# The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

#### NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

Bravo, Metropolitan Radical Federation! You are in the right track now! Veneration for "legal" means and respect for "constitutional" action you have thrown overboard. The method you now adopt is a great step in advance.

The great fault of Englishmen, and the great obstacle to progress hitherto, has been their blind adherence to the superstitious belief in the sanctity of the law, and their craven fear of unconstitutional action. If the Radical Federation helps to destroy this it will have done more real good than all the Radical agitation has done since it began.

Parhament has rism, another of its talking periods being ended. The prorogation is only that! November 11th, so that the Government has perhaps a special session in view for the particular benefit of Ireland.

It can hardly the flat so oute a tactician as Lord Churchill will play into the way for this is the obvious purpose for which the rumours now going the round of the papers have been set afloat; but it is difficult to predict what may happen so long as Lord Hartington is "boss" of the ministry.

Can the Irish popular organisation be suppressed? Former experience furnishes little hope for a coercive policy. Some years ago, when the Liberal and Tory parties united almost to a man, their attempt to stamp out the Land League proved a dismal failure. Nearly 1,000 leaders of the people were imprisoned, but the cause went on as though not a man were missing. What will it be now with a good number of the Liberal party acting in unison with the Nationalists? A tough task, indeed, and pity the poor statesman who may be foolish enough to attempt it.

The fact is that the membership of the National League practically includes the entire Irish population, and a puny General Buller may as well not face the task—perhaps he won't?

It is quite clear now, in short, that if Mr. Gladstone has not realised Home Rule he has at least made coercion impossible, and it is only a question of how long the politicians can play with the question, and humbug the public, and waste time; all the while increasing the torture of the Irish people.

The Standard blandly suggests that during the winter the Irish M.P.'s should stump Ireland preaching peace to the people, and entreating them to respect law and order in spite of their sufferings. This paper is not often facetious, yet surely it can never have meant this as a practical suggestion. The likelihood is that the Standard is trying, rather absurdly, to be strategic, and is writing, not for present reading, but for future quotation. In a few months a bouncing leader will appear, in the "I told you so" strain, furbishing up the sage advice which, if taken in time, would have avoided all the trouble.

Labour representation has this year become an accomplished fact, and a sorry figure has been cut by the ex-working-men members. There are more people in this country suffering from trade depression than half the population of Ireland, and yet our "twelve apostles" have never even been heard on the subject. Their conduct has been contemptible in the extreme, and if any one was ever foolish enough to expect much independent or vigorous action from them their hopes must surely have withered away ere now. In spite of the deplorable distress in the country a whole year has gone by and the twelve apostles have sat sucking their thumbs, and said never a word for the people they profess to represent. This is just what might have been expected by any one acquainted with the so-called leaders of the working class. The labour M.P.'s have simply been boot-blacks to the Liberal party, as they must be, and have not even been as outspoken as some of the

If Parliament could do any good, it would be from fear of social revolt outside, not by meek persuasion from a few spiritless lick-spittle politicians who shut-up at a Minister's frown, or timidly follow at his beck and call, as the exigencies of party warfare may demand.

The Bishop of Salisbury has been talking some practical commonsense to his congregation. "The vice and luxury of the rich," he tells them, "may be tolerated for a while by the poor, but it is not unobserved by them. Why should there be this measureless contrast, this unequal distribution of good things? If no sufficient reply is forthcoming, the bitter resentment of the people will one day break out in revolution." So it seems the time has passed when at least the holy section of the hangers on of the upper class can pooh-pooh the prospect of the class war becoming unveiled.

The marines sent to overawe the Scotch crofters have been recalled from one of the islands, and their departure was an interesting episode. It appears that the jolly seamen spent their time in flirting with the Highland lasses and making friends with the men, so that when the time of departure came the people were quite distressed at having to bid good-bye to their *friends*, the enemy.

However, it wasn't all a matter of love and friendship. There was some money in it as well. The expeditions sent to keep the crofters in order take trade with them, and thus are a practical commercial benefit to the people. Still the crofters are right in making friends with the marines and police, and their action furnishes a useful hint to Socialists.

The treatment of the Greek Gipsies at Hull has been scandalous, and only possible in such a society as ours. These poor people started from their native place to go to America with enough money to pay their way. They have been pitchforked from one place to another until their means have dwindled almost away. Railway companies, ship companies, and town councils have done the most that callous officialism could do to make them as miserable as possible. In two cases at least women have had to give birth to children under exposure to the weather, in one case actually in the raw open night air. Private benevolence has at last stepped in, but in the usual tardy way, weeks after the affair had become a shame to the whole community.

Our Norwich comrades are getting on famously with the propaganda. The following from "Country Johnny," writing in the Norwich Day-light, shows how the local wits regard the movement:

light, shows how the local wits regard the movement:

"In 'Hoam Wards' parson got ontew the Socialists, bor, and no wunder neither, cos he must feel suffiin like that black feller, Othello, that his occupayshun is gon. The Socialists, bor, can fetch the peeple and that's more'n parson can dew. Why dew the Socialists fetch the peeple? Cos they're in touch wi''em, bor, and are men and bruthers. Parsons never can be men and bruthers tew the working clarses, cos parsons allus stick up for the landlords and the marsters, hew suck the pith owten the labourer's boans, and when they hev sucked he dry they send he tew the Warkhus. Take larst Sunday, bor, for instance. When did parson ever hev sich a hearty congregathun as the Socialists got, hay, bor? It showed how weak his bloomin' case wos, cos he hed tew use low wulgar abuse, and called one of the Socialists a thief. Parson! parson! this wos werry onbecomin' in a sarvint ov Him hew when He wos rewiled answered not again. But cos yow called the young chap a thief, parson, bor, it dint make him wun. He wos a hardworking young fellar hew never eat his meals wi'owt hevn' previously warked blarmed hard for 'em."

There are very general signs that Trades' unionists are wavering in their bigoted opposition and callous indifference to Socialism. The rank and file of the members are only too eager to hear anything more advanced than the dreary old hum-drum higgling for a few pence more wages. Unfortunately the officials of the unions—the governing gang—are timid and conservative in spirit, but this is true of all associations. Socialists who are unionists should persistently bring the subject up. A good opportunity is always to be had at the time for remarks after the reading of the monthly reports.

At a Provincial Trades' Council, an old and respected member was inveighing against Socialism. "I want no help from the State," he exclaimed, "I am an independent working man and can rely upon my own efforts. I have always paddled my own cance up the ladder of life and I always will." It does not fall to the lot of every man to distinguish himself by paddling a cance up a ladder—anyhow, even that feat is hardly an excuse for bigotry.

. J. L. MAHON.

# SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER XII.—THE PARIS COMMUNE OF 1871, AND THE CONTINENTAL MOVEMENT FOLLOWING IT.

In dealing with the great event of the Paris Commune, we must take for granted a knowledge of the facts, which are in a brief form accessible to all since the publication by the Socialist League of its pamphlet on the subject.

As we have stated before, the International was founded in 1864, under the leadership of Beesley, Marx, and Odger. In 1869, at the Congress of Basle, Marx drew it into the compass of Socialism; and though in England it still remained an indefinite labour-body, on the Continent it became at once decidedly Socialistic and revolutionary,

and its influence was very considerable.

The progress of Socialism and the spreading feeling of the solidarity of labour was very clearly shown by the noble protest made by the German Socialists 1 against the war with France, in the teeth of a "patriotic" feeling so strong in appearance that it might have been expected to silence any objectors from the first. The result of the war seemed to offer at least a chance for action to the rapidly increasing Socialist party, if they could manage to take advantage of it, to get into their hands the political power; and under the influence of the Internationalists, the French Socialists determined to take action if an immediate opportunity offered. Neither did the opportunity fail. The final defeat of the French army at Sedan brought on the fall of the Empire, when Republican France might perhaps have made terms with the invaders, whom the men of the Empire had challenged. But a resistance was organised by Gambetta, at the head of a stock-jobbing clique, whose interests, both commercial and political, forbade them to let the war die out, lest they should find themselves face to face with a people determined to be fleeced no longer. This resistance, sustained by the success with which this clique played on the sham patriotic or jingo feelings of the general population, was always quite hopeless from a military point of view, and brought the country to the verge of ruin. It also necessarily involved the German siege of Paris, the result of which was to throw a great deal of power into the hands of the city proletariat, since they at least were in earnest in their resistance to the foreign enemy, and the theatrical resistance necessary to the ambition of the political adventurers who posed as their leaders could not have a decent face to put upon it without their enthusiasm. In October, while the siege was still at its height, a rising headed by Blanqui nearly succeeded in overthrowing the bourgeois domination; and after the siege the possession of arms, especially cannon, by the proletariat, in the face of the disarmed and disorganised army under the bourgeois, afforded the opportunity desired by the Socialists. On the failure of Thiers' attempt to disarm Paris—whether he expected it to succeed, or only designed it as a trap to enable him to fall with mere force of arms on Paris—on this failure the insurrection took place, and the Central Committee, largely composed of members of the International, got into their hands the executive power, a great deal of which they retained during the whole of the existence of the Commune. Their position was strengthened by the fact that, apart from their aims towards the economical freedom of the proletariat, in their aspirations towards genuine federalisation they were, in appearance as least, in accord with the Radicals who wished to see an advanced municipalism brought about.

