 Hill Street, Peckham, S.E.

Country Branches.

Birmingham.—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.
Bradford.—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.
Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.
Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John Street, open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. every day. Saturday afternoon, 28th August, Propaganda Excursion

to Hamilton—meeting to be held at the Low Quarries, a large attendance of miners being expected. Members to be at Rooms at 3.45, and leave Central Station at 4.12.—On Sunday afternoon a DEMONSTRATION will take place on Glasgow Green, to protest against the sentences on our London comrades and the attempt of the police to suppress open-air propaganda.—On Sunday evening, in the Rooms, 84 John Street, Wm. Greer will lecture on "Commercial Tyranny."

Hull.—Foresters' Hall, Charlotte Street. Every Tuesday at 8 p.m. August 31, Kropotkin's "Appeal to the Young" will be read.

Leeds.—No meeting-room at present. Out-door stations notified below.

Leicester.—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening. Business meeting every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Monday at 8.

Reading-room of the Branch open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

Oldham.—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25 1/2 Pembroke Street. Next Meeting on Thursday September 2, at 9 p.m.

Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

LONDON.

Table with columns: Date, Station, Time, Speaker, Branch. Lists various meetings across London including Harrow Road, Hyde Park, Croydon, Canterbury Road, Marylebone, Hackney, Hammersmith, Hoxton, Mile-end, Regent's Park, St. Pancras Arches, Walham Green, Hyde Park, Victoria Park, Clerkenwell Green, Euston Road, Soho, Broad Street, London Fields, Hoxton, Mile-end Waste.

PROVINCES.

Bradford.—Corner of Godwin St. and Sunbridge Road, every Sunday, at 6 p.m.
Halme.—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, at 7.30 p.m.
Leeds.—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.
Manchester.—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road, every Sunday, at 11 a.m.; Gorton Brook, every Sunday afternoon, at 2.45.
Oldham.—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

LONDON PATRIOTIC CLUB, 37 1/2 Clerkenwell Green, E.C.—Sunday August 29, at 9 p.m. Debate, "Socialism v. Individualism."—T. E. Wardle, W. Hardaker.
HERNE-HILL WORKMEN'S CLUB, Chaceur Road.—Sunday August 29, at 8 p.m. H. H. Sparling, "Unrest and Unreason."
PROGRESSIVE DEBATING SOCIETY, "Bee Hive," Warner St., New Kent Road.—Sunday September 5, at 8 p.m., A. K. Donald, "Solidarity."

FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

Table with columns: Description, Amount, Name, Amount. Lists contributions from various individuals and groups like W. Barker, C. Templeton, W. R. Halifax, C. J. Tait, Hoxton Branch, Hammersmith Branch, Kelmescott House, Beadon Road, Farringdon Hall, Glasgow Branch, Leeds Branch.

PH. WEBB, Treasurer, Aug. 25, 1886.

THE PRACTICAL SOCIALIST.

AN EXPONENT OF EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM; BUT DISCUSSION OF ALL ASPECTS INVITED.

EDITED BY THOMAS BOLAS.

MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

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