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[WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.]

PRACTICAL ANARCHISM.

It may be well for us to consider whether we can by any means carry our principles into execution in the ordinary course of propaganda. Our opponents are very fond of taunting us with being "unpractical," because we do not believe in Eight Hour Bills, or trust for salvation to Governments or Parliaments. Still, we must remember, that if we confine ourselves purely to abstract propaganda, without attempting in any way to carry our principles into practice, we may countenance this vile slander, and the people may say with our enemies, that Anarchists are excellent people, have splendid ideas, but they are not "practical"; they are content to preach, but not to practise.

Now I, for one, fully acknowledge the importance of educational propaganda; but we must remember that, if all schools of Socialists had confined themselves purely to educational work, Socialism would not now be a common subject of conversation among rich and poor, alike in the street and in the drawing-room, and educational propaganda might still be confined to the study of philosopher or the student's lecture room. Note at once the effect of single acts of revolt. Some starving workmen sack a few shops at the West End of London. London rings with it for a few days. What has caused all this disturbance? Socialism: certain Socialist orators made "violent speeches," result—riot and sack of shops. What dreadful people, says the average man. What can be the ideas that lead them to incite people to violence? and the average man is anxious to find out, and, as the writer of this article well remembers, he was mobbed in Hyde Park, on the Sunday following the February riots, by an excited throng, all anxious to obtain a copy of that wicked publication, the *Commonweal*, who, a week before the riot, would probably not have accepted one as a gift. We can all call to mind similar instances of quickened public curiosity in our agitation arising from various causes, from the historic bomb of Chicago down to an ordinary free-speech fight. And there is one thing specially worth noting, and that is, that action on the part of the people themselves; for instance, a big strike or riot attracts far more attention from even the capitalist press, than the sittings of a labour commission or the return of labour representatives to vestry, County Council, or Parliament. An eternal dullness broods over all that is connected with governments; dull as a Parliamentary speech or a blue book, might pass into a proverb. But how different with spontaneous action on the part of the people. Any man will read an account of a riot or revolt among his own class, though he might shrink from perusing a report of Parliamentary debate or a Government inquiry. Is it not a fact that the more Parliamentary and "constitutional" the "leaders" of the people become, the less influence they have upon them. Bradlaugh, Arch, and Broadhurst to wit. Why is this. Is it not because the people are warned by a just instinct, that as these worthy men grow dull and respectable, so they lose that revolutionary instinct, which once made them fervent in the fight for Freedom?

Therefore, it seems to me, that we Anarchists, have a splendid field for action, far better than that open to any Social Democratic party, and that in future we should teach the people, both by speech and action, to defy the law and to attack in every possible way the monopoly of the capitalist classes in the means of life.

Already, to some extent, this has begun, though hitherto it has been chiefly confined to individual cases. For instance, comrade Barker, of Brighton, has preferred to undergo the risk of fine or imprisonment to answering the inquisitorial questions of government officials in the census paper, and, when he was prosecuted, has seized the opportunity to make propaganda by distributing Anarchist leaflets among the crowd in the Court. Creaghe, of Sheffield, has refused to pay tribute to landlords in the shape of rent, and made it warm for policeman and bailiff with a poker. As it appears that the minions of the law were acting illegally, the magistrate did not fine our comrade heavily for the assault.

A young comrade of ours, in the army, has been sentenced to two months' imprisonment, for acting up to his principles as an Anarchist-Communist, and is now to be discharged from the army, as of no further use in Her Majesty's Service, which means, of

course, that a man professing Anarchist-Communist principles is not likely to be of much "Service" to Her "Majesty" in the army, though he may be very useful to the people in that position.

Then again, the action of our Leeds' comrades, at Bradford, who, by holding a meeting and distributing revolutionary leaflets, in defiance of a police proclamation, produced a serious outburst of revolt in a town which up till then was certainly not a stronghold of any form of Socialism.

All this work is good, and our friends should be encouraged everywhere to follow the bold example of these brave men. Remember that it was in a year like this when one form of revolutionary agitation—the unemployed movement of '87—was dying out, that Mrs. Besant and a few other comrades started the present labour movement, by the propaganda which led to the strike at Bryant and May's.

To-day the labour movement is in a similar state of decadence to the unemployed agitation of those days. Is it not possible that we Anarchist-Communists, might initiate a new form of revolutionary agitation, by starting a No-Rent Campaign in the slums. We need not begin by action, let us preach the idea first by speech, handbill, and placard; and then, if the people show themselves ready for action, let us throw ourselves into the battle with them, not as "leaders," but as comrades in the fight. I am sure that by it, if we could stir up a revolt on the part of the slum-dwellers in a single slum it would do far more to spread our ideas than by any amount of ordinary propaganda. I only make this as one suggestion, many other methods must occur to all our comrades of doing something to reducing Anarchism from theory to practice.