As the movement progressed, it became more and more obvious that if the resistance to Thiers and the attempt to establish municipal independence for Paris was to succeed, it must be through the exercise of Socialist influence on the poletariat: the Radicals, therefore, were forced by the march of events into alliance with the Socialists. The Socialist element therefore came to the front, and enactments of a distinctly Socialistic nature were passed, involving the suspension of contract and abolition of rents; and both in these matters and in the decentralisation which was almost the watchword of the Commune, the advance from the proceedings of the earlier revolutionists is clearly marked. Also, although the opportunity for the establishment of the Commune was given by the struggle against foreigners, the international character of their aspirations was shown by the presence of foreigners in the Council of the Commune and in command of its troops. And though in itself the destruction of the Vendome Column may seem but a small matter, yet considering the importance attached generally, and in France particularly, to such symbols, the dismounting of that base piece of Napoleonic upholstery was another mark of the determination to hold no parley with the old jingo legends.

It should be noted that the risings which took place in other towns in France were not so much vanquished by the strength of the bourgeoisie, which at first found itself powerless before the people, but rather fell through owing to a want of fuller development of Socialism

and a more vigorous proclamation of its principles

The whole revolt was at last drowned in the blood of the workers of Certainly the immediate result was to crush Socialism for the time by the destruction of a whole generation of its most determined recruits. Nevertheless the very violence and excess of the bourgeois revenge have, as we can now see, tended to strengthen the progress of Socialism, as they have set the seal of tragedy and heroism on the mixed events of the Commune, and made its memory a rallying point for all future revolutionists.

However, the fall of the Commune involved that of the International. The immediate failure of its action was obvious, and blinded

people to its indestructible principles. Besides, a period of great commercial prosperity visited the countries of Europe at this time. French milliards which Germany had won as the prize of war were being turned over and over by the German bourgeois in their merry-game of "beggar-my-neighbour." England was at the height of its period of "leaps and bounds"—a period now called by the German middle classes themselves the "swindle period." Even France, in spite of her being the plundered country, recovered from the condition into which the war had thrown her with a speed which made the plunderer envy her. In short, it was one of those periods which prove to the bourgeois exploiter that he is positively right, in which the bettermost workman grows quite unconscious of the chain which binds him, and is contemptuously regardless of that which lies heavy on the labourer below him, to whom the prosperity or adversity of the rest of the world make little or no difference.

Internal dissensions, also, were at work within the International, and at the Congress of the Hague in 1872 it was broken up; and though it still existed as a name for the next year or two, the remain-

ing fragments of it did nothing worth speaking of.
In Vienna, in 1871, the movement in sympathy with the Commune became threatening, but was repressed by the authorities, and several of the prominent members of the party were imprisoned for the part they had taken in a Socialist demonstration-amongst others, Johann Most and Andreas Scheu.

For a while after the fall of the Commune the interest in the active side of the movement turns to Russia and Germany. In 1878 Nobiling and Hödel shot at the Emperor William; which event gave the occa and Hodel shot at the Emperor William; which event gave the occasion for the attack by Bismark on the rapidly increasing Socialist party in October 1878, when the repressive laws were enacted which have been in force ever since. The result of these laws, which suppressed meetings, papers, and other literature, has been to drive the movement into a purely parliamentary course. In spite of the repression, the party has not only succeeded in holding itself together, but has grown to large dimensions, numbering, according to official statements, 650,000.

In Russia the Socialist movement was, on the face of it, mixed up with nationalist and political agitation, which was natural in a country in the bonds of the crudest form of absolutism. Nevertheless the ultimate aim of the party is unmistakable, and the propaganda has been carried on with a revolutionary fervour and purity of devotion which have never been surpassed, if they have ever been equalled. The slaying of the Czar on March 13, 1881, with the tragic scenes that followed it, has been the most dramatic event which the Russian movement has given to the world; and it must be said of it that it has marked and initiated a new revolutionary period. Since that time the elements of Revolution have gathered force and cohesion; a sense of insecurity has come over the authority of "law and order"; the sympathies of all people of honesty and good feeling have been attracted to the side of those suffering under mere open monstrous oppression; and men's minds generally have been opened to new ideas on the more insidious oppression under which labour groans in constitutionally governed countries

The last stage of the great revolution inaugurated in France at the end of the eighteenth century seems destined to be reached at the end of the nineteenth—if, indeed, that thing of rags and patches called "Constitutional Government" can keep itself alive so long.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

#### SAMUEL MORLEY.

According to the newspapers one would imagine that a great benefactor of the human race had been removed from us in the shape of Samuel Morley. It never seems to occur to these worshippers of Mammon that our Morleys, Wrights, Goschens, Oetzmanns, and Cham-berlains are not benefactors at all, but are instead makers of most part of the poverty of the employed, and are also creators of the unemployed, and almost all the misery that surrounds us. Out of one million workers two-thirds are women, and women are employed because they work for lower wages; for the same reason children are employed; this means that men are thereby thrown out of work; and where men are employed one man has to do the work of three or four; the great increase in the productive power of machinery also assists to enlarge the number of unemployed. Of course this sort of thing in business circles is considered perfectly honest.

From the papers we gather that councils, clubs, and associations have all lost their heads over his so-called "unbounded generosity and large-hearted Christian charity." Would that these councils on the dwellings of the poor, the different operative associations, temperance societies, and young men's Christian associations, as well as our working men's clubs, would see that this sort of charity only makes a show in subscription lists, but does not interfere with the causes of misery, and that it would be better even if they only brought their mssery, and that it would be better even if they only brought their organising power to bear upon the wisdom of preventing this misery from arising by increased wages, and greater facilities for sustaining health. Large charities would then be unnecessary, for the need of them wholly arises from the conditions under which large masses of our working people are forced to live. When we look at the picture in this light, what utter twaddle the following appears in the Daily

"Samuel Morley was a barn merchant, with the instincts of commerce working strongly in him; and being also a Puritan by conviction and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> They also protested, at the end of the war, against the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine.

mental habit, he treated his aptitudes as marking out his vocation in life. They were conferred talents which he was to 'occupy,' and by means of which he was to gain other talents to be employed for the good of his fellowmen. No one ever felt a keener delight in a bargain or was quicker to perceive a business opportunity, and naturally he appreciated the same qualities in others."

"Under him, too, the Wood Street house became a school of commerce in which there were opportunities for the teachable and rewards for the diligent, but no toleration of laxity, and little respect for the incompetent. Many who retired from business while Mr. Morley remained at his post aperiped a large measure of their success to the belief the control of the cont ascribed a large measure of their success to the habits they acquired under the wholesome discipline which he maintained."

The whole thing reeks of injustice, cruelty, and dishonesty. For instance, what do these words mean from a purely business point of view: "No respect for the incompetent?" To be a "competent man of business," you must know the art of defrauding your customers, be able to get workers at starvation wages, and also be versed in the art of circumventing the different shipping companies who are competing for freight. The immorality of these proceedings never enters into the calculations of the "competent man of business," any more than does the fact that low freights mean sailors pent up in fore-castles equal to any black slum and fed in the roughest and coarsest What are our Spurgeons and Parkers about? Their voices manner. seem to be silent upon this great social problem, although they had a good deal to say a few months ago when some of the unemployed made their presence known. It would have been more befitting their pre-tensions had they waited and ascertained why there were and are so many unemployed. On looking over the pages of the Daily News of the 6th again, I find it stated that

"At first Samuel was in addition head of the flannel department, a branch which fell into a subordinate place with the growth of the staple hosiery, which comprised all the articles manufactured by the firm at Nottingham, as well as those made at Leicester, Loughborough, Hinckley, and other contrae"

In the first part of my letter I mentioned that out of one million workers two-thirds are women. Since writing this, I have turned up pages 53 and 55 of Dr. Cornwell's 'School Geography,' and on page 53 we are told (in foot-note) that "the textile fabrics together (of cotton, silk, wool, mixed and hosiery), employ more than one million work-people, of whom nearly two-thirds are females." This corroborates what I put down from memory only. And now to draw particular attention to the paragraph quoted above from the Daily News, and which directs attention to Morley and Co.'s woollen and hosiery manufactories at Nottingham, Leicester, Loughborough, Hinckley, and other centres. Page 55 of Dr. Cornwell's 'Geography,' under the heading of "Hosiery in the towns of Leicestershire: Leicester, Loughborough, Hinckley, and also at Nottingham" (the very towns mentioned by the Daily News), shows that Morley and Co. monopolise all the hosiery factories, and that they therefore are largely responsible all the hosiery factories, and that they therefore are largely responsible for the fact that by employing so many women they compel them to be the unconscious producers of unemployed men. The worst of it all is, that philanthropist or not, the capitalist is compelled to exploit his workers, and his workers to submit, by the present system. What is needed is Justice not charity, equity not philanthropy, and this means the Social Revolution. SARAH S. GOSTLING.

## THE GREAT TRIAL IN CHICAGO.

III.

I have delayed my third and last letter upon this subject for two reasons—first and chiefly because I feared that my preceding communications had not been allowed to reach you (a very natural fear, considering my recent experience of post-office rascality), and secondly that I might embody in it an account of the occurrences after the verdict, and the general feeling manifested on all sides.

Of the verdict itself little need be added to what your readers already know. All the world listened with bated breath for the decision of the jury. Immense interests were involved; the whole bourgeois world felt its fate hanging upon the issue. Of course there could be but one result in such a case. The verdict was pronounced; whereat royalty, privilege, and rank rejoiced and clapped their hands. Bismark, Victoria, all the titled paupers and thieves of the Old World, and their sycophants of the New, congratulated each other and the Chicago authorities upon the "splendid result."

And how does the proletariat, the disinherited workers, regard it? Ah! centuries of oppression have made them stupid and dumb. The average working-man knows nor cares for little else beside hurrahing for this or that candidate at election-time, and an occasional strike for a few cents' increase in wages. To their eternal shame be it recorded, that led—as calves are led, by the nose—by notorious political "fine" workers, the trades' unions of Chicago have either openly endorsed the verdict or refused to condemn it. Only the Socialists have thus far openly and indignantly protested against it. Conservative (hateful word!) working-men are either too cowardly or too ignorant and self-glorified to raise their voices in public protest, for their private utterances are not consistent with their public actions. It is, in fact, difficult to find a person of the wage-earning or small trading class who will privately endorse the verdict. All who are not Socialists or sympathisers seem to agree that severe punishment should be meted out to the men who

papers after the fall of the Commune were well copied or imitated by the Chirago papers during the trial and since the verdict. "Death to the Anarchists" has been their constant cry, and they have demanded, and continue to demand, the arrest of all Socialists. Nothing will satisfy them, they declare, but the utter extirpation of Socialism in the United States. There is good reason, then, for the mutual hatred between Socialists and the daily papers. In three large public meetings—all held since the verdict was rendered—the newspapers have been denounced in unmeasured terms for their unfairness in reporting the trial, and their vindictiveness.

meetings—all held since the verdict was rendered—the newspapers have been denounced in unmeasured terms for their unfairness in reporting the trial, and their vindictiveness.

The closing scenes of the great trial were exciting. On Monday the 9th at the prisoners Spies, Schwab, and Parsons were put upon the stand in their own defence. The testimony of comrade Spies was clear and convincing,—a powerful argument of propaganda and a succinct statement of his own connection with the Haymarket emeute. That of comrade Parsons 'turned into one of the most power ful, eloquent, and logical speeches of the century. His manner was easy, and graceful, his delivery forcible and eloquent, the substance—well, that must be read to be appreciated; and yet the mere reading of it conveys but a very bint idea of its effect upon the assembled people. Judge, jury, lawyers, and spectators sat as if spell bound. The prosecuting attorney was paralysed—so much so, in deed, that his cross-examination of our comrade was singularly weak and short. This address has since been published in pamphlet form, and is being sold at a small price, to assist in defraying the expenses of the trial.

Another great speech of the trial was the closing argument of Captain Black, attorney for the defence. The captain is a natural orator, is a deep student of Socialism, and, best of all, had his whole heart in his work. In his peroration he quoted Mill, Hugo, and the Bible. He likened our comrades to the great Socialist of old, and predicted the final triumph of our cause. For his "sacriligeous" utterances and comparisons the captain received a terrible "mauling" from the opposing counsel and by the capitalist press; but the words have been said, and nothing can wipe out their influence upon those who heard them.

The jury were out but a little over three hours. One of the jurymen afterwards said that but half-on-hour was consumed in disposing of the seven condemned to die—they had already made up their minds as to their fate—the time was mainly spent in fi

different cells—a set of cells known as "murderer's row"—and a death-watch placed over them.

Since the rendering of the verdict the newspapers have been jubilant. All the "best citizens" were interviewed, and, as a matter of course, fully approved the verdict. Telegrams and letters of congratulation came pouring in upon the States' Attorney from "representative" men in this country, and from monarchs, princes, and potentates abroad. In short, the entire bourgeois world is in ecstacies over the result. It was publicly proposed to pay the jury one thousand dollars apiece, and to reward two of the prosecuting attorneys with public offices as a "slight testimonial of the public gratitude." These propositions, however, were finally abandoned, though it is pretty certain that all who had a hand in the conviction of our brave comrades will receive pecuniary benefits from private sources. from private sources.

from private sources.

And what is all this for? The State utterly failed to prove murder against our comrades, and that was the indictment and the only one. The defence incontestibly proved their innocence of complicity in the killing of the policemen or the throwing of the bomb, while the closing arguments of our lawyers were so clear and convincing, that even those of us who knew the terrible malignity of the police and the press, and had been expecting the worst, were filled with hope. What, then, were they convicted for? Simply because they are Anarchists and Socialists! Absolutely nothing else. For the great crime of preaching against the thieving murderous operations of Board of Trade gamblers, monopolists, and exploiters of labour everywhere, these devoted men are condemned to death. Nothing was wanting but an opportunity to wreak capitalistic vengeance upon the heads of the Socialists of Chicago. Some hasty individual burning with past wrongs inflicted by Chicago's sanguinary police (or it may have been an agent of some capitalist), threw a bomb and gave them the opportunity they desired—and this is the result.

And yet, strange as it may seem, few people, and no Socialists, believe the

And yet, strange as it may seem, few people, and no Socialists, believe the verdict will be carried out. There is a surprising unanimity of opinion that in some way the terrible fate which menaces these men will be averted. Little can

verdict will be carried out. There is a surprising unanimity of opinion that in some way the terrible fate which menaces these men will be averted. Little can be expected from the courts of justice (!). A motion will be shortly argued for a new trial, but not even the most sanguine has faith that it will be granted. An appeal will then be taken to the Supreme Court of Illinois, and if that fails, if it can be done it will be carried to the highest court in the nation. All these may fail to change the verdict (I, for one, have no faith in any of them, for the power of money is great); yet, depend upon it, those men will never hang. Our devoted comrades are well, and maintain a cheerful demeanour that is remarkable under the circumstances. Twice a day (except Sundays) they are permitted exercise and to receive their friends. Two hours and a half out of the twenty-four they have a certain degree of liberty; the rest of the time, including all day Sundays, they are confined in stone cells six by eight feet in size, with two armed men (the death watch) constantly pacing in front of them. And yet they are calm and cheerful. They are, indeed, the bravest set of men I ever saw. Only Fielden and Parsons have any hope, Spies and the rest of the Ger mans anticipate the worst. They receive a great many sympathetic visitors from all parts of the country. All are impressed with their fine bearing and unflinching spirit. Depend upon it, whatever may happen they will not waver. They are the stuff that heroes are made of.

The papers now boast that Anarchism is dead. Fools! the history of the past teaches them no lesson. The Chicago Tribune quotes the "blood and iron" saying of Bismark. Let them ask Bismark how his policy has turned out at home. Instead of the verdict stopping the agitation it has but just commenced. The Arbeiter Zeitung has more than doubled in circulation since its suppression by the police. Thousands of people who never gave the subject serious attention are now investigating Socialism. There will surely be

The Socialist Prosecutions are still proceeding. On Monday the Grand Jury found a true bill against Thomas E. Wardle, and the case will be dealt with on Friday. A summons has been delivered to another member of the League for speaking at Harrow Road; so that there will be two cases to report next week.



"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 Farringd'n 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

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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. E. ANON, and others.—The controversy on Vegetarianism must now close.

Mr. Tebb (Regent's Park).—Unsuitable to our columns.

F. GOULDING.—Your letter has been sent to the secretary of the Social-Democratic Education, for whom it was seemingly intended.

Federation, for whom it was seemingly intended.

7.—A new edition of Adam Smith's 'Wealth of Nations,' edited by E. B. Bax, is in preparation, and will be ready in a month or so. If you cannot wait for it, the 1812 edition (8 vols.) is the best in many ways.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 29.