Propaganda in the army, taking part in strikes and riots, in order to guide them in the way of revolution, by pointing out to the people how easy it is in times of riot and tumult to seize the wealth stored up in the shops and warehouses of the middle classes, and individually refusing to pay rent, taxes, or submit to any governmental inquisition, are all equally good. Let each man choose the method best suited to him, there is no need to quarrel as to which is the best. Only it must be our aim, as Anarchists, to stir up revolt on every possible occasion, and to bring the law and its officials into derision and contempt. Individual assaults on the system will lead to riots, riots to revolts, revolts to insurrection, insurrection to revolution.

This has been the course of revolutionary movements in the past, so history teaches us, and I feel convinced that it will be the same in future. Then let every man who strikes a blow for the new ideas, feel that he is following in the steps of the old revolutionary heroes and thousands of others in modern days who have not feared to sacrifice ease and comfort, aye, and life itself for the Cause. D. J. NICOLL.

MASTER AND MAN IN HEAVEN.

EMPLOYER (*Mr. De Tompkins*) and WORKMAN (*Jack Smith*) meet for the first time since shuffling off this mortal coil.

Jack Smith. Hallo, Mr. De Tompkins! Is it Mr. De Tompkins? How are you, sir? You're looking younger and, and, not so proud as when I used to work for you down on earth.

De Tompkins. Mr. Smith, isn't it? (*Reddening and confused.*)

J. S. I'm the man, sir.

De T. Ah, Mr. Smith, I don't feel proud now. We're all equals here as you know. How much stouter and better you're looking!

J. S. Yes, I didn't look as well when I worked for you, because we used to run so short; why some parts o' the year I hadn't enough to eat. It was hard nuts for me and the old woman, I can tell you; we couldn't let the kids go without grub.

De T. No, I suppose not.

J. S. It was very hard that time as your overlooker sacked me 'cos I was thought to be the leader in asking for that advance. I went months without a job; and everything went out o' the house, to the bed as was under us.

De T. O well, let bygones be bygones, my dear fellow. I never expected we were going to pass eternity together, or you shouldn't have had a life of that sort—I'd have looked into the thing.

J. S. You didn't think us hands were goin' to be damned in *this* life as well as upon earth, did you?

De T. No, no; I never thought anything about it at all.

J. S. Ah, if ye only knowed how we hated that overlooker o' yours, and you too for listenin' to him and never listenin' to us! I can't forget it. Of course, I've got no bad feelin' now—I can't have in Heaven—but you didn't look on me as a man, now did you, Mr. De Tompkins?

De T. I didn't look on you as an equal, anyhow—but, if you knew all, Mr. Smith, you would not think so hard of me; and if, as I said a minute ago, I'd thought of the fact of us being companions up here, why—well, I'd have gone round to other rich men and entreated them to put their goods along with mine, and to throw the lot into a common fund, and we'd have shared with you, and stopped robbing you. I'd got a hundred—aye, a thousand times more than was good for me.

J. S. And the want of some of that nearly lost me Heaven. Poverty made me sometimes mean and grasping, and sometimes hopeless and careless. I used to doubt whether there *was* a God as made me slave and suffer, while them as never worked could all us enjoy themselves and never had to fret nor trouble about nought. I don't understand it even now!

De T. Ah, well, I went nearer losing Heaven through possessing the money than you did for the want of it. It made me think I must be the favourite of God, because he permitted me to be rich; and I thought I was generous when I built that wing of St. Michael's Church with some of the money made out of the labour of the poor. You've no notion how corrupting riches *are*, how vain, and selfish, and thoughtless they make a man. I don't want to talk about the reason why God took pity on me, but I tell you it was a miracle that I got in here at all.

J. S. Ah, well, it's all over, but it's very funny we should be equals.

De T. I'm not so sure about being equals. I hear that in the third Heaven an agitator has just been making a proposition, that those who served and suffered in the last world should be masters, and the former masters their servants, not for all eternity, of course, but for some years. For my own part I don't deny but that there does need some compensation.

J. S. O, I shan't agree to that. As you said, let bygones be bygones. I shouldn't like anybody to wait on me, I've never been used to it. If there's anything to do let's all take a hand in it. If it wasn't right for us to be under you, neither would it be for you to be under us. Let's go up towards the thrones of the Cherubim and get to know whether the Almighty's likely to favour such a proposal. I don't think He will. I can't bear the notion of anybody polishing my crown; I should fly from it while I'd got a feather left me. If God's pardoned some o' your rich men, I should think we can be as generous as Him. Besides, if he hadn't allowed you to be rich you never could ha' been. I shall be at the next meeting in number three Heaven and have something to say; meanwhile, unsling your harp, old fellow, and let's have a tune.