San Francisco (Cal.)—Truth
Washington (D. C.)—National
View
New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate
Springfield (III.)—Voice of Labor
Chicago (III.)—Vorbote
Herald
Herald ENGLAND Justice Justice Norwich—Daylight Hull Express Freethinker Ploughshare Dean Forest Mercury HUNGARY
Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
SWEDEN
Stockholm-Social-Demokraten Madras—People's Friend
Madras—People's Friend
Allahabad—People's Budget
Bombay—Times of India
UNITED STATES
New York—Volkszeitung
Freiheit
Truthsecker
Der Sozialist
John Swinton's Paper
Boston—Woman's Journal
Denver (Col.) Labor Inquire
Cincinnati (O.) Unionist
Tolsdo (O.)—Industrial News Chicago (...)
Herald
Daily News
Paterson (N. J.) Labor Standard
Salem (Oreg.) Advance-Thought
Detroit (Mich.)—Labor Leaf
Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt
Newfoundland(Pa.)—La Torpille
Corning (Iowa) Revue Icarienne
France Norway Kristiania—Social-Democraten Kristiania—OCTUGAL

Lisbon—O Protesto Operario

Voz do Operario FRANCE
Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)
Le Socialiste O Campino
HOLLAND
Recht voor Allen
AUSTRIA
Brunn—Volksfreund Paris—C.
Le Socialiste
Le Revolte
La Revue Socialiste
Guisc—Le Devoir
Lille—Le Travailleur

RECEIVED.—"A Theory of Life"—"The Unlearned Lesson"—Commercial Cannibalism."

SWITZERLAND Zurich—Sozial Demokrat

#### "FREE" EDUCATION.

THE action of the Metropolitan Radical Club in this matter is a novel and a welcome step in advance of their usual tactics. The law is to be coolly set at defiance, the people being advised to act in direct opposition to it. In this case the method is much more important than the end, for it betokens an awakening of this political party to the great doctrine of revolution-that law, at the best, is but a convenience, and that the people are in no way bound to obey it unless they think it to their advantage. Of course this is but a very thin edge of the wedge: but it is something manly and straightforward, and these qualities are too scarce among politicians to be belittled when we do catch a glimpse of them. If we are to have any laws at all they should be respected only when understood to be convenient guides of action and never venerated merely because they are lawful. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain does not agree with this; but he is discredited now, and a person of no consequence.

But what do the Radicals mean by free education? The people cannot get education free. They must and they do pay for it by the labour they devote to the maintenance of teachers and institutions for carrying on instruction. The "upper" class have free education, because they get their education (and everything else) for nothing. It does not cost them anything, since they never work in return for the work bestowed upon them; but the people have to pay all the same. Free Education is a bad phrase altogether, because it suggests that something is to be given to the people, whereas in reality they are only claiming a paltry fraction of what they are justly entitled to. In fact, they have been providing the means of education for the upper class for ages past, and

are now at last awakening to the fact that a little education for all would be a good thing to have.

Socialists, above all parties, are in favour of education being given to all alike by the community: But what is education? This is an important and neglected question. Radicals seem to think that education means merely the small dose of reading, writing, and figuring which is now crammed into the children at Board Schools; or perhaps they dream of "advanced" education; that is, a superficial smattering of elementary science, and a dabbling in music and literature. this kind of education will not necessarily make good men and women of the rising generation. This sort of education has been given to the upper class for years past, and yet it is in that "educated class" corruption in every form is found, flourishing as if a special training for the worst walks of life had been carefully given to these ornaments of society. Yet this is all, if not more, than the Radicals are asking for. It may be urged that it is wise to take a little at a time, that a half loaf is better than no bread at all: but in these matters such reasoning is only an excuse for refusing to face the question in a manly and uncompromising fashion. It is a matter for doubt whether a little of such education is better than none at all. But there can surely be no doubt that it is not worth while agitating for less than a really full and complete training of the childrens' faculties.

Hitherto the people have got just as much education as would fit them for their part in the commercial struggle. In other words education, like nearly all else in modern civilisation, has been prostituted to the service of commerce. The working class education has simply been a training of the people that they might be more profitable tools for their masters. The middle-class education has been a training of the masters to make them more adept in their functions of cheating the people and each other—"fitting them for a commercial career" as they would put it. Its purpose also is to fit them for snug little diplomatic posts abroad where their "education" does service in adding lustre to the lies and chicanery patriotically practised for the glory of the Great Empire. The upper class education, again, has been a training of the fortunate few in all manner of follies and inanities, so that their luxurious and useless lives might be spent in accordance with the rules of fashion. To merely improve the present system is not an object worth working for, as the extension of sham culture is the highest possible achievement of our present form of education. The only way to make the working class worse than they are is to make them like their masters, and this is the result that some people are, perhaps unknowingly, trying to bring about.

By all means let us have education for the people. class distinctions exist it is impossible. Let the education be thorough, and not one-sided as it is now. It cannot be free, in the sense of being had for nothing, but it can, nevertheless, be put within easy reach of everybody. The conditions of such education are that its objects shall be the complete, rational, and healthy development of the human faculties—a drawing out and shaping of the powers of each The absurd idea that a child's mental powers can be trained without any reference to its physical condition must be laid aside.

In short, if education is to be more than a name, the struggle for it must become part of the struggle for a complete change in the conditions of life. Living in filthy and unwholesome dwellings, on the one hand, and being forced into the dishonesty of trade on the other, are in themselves enough to counteract all the good that education would do. Freedom is the soil of wisdom; and wisdom will flourish nowhere A forced growth will only bring out a stunted and deformed The first step towards real education is a Social Revolution that will destroy the tyranny above and slavery below, which is the source of this and all other economic evils. J. L. MAHON.

# WHAT ARE THE CHURCHES DOING?

Three years ago London was startled by the appearance of a pamphlet entitled "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London." It emanated from the London Congregational Union, and was described as being "an enquiry into the condition of the abject poor." Its terrible pictures of misery and unhappiness caused great consternation all around. Newspapers of all kinds abounded in endless details of the most harrowing kind; discussions, public and private, were held; resolutions passed; slums visited by many well-meaning and ill-meaning persons; the actions of certain vestrymen enquired into; in fact, all the world thought that something ought to be done, and that it would be done. But what has been done to remove the awful state of things which was said by the writer of the pamphlet in question to be actually beyond exaggeration?

Politicians have spoken, and, as usual, have done nothing. political economists could offer no hope. The newspapers could do nothing but abuse the "abject poor," and recommend better dwellings for them. All that teetotalism could say was that drunkenness was But what have the Churches done? The enquiry was set on foot by

a very influential organisation, and all the Churches were concerned in the discussion of the subject. Now there are some very good reasons why this question should be asked. For all the Churches acknowledge that the question of the poor ought to concern them very much, because their religion has ever been associated with those humble folk who are included under that extremely vague title of "poor." Together these Churches form, or might form, a most powerful body, which, if it thought well, might alleviate this misery at once. Riches and social

influence are in their hands; in fact, they have at their command every

facility to investigate the difficulty.

But instead of facing the facts, and endeavouring to account for them, and so be able to state the remedy, they have deliberately done nothing to remove the causes of all the horrible things they so much They have shirked the duty which justice demanded of them, because it would have compromised them too much. have had to denounce all the rich men in their congregations if they attempted to do justice to the poor; but that would be bad policy for the Churches. They might have had to declare that the owning of land by individuals was a great cause of the overcrowding of the slums of London; but that would have offended the ears of some of their land-owning worshippers. They might have had to declare that "competition" was the great cause of low wages, adulterated goods, unscrupulous dealings, broken lives, drunken habits, and immorality; but they feared the money-bags and loan-mongers might not like it.
Oh, no; they did quite differently. They did not want to stir up strife; so they began to build a lot of mission halls, in which they poured down, as rain from heaven, consolation of a spiritual kind, poured down, as rain from heaven, consolation of a spiritual kind, which cost nothing and was very effectual. It made the "poor" who frequented these halls feel how "humble" they were, and that it was right for them to be "humble"; because if they were "humble" enough they would be supplied with half-worn clothes, which the "rich" had chucked at them. They were further taught that their duty of life was to be contented and thankful, and a great man's motter than the characteristic and the characteristic state of the characteristic states. was held up for their meditation, which the Churches had found, proved, and acted upon. The text is: "I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therein to be content."

The policy pursued was to infuse teaching of this kind, with the aid of charitable bribery, into the hearts of the "abject," so that they should be less dangerous to their masters and pastors. That it has been successful is, at least, open to doubt. There is a hopeful sign in the "outcasts;" they are inclined to be dissatisfied. Processions of the unemployed, since the tract was written, have terrified the "respectable" classes even more than that did.

The Archbishop of Canterbury stood forth to open his mind upon this question. One might have thought that this potentate, head of the Church of England, the first bishop of this mighty land, who presides over the Church which claims to belong to the people, would have had something to offer to the suffering masses. Ala! he is not powerful enough to be honest. He lives in palaces, and is waited upon, and fares sumptuously every day, and is therefore too busy to look after the interests of his poor abject brother who sojourns in the slums. All his time is occupied in "overseeing" important ecclesiastical matters, and acting as a lackey in things royal. All he can do for his "brother in distress" is to offer that same cordial, "spiritual consolation." Most of the lesser dignitaries have occupied themselves, with preaching the blessings that poverty makes manifest; how that it reveals the capacities of some individuals in surmounting obstacles, and of others to bear pain and hunger patiently.

The same is true of the Dissenting Churches. Endless vapourings

and patchings seem to be all they are capable of. Some of their preachers have been active in advocating such nostrums as thrift, emigration, and industrial villages; but they all avoid the causes of the evil. There are only a few individuals who are preachers in these Churches—Established and Nonconformist—who have been bold enough to grasp the situation. To these let all honour be given, their

names are known to all.

Will the Churches ever be different? This is a very difficult question. Much can never be expected from them as institutions; but there

is an element of hope in the individuals who compose them.

There must be among them many who are beginning to see that the problem must be met in a rational spirit, and that they must take part in the freedom of the people. Let them take courage and examine the doctrines of those who profess to have found the causes of the present misery, and who point out the only possible solution to the problem—viz., the Socialists. The Churches have hitherto acted in a very cowardly and mean manner towards these people; but there never was a good cause began which the upholders of law, order, and religion did to the problem of the problem of the problem. not abuse and revile. This cause will live in spite of the misrepresentations of such men as the Rev. Cunningham Geikie, and it will yet appeal to all who prefer truth and justice to hypocrisy and injustice.

The people now must stand aloof from these institutions, and learn to judge for themselves. They must take upon them those duties which the Churches have shirked. They must plead their own cause, not to the higher powers, but to one another; they must denounce hypocrisy wherever it appears; they must expose the methods by which the present system of society is upheld; they must proclaim that the result of labour should be given to those that labour; that they who work not shall neither eat; that to live on usury, in any of its forms, is unjust; that there ought to be no inequality among men as regards the necessities and joys of life; that servility is not humility; that self-interest is not the ideal of life; that he who strives to serve, in singleness of heart, his fellow-men, is worthy of honour; and that the bond which should bind together the sons and daughters of men, should be mutual self-sacrifice. All this must the people do, and more. They must make themselves fully acquainted with the ins and outs of the social question, so they may be able to set to work intelligibly. They must show they are in real earnest; that they will neither rest or be contented until all has been restored to them.

Then, who can resist them? Not Churches, nor State. With all the resources of civilisation at their command, they will be powerless to put down the just aspirations of the people.

Let me appeal to all good and just men, whoever they are—whether they call themselves Atheist, Christian, Positivist, or what not—to come and join in the battle, the most holy and hopeful that ever earth has witnessed. Let them cast off their wranglings, which can only affect the intellect, and join in the People's cause, which appeals both to the head and the heart. Let us not be divided over these minor matters. Let us show persistently that we can join together, in spite of the machinations of the enemies of the people, whose strength lies in making their victims divided and conquered.

# NOTES FROM SCOTLAND.

THE poor half-starved shoemakers of Linlithgow gave a sumptuous banquet to Lord Rosebery last week.

They also praised him and worshipped him in a way befitting his rank and , ,

Now, there are few verses of Burns' which Scotchmen sing more lustily—especially about the New Year time—than the one in "A Man's a Man for a' That":

"Ye see yon birkie ca'd a lord,
Wha struts and stares and a' that;
Though hundreds worship at his word,
He's but a cuif for a' that:
For a' that and a' that,
His riband, stars, and a' that—
The meanf is decreadent wind. The man of independent mind, He looks and laughs at a' that!"

And I am certain that any average patriotic and orthodox Scotchman would indignantly repudiate the assertion that he believed a lord to be one whit superior to a labourer.

Yet if a poor starving labourer enters one of our towns, the people will probably refuse him a bite of bread; but if a rich over-fed lord comes their way, they will impoverish the burgh exchequer for the next six months in providing the lord with dainties he does not need, and which they would not dream of partaking themselves.

It is, moreover, a most melancholy fact that no meeting or association from a Bible society to a Liberal club—can become popular in Scotland that has not a duke or an earl for its honorary president at least. Who would think of soliciting subscriptions for a Church bazaar or a charity dinner unless at least a baronet figured on the list of patrons? No; a lord of some sort is absolutely indispensible to success in Scotland, and we Socialists, if we want to succeed, must make up our minds to obtain one somehow.

Do any of our comrades in London know where some broken-down scion of a noble house might be obtained cheap? There is a notion afloat down here that amongst the cab-drivers and dock-labourers of London are to be found many unfortunate noblemen over whose past career "there hangs an impenetrable veil of mystery and melancholy," as the circulating library novelist would put it. If such an one could be picked up and transplanted into a fashionable suit of clothes, he could be utilised for propaganda purposes with surprising effect. Should he revert to his earlier habits and exhibit a strong propensity for wine and cigars, I shall see that he is hospitably entertained, having one or two particular friends—stout Conservatives and upholders of law and order—who can supply me with these things cheaply, as they are not above obtaining them without paying the constitutionally imposed duty.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie, the Scottish-American millionaire, has given  $\pm 50,000$  towards the formation of a free library in Edinburgh. Of course a unanimous chorus of praise has greeted this "munificent gift"—and surely unanimous chorus of praise has greeted this "munificent gift"—and surely it is worthy. In these days when capitalists are in despair about the unprofitableness of their investments—when we are wearied with reiterations of the financial difficulties of large employers—it is surely an heroic sight, even in the land of "Triumphant Democracy," to see one of these victims of "the ruinous exactions of the workers" making such an astounding sacrifice. It is to be hoped that the Town Council of Edinburgh, before accepting the money, will take means to ascertain that Mr. Carnegie will not require in future to live on a restricted fare, or in any way lessen his standard of comfort.

I wonder if Mr. Carnegie's employés applied lately for an advance of wages, and if so, whether he regretted to be obliged to refuse their request because the present unprofitable state of trade—the unremunerative prices given for his goods—could not possibly permit his granting any advance?

"An enterprising tradesman in Glasgow has been making some interesting experiments regarding the commercial utility of philanthropy. His aim seems to be to determine its exact value as a marketable commodity. His method is simple. He suddenly becomes awere that there are many poor children in Glasgow who never see the fields and never breathe the fresh air. He advertises the fact, and states that he intends chartering a steamboat to give a thousand poor children a trip to the sea-side, and invites clergymen and others to assist him in making a selection of little ones. The trip takes place, and grandmotherly accounts of it appear in the local newspapers. The merchant then humbly awaits the result of his next six months sales, prayerfully expecting that providence, in recognition of his thus "pitying the poor," will send a "marvellous draught" of customers into his commercial net.

Another method adopted by this enterprising tradesman in his laudable speculation also deserves notice. Some time ago he became much grieved that so many able-bodied men should be in a starving condition for the want of 'employment. He advertised his grief. He also advertised that rather than see those men and their families starve he would sell all he had and give it to them.— No, no; I mistake; he didn't exactly say that, because of course that would be acting contrary to economic wisdom; but he said he would give them 1s, per day gratis, merely asking, as a guarantee of their willingness to work—just to show that they were not loafers, as it were—that they should march in procession through the streets carrying sandwich-

boards advertising his goods. Verily, Shakespere was a prophet! for did he not say of Mercy:

" It is twice blessed; It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes"?

They do gravely err who give a hyperethical interpretation to these words, whose application to modern commercial life is so beautifully exemplified by facts like the above.

A more melancholy spectacle than these poor fellows, trudging along all day, with their miraculous bodies degraded to the function of perambulating boardings, cannot well be conceived. That Christian sentiment (shoddy even as it is, like everything else in our day) tolerates this use of men "made in the image of God," is in truth astounding. Surely no conceivable blasphemy could be more abominable than such an exhibition; and that Christians endure it in their midst is a "sign and strange wonder" of the times, which all the pomp of praise and prayer, Churches and charities, cannot veil from our eyes.

A highly interesting gathering of Highland land-law reformers took place last week at Bonar Bridge in Sutherlandshire. Delegates from Land-Law Reform Associations came from all parts of the Highlands, and the meeting may be said to have been a parliament of the people. Unfortunately, several M.P.s were invited, and, as in all such cases, the resolutions were framed to meet the views of the M.P.s rather than to express the sentiments of the people. The resolutions, therefore, with the exception of one affirming the principle of "the land for the people," passed before the arrival of the M.P.s, were of a somewhat parochial order. Nevertheless the meeting, indicating as it did a growing sense of solidarity and power amongst the exploited Highlanders, was of distinct value.

Dr. Clarke, the whilom metropolitan revolutionist, was in the chair; but he didn't, so far as appears from the reports, say any more about landlords being robbers—and it is as well. When a man speaks the plain truth—as the Dr. lately did regarding the Duke of Argyll—he should have the courage to maintain it. The manner in which the Dr. winced and protested when his words—so absolutely true—were quoted in the House of Commons, destroyed the value of all he said, and converted one of the best speeches yet made against landlordism into positively one of the worst.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

## THE STATE OF LABOUR IN AUSTRALIA.

Advices from different parts of Australia show a very gloomy outlook for labour in that part of the world during the coming winter. Strikes and lock-outs have taken place among the seamen, brickmakers, and ironworkers. The Melbourne correspondent of the Sydney Daily Telegraph says, on Angust 19: August 12:

"There is little fresh to report concerning the unemployed difficulty. 200 or 300 men assembled in front of the Labor Bureau office as usual and were harangued by some of their number. Attempts were made to interview members of the Government, but Ministers were worn out after the late sitting in Parliament, and declined to see them. The chairman of the unemployed committee has written to the Governor and to the members of the Ministry, asking them to do something to relieve the destitution of those out of work. Over 600 men are registered at the Labor Bureau as out of work, and to these 230 railway passes have been issued.

"The Melhoure David Telegraph states that a registry of unemployed has

something to relieve the destitution of those out of work. Over 600 men are registered at the Labor Bureau as out of work, and to these 230 railway passes have been issued.

"The Melbourne Daily Telegraph states that a registry of unemployed has been opened and that at midday on Monday 423 cases had been registered. Besides these, many of the unemployed had gone out to Footscray, because work had been promised there, and others had gone to various places in the suburbs seeking for employment on their own account. The 423 registered yesterday were believed to be genuine cases, although the men were not all equally fitted for hard manual labour. Many of them were married men, with wives and children dependent on them. The want of employment has stopped the credit of these men in their several localities, and they are in danger of being turned out with their families, through being unable to pay the landlords their rents. Messrs. Williams and M'Grath were in possession of letters of a moving character, indicative of the distress which prevails, especially in cases which are not apt to obtude themselves on the general public. In response to an advertisement that had appeared in the newspapers in the morning for six miners, about 80 men applied. The required number were engaged, and the necessary steps taken to get them transferred to Yea goldfields, where the work awaits them.

"The man who acted as secretary for the unemployed in Melbourne in 1879, but who has not taken any part in the present agitation, writes 'that there is at the present moment in Melbourne and surrounding cities a very large number who are really in destitute circumstances, able and willing to labour but unable to obtain work, is a fact there is no gainsaying. I am prepared to give willing testimony to all that has been said on that point."

"The Melbourne Age says: 'For some time past complaints have been made by many of the societies meeting at the Trades' hall of the unusual depression in trade which exists at the present time; and although

Let those to whom emigration is recommended as a remedy to their ills take heed !-S.

Free Education Demonstration.—At the meeting which will be held in Trafalgar Square to-morrow (Sunday) some members of the Socialist League will address the people. Members of the League are expected to attend at the Office on Sunday afternoon at one o'clock.

# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NOTES. GREAT BRITAIN.

Dublin.—The stonecutters' strike still continues here. Messrs. Beckett, the contractors for the new Science and Art Buildings, are victorious, having got non-society country hands and seceders from the local society to accept their terms. Meanwhile, the society men are idle, and the look out for the winter is anything but promising. It is believed that but for the treachery their terms. Meanwhile, the society men are idle, and the winter is anything but promising. It is believed that but of the seceders the strikers would have won.—J. E. McC.

#### FRANCE

In Paris, on Friday, September 24th, Lafargue (a son-in-law of Karl Marx), Guesde, and Susini were acquitted of the charge made against them of inciting to murder and violent sedition at a meeting in aid of the Decaze-ville miners held last June. This was a second trial. They did not put in an appearance at the first trial, and were condemned by default along with Louise Michel. They then demanded a new trial with the above result. The acquittal has caused much surprise in Paris, the more so as the jury which returned the verdict of "not guilty" was a very bourgeois-looking one. The Government can scarcely allow Louise Michel to remain in prison now.—U.

NOYELLES-SUR-LENS.—An unfortunate miner here, badly injured in the mine, made the mistake of not applying at once for compensation; the Company, therefore, after keeping him on hypocritically for several years, sent him about his business on the very day which limited the legal demand for indemnity. Here, then, is a poor fellow thrown on the streets, with no resources for the maintenance of his family but the two crutches on which he limps. Latterly, he set up as a news-vendor, furnished with a license. The Company, after trying to forbid him entry among their workers, clap on a guard in his wake whenever he appears, who follows him from door to door, forbidding the man under pain of being fined to buy such and such a paper, the Cri especially. The poor man asks us if he would have the right to prosecute the Company for an attack on the liberty of commerce. The right? Yes, and also the right to break his crutch over the back of his spy in self-defence! But why speak of right in such an affair . . . ?—Cri dw Peuple.

Bellenglise (Aisne).—At the public meeting organised by the weavers on strike at the Cornaille establishment, there were present a great number of workmen from the neighbourhood of Bellenglise. The meeting was held in a barn too small to hold all the audience; so that it more resembled an open-air meeting. It is the first public re-union held in this Commune.

SAINT-QUENTIN.—Three Socialists have been returned for the supplementary municipal elections here. The triumph over the Opportunists has been celebrated by a manifestation through the streets, the red flag flying, and vivats resounding.

ARMENTIERES.—Clericalism in the Bagnios.—In M. Cardon's spinning factory the workers are supposed to come at 5.30 a.m.; but to give them time to say a prayer before beginning work, they are forced to come a quarter of an hour earlier. Last week, one of the women arriving at the half-hour, was called before the overseer to account for herself. She objected that work did not begin until the half-hour. "You are behind time," he retorted, "since you have come after the morning prayer."—Le Travailleur.

TOURCOING.—Some days back a workman was caught by a strap appertaining to the machinery in his charge, and was fearfully mutilated. The enquiry into the matter must be very satisfactory to the poor man who is dying, perhaps, for it pronounced that "the accident was due to his own imprudence." It always is!

VIERZON.—The wondrous story of guns being secreted for warlike purposes by the strikers, which has been circulated and seriously commented on by the Temps and the France Militairs, has been supplemented by another of a discovery of a packet of cartridges under the door of the Company's workshop. The Striker's Committee have been endeavouring to discover the manufacturer of the former tale, that they may prosecute him, but he is not to be found. The object of exciting public opinion against the strikers has not been achieved, I need scarcely say.

 $\ensuremath{\text{Vierzon-Forges.}}$  —The glass-engravers have gone back to work on their own terms, thanks to the Committee.

"M. Sarrien, following up his visits to the prisons of the Seine last month, has resolved, it appears, to ameliorate as much as possible the conditions of prison and penitentiary." Note the saving clause, "as much as possible,"—so be it! But M. Sarrier is no Hercules, and to cleanse these Augean stables of corruption is a task beyond the strength of the veriest Hercules among Ministers. He intends to begin by applying a law passed long since, which allows conditional release before the expiration of a term of imprisonment (something resembling our ticket-of-leave). One pictures these pariahs having conducted themselves in an exemplary manner under all sorts of provocation, in all sorts of miserable circumstances, being allowed to "go free," at liberty to walk the earth in search of work among "honest" men and women—whenever employers can be induced to avail themselves of the services of such outcasts. women—whenever em vices of such outcasts.

#### BELGIUM.

Huy.—Several workers who sign themselves "Slaves of the Forge," write a letter to \*L'Avenir\*, recounting the arbitrary conduct of the head-engineer of an industrial establishment near by. This man imposed a fine of 25 fr. on a foreman for protesting against some little piece of tyranny over the men. The writers confess naively that they thought the Commission of Enquiry, recently sitting at Huy, would establish some understanding between master and man. "Is this," they cry, "the pacification of which M. le President spoke so much at the late sitting? . . . . Are we to be slaves all our lives? There are moments when, blinded by our sufferings, we long for a revolution which will sweep away all oppressors and oppressed."

#### ITALY.

Il Fascio Operaio (of Milan) is about to reappear. The editors have issued a circular announcing their intention, together with a sheet for annual subscriptions and donations towards the expenses of the paper. We heartly

hope that this representative of the Italian Labour Party will be successful in its renewed career.

Corsica.—120 men, under the command of two lieutenants, are setting Corsica.—120 men, under the command of two lieutenants, are setting out with 80 gendarmes to chase the savage bandit of Corsica. The Bellacascia family, or tribe, number some 50 souls men and women. They are of indomitable nature, boys and girls alike, learning whatever can be taught them of the art of war at a very tender age. As they live among almost inaccessible mountains, and have already resisted the attack of a whole battalion of chasseurs of Vincennes sent forth to conquer them years since, the gallant soldiers now on their track can scarcely hope to subdue them without many a Homeric struggle.

BARCELONA.—The masons who are out on strike seem determined to hold out for what they demand (one hour less of labour!) They number over 6,000, and will most likely be successful. The local authorities are, as always, on the side of the masters; twelve men in Barcelona and four in Sans were arrested for the sole fact that they had produced in their workshops a tariff in which were set down their demands. In San Martin de Provensals, most of the masters have signed this, and in many of the outlying towns they have given in, the principal resistance being in Barcelona itself.

Calanas.—In the mines of the Silos de Caleñas there exists a veritable feudalism worthy of despotic Russia. Wages are reduced at will, the miners' houses are visited without the least authorisation, arms and tools are confiscated, fines imposed for the least fault, and in short every kind of tyranny, small and great, is exercised over the employés. Workers in the mines, how long will you submit to these things, and suffer on ignorant and disorganised?—Bandera Social.

M. M.

#### HOLLAND.

The Court of Appeal has confirmed the sentence of a years' solitary confinement passed upon Domela Nieuwenhuis for insulting the king. This, although he was proved not to have written the incriminated article. Another Socialist, Geel, has been sentenced to eight years' imprisonment. Our Dutch comrades are progressing fast.—U.

# CORRESPONDENCE.

# "SOCIALISTS AND PURITY."

"SOCIALISTS AND PURITY."

I forward you the enclosed letter, addressed by me to the editor of the Christian Socialist, on the subject of his recent article under the heading of "Socialists and Purity;" also his reply to me of yesterday (Sept. 20th) declining to insert the same. It appears to me that all he says in refutation of what I state is: (1) by calling my condemnation of the stigma of bastardy individualistic, and (2) by casting doubt on the truth of the Bible, as regards the Book of Ezekiel. I cannot understand why he thinks Ezekiel hopeless in his theology for the enunciation of the highly civilised doctrine that "the guilty, and not the innocent, merit punishment," as quoted in full in my letter. Will you do me the favour of finding room for this letter and its enclosures?—I am, dear sir, yours faithfully,

Leytonstone, Sept. 21, 1886.

W. CABELL.

# TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST.

Dear Sir,—With reference to your article under the above heading, will you permit me to say a few words deprecatory of marriage and the private family—not that I consider Society, at present, ripe for their abolition.

First, as regards marriage. The mere fact that an institution inflicts the stigma of bastardy upon innocent children born outside of it is, in my estimation, so radically evil, that it must necessarily lead to the abolition of the marriage state in a more perfect state of Society. The said stigma appears to me to be altogether subversive of Scripture, which says: "The soul that sinneth, it shall die: the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son. The righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him."—Ezekiel xviii. 20. There seems to me, also, to be no doubt that as long as marriage endures, so long will prostitution and infanticide of illegitimates flourish with it.

Secondly, as regards the private family. You say, "All education must begin with resolute and pure home training." Will you permit me to ask where you will find pure home training in a private family? Whilst children are educated by their parents, parental likings and antipathies will be inculcated, and the father, instead of working for the general good, will be scheming in the interests of his family. No; whether the doctrine may be palatable or the reverse, children must be educated, and brought up, by the Government, away from home influences.—Yours faithfully,

Leytonstone, E., Sept. 12, 1886.

Dear Sir,—I do not find, and I am not disposed to make, room for your individualist letter in the Christian Socialist. We consider marriage to be a sine qua non of Socialism, and Ezekiel to be but a tenth-rate prophet, and hopeless in his theology for the most part.—Yours sincerely,

Sept. 20, 1886.

Charles L. Marson,
Editor of Christian Socialist.

#### LITERARY NOTICES.

The New Christianity (J. B. Robinson, 67, Liberty Street, N.Y.) is a smart, readable, manly little tract on advanced Christian lines, and shows such an intimate acquaintance with and strong abhorrence of modern evils, that we cannot help thinking its author will be a stalwart Socialist when he has thought out the economical position a little more clearly.

The Ploughshare (Rev. A. Webster, Calsayseat Road, Aberdeen. 1d.) is a small periodical, attacking with vehemence the evils of the day from the standpoint of "Radical Religion and Morality." If merit commanded success this little venture should have a full share of it.

Our Corner for October is full as usual of readable matter. "Education for the People," by Annie Besant, should be widely and carefully read.

Freedom, which was noticed in last issue, is published by Charlotte M. Wilson, 34, Bouverie Street, E.C., at 1d. monthly.

United Ireland is publishing a most interesting and instructive series of articles on "Ireland as it is." This should be read by all who desire to know what is the real condition of the country. Even those who are unable to detect the workings of monopoly when clothed in familiar garb may here recognise its loathsome form in all its native hideousness.—S.

# BERLIN, 1848.

(By Ludwig Pfau. Translated by J. L. Joynes.)

What dirge at the palace gate
Is this that the tyrant hears?
There are passing in funeral state
The dead borne high on their biers.
And mutely the citizens bring
The carcases one by one,
As though they would say, Thou king,
See here what things thou hast done.

For the young and the old lie dumb, Stark, blood-stained, there as they died; And with tears and lamentings come Wife, sister and brother and bride. Her hands each mother must wring,
As she looks on her dear dead son— Lord God, all this has a king, All this has a great king done.

Loud threats must his Highness hear-The king comes down to the dead, And bends him before the bier, And bares his cowardly head And cares his cowardly head.

Lo, as if with a new wound's sting,
Fresh drops from the old wounds run;
As though they would say, Thou king,
See here what things thou hast done.

And the plaint that the dumb wounds make Is echoed anear and afar Is echoed ahear and atar

By those that will vengeance take,
And the flood-tide of fury unbar.
And the heights of the whole world ring
With the scream of the storm begun,
As it cries, All this has a king,
All this has a great king done.

Ye People, your hands have a stain
That water will wash not away;
Yea, brother his brother has slain,
When a king in his wrath said "Slay!"
And into their grave as ye fling
These slain men every one,
Write large on it, This has a king,
Yea, this has a great king done.

And their grave shall yet be the tomb Of the pride of the king's proud throne; For each, by the ancient doom, Shall reap what his hands have sown.

In blood, like a shameful thing,
Is eclipsed old loyalty's sun—

Thank God, this too has a king, This too has a great king done.

# THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON 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.

Adjourned General Meeting of London members will be held at Farringdon Hall, Monday, October 4, at 9 p.m.

#### General Meeting.

The London members' monthly General Meeting was held on Monday last at the office. Reports from the Branches were delivered, and showed a hopeful improvement in the organisation. Several suggestions as to the literary part of Commonweal were offered. A discussion ensued on the Free Speech agitation, which was adjourned until next Monday.

## Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Croydon, to May 31. Mile-end, to June 30. Hammersmith, to July 31. Birmingham, Bradford, Clerkenwell, Dublin, Hackney, Leeds, Merton Abbey, North London, Norwich, to August 31. Bloomsbury, Manchester, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Marylebone, Oxford, to September 30. Branches not mentioned here have not paid to date, and some are months in arrear. This laxity on the part of Branches is one of the greatest hindrances to the propaganda of the League.—Ph. W., Sept. 14.

#### BRANCH REPORTS.

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. September 24th, comrade Utley lectured on the "Means of Effecting the Revolution." He contrasted the Parliamentary and the revolutionary methods, leaning rather towards the former. A good discussion followed, the majority of the speakers being antagonistic to the lecturer's views.—W. A. C.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, September 22, G. Bernard Shaw addressed a very fair audience on "Why we don't act up to our Principles;" a good discussion followed.—On Sunday, Somerville and Cantwell broke new ground, helding very good meeting at Garnault Place, St. John Street Road. A successful meeting was also held on Clerkenwell Green by comrades Wardle and Alundell. At the close, an invite was given to the audience to come to the hall, where we held a "sociable," readings and songs (comic and sentimental), and musical assold four quires of Commonweal this week. Collected for Defenica Fand, 4s. 5½d.—W. B.

HACKNEY.—On Wednesday, September 21, we held our usual senting in the Broadway London Fields. Blundell penned the meeting with a sentencing in the Broadway London Fields. Blundell penned the meeting with a sentencing in the Broadway London Fields.

\*\*8. 920.— W. B. HACKNEY.—On Wednesday, September 21, we held our usual meeting in the Broadway, London Fields. Blundell opened the meeting with a song and music.

and then comrades Henderson, Graham, and Allman addressed a large and sympathetic audience, the largest we have held there.—On Sunday at 3.30 in Victoria Park, we went to hold our usual meeting, but found a party of Secularists had taken our stand and was holding an anti-Socialist meeting there. The prime mover of this was a gentleman, who a fortnight ago tried to break up our meeting because Mainwaring attacked Mr. Bradlaugh. Davis was not allowed to oppose, but we fixed our platform, and soon comrade Fred Henderson got the audience; Utley and Davis also spoke. Good sale of Commonweals.—J. F., sec. Hoxtox.—On Thursday, we held our usual outdoor meeting, at which Graham, Pope, Nicoll, Allman, Davis, and Barker spoke.—Sunday morning no meeting, weather not permitting. In the evening, outdoor meeting addressed by Barker, Pope, and Henderson. Indoor meeting lectured by Henderson, on "The Socialist Ideal;" fair audience; lively discussion, and sale of literature moderate.—H. A. B., sec.

MARFLEBONE.—On Sunday afternoon, comrades Lane, Mahon, Wardle, and Arnold addressed a meeting in Hyde Park, and 2s. 1½d. was collected for the Detence Fund.—H. G. A.

MERTON.—Our meeting on the Fair Green was held under very discouraging

MAPKENEE.—On Sunday afternoon, comrades Lane, Mahon, Wardle, and Amold addressed a meeting in Hyde Park, and 2s. 13d. was collected for the Befence Fand.—H. G. A.

MERFON.—Our meeting on the Fair Green was held under very discouraging circumstances, frequent drenching showers thinning the attendance. The crowd stood well together, however, after we adjourned to the shelter of some trees, where Mainwaring concluded his address. We sold about 40 Commonuceds, and fair amount of other literature in the evening at the club-room. We had short addresses from comrade Mainwaring and Kitz, who made earnest appeals for workers to join and aid in the work of the Branch. We have much pleasure in stating that we have founded a Branch at Mitcham, and are now seeking premises wherein to meet. We expect that our Mitcham comrades will be in full working order in about a fortnight, and that then the hands of the Merton Branch will be free for fresh work in another direction.—F. Kitz, sec.

North LONDON.—On Tuesday evening, a successful meeting was held at Ossulton Street, addressed by comrades Wardle and Chambers. On Saturday evening, Wardle addressed a good meeting at Harrow Road, which was not disturbed by the police; but the speaker of last week has received a summons to appear on Thursday at Marylebone Police-court. Owing to the rain, no meeting was held on Sunday morning in Regent's Park, but some of our members assisted in the afternoon at the meeting of the Socialist Union, and succeeded in selling some Commonweals.—F. H., sec.

Editor of the Socialist Union, and succeeded in selling some Commonweals.—F. H., sec.

EDITSBURGUE.—On Sunday atternoon in the Meadows, a meeting of considerable size was addressed by McMillan, a Socialist not yet connected with any of the organizations. Some of our members distributed leafters. At the close of the address there was a discussion, and the lecture was supported by short speeches from comrades Robertson, Hunter, and Gilray, the latter dealing with the remarks of a tectotal reformer. I

PECKHAM REFORM CLUB.—On Sunday last, J. L. Mahon lectured to a full audience on the Trades' Union Congress. The severe comments on the backwardness of the unionists, their toadying disposition, and the spiritless action of the Labour M.P.'s, were received with approval. A good discussion followed, which drifted mainly into Socialism, and it was agreed that a lecture dealing specially with that subject should be given on another occasion. A South London Branch of the League will soon be started here.

# LECTURE DIARY.

#### London Branches.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communistic Club, 49 Tottenham Street, W. Friday October 1st, at \$ p.m. C. Faulkner will open the discussion—"The Coming Revolution." Clerkenvoll.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday October 3, at 7.30 p.m. C. J. Faulkner, "The Man v. The State." Wednesday & A. K. Donald, "Education of the Proletariat."

Croydon.—Boyal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday at 7.30 p.m. Rov. Stewart D. Headlam, "The Sins which Cause Poverty."

Hackney.—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street. Tuesday Oct. 5, at \$ p.m., Special Business Meeting for discussion of proposed Club. All members are requested to attend.

Hommoremith.—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday October 3, at 8 p.m., William Morris, "The Birth of Feudalism in Scandinavia."

Horton (L. E. L.):—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday Oct. 3, at 3.30, Members' Meeting. Lecture at 8 p.m. A. K. Donald, "Terrorism."

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee meets every Thursday.

North London.—32 Camden Road. Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m.

Country Branches.

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 Thursday at 8 p.m.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John Street, open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. every day. On Saturday evening, open-air meeting at Hamilton at 6 o'clock.—On Sunday, open-air meetings on the Green at 11.30 a.m. and at 4.30 p.m. At 7 o'clock, in our Rooms, James M. Brown will deliver a lecture on "Rousseau."—On Monday evening, at 7.30, open-air meeting at Parkhead.—On Friday Oct. 8, open-air meeting at Govan Cross at 7.30 p.m.

Hull.—Members' Meeting at Communist Club, Blanket Row, Sundays at 2.30.

Foresters' Hall, Charlotte Street, every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Oct. 5, D. Nicoll's "Law and Order" will be read.

Ipswich.—"George Inn," Woodhouse Street. Tuesdays at 8.

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 Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room 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, 25½ Pembroke Street.

# Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

		LONDON.
	Date	
	Sat.	2.—Harrow Road ("P. of Wales") 8 Annie Taylor N. London.
		Hyde Park (Marble Arch) 7A. K. DonaldClerkenwell.
		Mile-end Waste
	S.	3.—Canning Town (Beckton Rd.) 11.30H. A. Barker
٠		Marylebone-corner of Salis- 11.30F. Henderson Marylebone.
		bury St. and Church St.
		Hackney-Well Street11.30 Somerville Hackney.
		Hammersmith-Beadon Rd. 11.30The Branch
		Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street11.30W. A. Chambers Hoxton.
,		Mile-end Waste
,		Mitcham Fair Green
,		Regent's Park
;		St. Pancras Arches
		Walham Green, opposite Station 11.30The BranchHammersmith.
,		Hyde Park (near Marble Arch) 3R. A. BeckettMarylebone.
		With Dale Park (near Marbie Aren) 5
		Victoria Park
•	20	Clerkenwell Green
	Tu.	5.—Euston Road—Ossulton St 7J. L. MahonN. London.
		Mile-end Waste
		Soho—Broad Street
	w.	
•		opposite "Sir Walter Scott"
•	Th.	
•	ŀ	Hyde Park (Marble Arch) 7The BranchBloomsbury.
1	1	PROVINCES.
9	Dun	lford.—Corner of Godwin St. and Sunbridge Road, every Sunday, at 6 p.m.
I	Drac	yora.—Corner of Godwin St. and Sunbridge Road, every Sunday, at o p.m.

Bradford.—Corner of Godwin St. and Sunbridge Road, every Sunday, at 6 p.m. Edinburgh.—Sunday afternoon, on the Meadows.
Glasgow.—On the Green, Sunday at 11.30 and 4.30. At Parkhead, Monday, 7.30. At Govan, Friday Sth, at 7.30 p.m.
Hamilton.—New Cross, Saturday at 6 p.m.
Ipswich.—Ship Launch, Sundays at 11 a.m. and 3.30 p.m.
Leeds.—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m., Sundays.
Manchester.—Corner of Gorton Lane and Ashton Old Road, Sundays at 11 a.m.;
Gorton Brook, every Sunday afternoon, at 2.45.
Norwich.—St. Mary's Plain, 11. a.m.; Market Place, 3 p.m.—Sundays.
Oldham.—Curzon Ground.
Sundays, afternoon and evening.

UNITED SOCIALIST SOCIETIES OF LONDON.—To Socialists and Friends of the Cause of Labour. A Theatre Concert and Ball will be held at the Communist Working-men's Club, 49, Tottenham Street, W., on the 10th of October, in aid of the convicted Socialists of Chicago. To commence at 8 p.m. Programme 6d. SOUTH-WEST HAM RADICAL ASSOCIATION, Congregational Schools, Swanscombe Street, Barking Road.—Wednesday October 13, at 8 p.m. W. Morris, a Lecture.

	FRE	E	SPE	EC1	EL :	DEFENCE FUND.	
Iı	hand after payme	at o	of			Rouse Koal (per T. Shore, jn.) 0 5	0
	fines			8	$3\frac{1}{2}$	Merton Branch 0 3	9
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	ing) Concert .		. 1	0	0	l'H. W., Treasurer, Sept. 29.	

# "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

In response to an Appeal for Special Donations to a Fund being raised for the support of this Paper, the Treasurer has received the following sums since the beginning of August this year:

Already acknowledged M'Carthy, Dublin Chapman, Liverpool . £15 6 0 Carruthers, Venezuela . . 4 0 0 0 0 0 1 0 Bloomsbury Branch (weekly) 0 5 0 0 0 10 0 Рн. W., Sept. 28.

September 27.—Received from D. G., Bombay, for the "General Fund," £10.
PH. W., Treasurer.

THE

#### SOCIALIST. PRACTICAL

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

EDITED BY THOMAS BOLAS.

# MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

W. REEVES, 185 FLEET STREET.

The Manifesto of the Socialist League.

Bax and Wm. Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 18pp. crown 8vo.

Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. 18 pp. crown 8vo.

Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism. By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). 16 pp.

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