THOMAS BARCLAY.

THE man who beats the labourer out
Of just one single cent
Need never hope to reach that land
Where good Elijah went.

Except he steals a goodly pile—
Does wholesale over-reaching—
He gravitates the other way,
Or "there's no truth in preachin'."

But if he only steals enough—
And uses part the plunder
To build a church and rent a pew—
He'll find he didn't blunder.

For preachers always can be found
Who'll gloss rich rascals' stealings,
And preach all round the camel's eye
So's not to hurt their feelings.

Only the little thieves are damned—
It's ever the same story—
The big thieves are "respectable,"
And buy their way to "glory."

—Journal of the Knights of Labour.

NOTES.

THE pious Stead is always an interesting study of an original and strenuous individuality, hopelessly perverted by bourgeois education and bourgeois moral standards. Just now he is suffering from an unusually severe attack of Jingoistic Commercialism or Commercialistic Jingoism (one is not quite sure which ought to be the substantive and

which the adjective). He is especially distressed because the glorious Republic of the United States is becoming de-anglicised, and filled with more Italians and Germans who do not even speak English, but only a jargon of their own which Stead cannot understand.

"Language," says Stead, "is the great unifier of peoples. Language is the simplest and most conspicuous indication of nationality. The American commonwealth is possible chiefly because its citizens speak one tongue. Should the day ever dawn when the American people are smitten with the plague of Babel, not all the bloody cement of the suppression of the Great Rebellion will save the Union from disintegration." Exactly so; but from our point of view, the sooner the Union is disintegrated the better. Not even the fraud-created and blood-begotten British Empire itself is a greater bulwark of our hideous "civilisation" than the capitalistic Republic of the West, where the wage-slaves dare not even meet in the open air or flutter a red flag from a window.

This mania for "unification," for the making of big "nations" is, of course, a characteristic of our now putrescent epoch of industrialism. After the great coming Change, those local peculiarities and varieties, which add so much to the enjoyment of life by adding to its interest and its colour, will again re-appear. Travel, free to all who care for it, from one ungoverned Commune to another, will furnish a series of little surprises and pleasant adventures. If the dull bourgeois could only for a moment realise what mere journeying will mean in those days, he would turn with sick horror from his "palace cars" and his monster hotels built to scale from St. Petersburg to Paris, and from Paris to San Francisco. In those days there will be a unification of hearts indeed; but (let us hope) the utmost diversity of manners.

The Pope of Rome, after infinite incubation, has issued what is called an "Encyclical" on the Social Question. This document has been persistently puffed beforehand for months past. It proves to be precisely the piece of vapid reactionary maundering that might have been expected from an old priest who knows courts and libraries well enough, but real life or real science not at all. It is, however, a great relief to find that there is no pretence to Socialism in it; but that the Catholic Church at least (sick, as one would fain hope, unto death) is frankly linked to the already rotting system of private property. There really seemed some danger lest the lazy clerical parasites and thieves who still cast a black shadow over the already wretched lives of millions of poor folk, should retain their hold upon humanity a while longer by posing as Socialists. That danger, so far as the most formidable and alive Christian organisation is concerned has now disappeared, and the priests are where they ought to be, with the oppressors and the robbers. Only we have travelled far from Jesus of Nazareth, the Communist born out of due season, to the "Supreme Pontiff" who claims to be his delegate to us.

What is a "delirious force?" Surely to write of such a thing is not a mere error of phrasing, but is symptomatic of a certain puzzle-headedness on the part of the writer. Our old antagonist, Mr. Auberon Herbert, in *Free Life*, after saying (truly enough), "The brotherhood of a common slavery and the equality of the universal State factory are not the appointed goal of a race that has climbed so high and conquered so many difficulties. Could such a system be established to-day it would be rent asunder to-morrow by the forces of passionate resistance generated under its pressure," adds "Revolutionary Anarchism—the Anarchism of violence and destruction offers no solution and is simply a delirious force reacting against the common and reckless use of power." One would really wish that our middle-class critics would condescend from their high seats to read the literature of "Revolutionary Anarchism" before they criticise. This, however, is, I fear, past praying for. If, indeed, we preached *aimless* violence and destruction and did not "offer" at least a solution (whether or not the true one), we should be worthy of many of the hard things said of us.

One would be sorry, however, to see *Free Life* die out. In its own odd and crooked fashion, it stimulates thought and shows us, moreover, the genesis of many bourgeois objections to Socialism. Many shrewd things are often said in it concerning the State; but when Mr. Auberon Herbert turns to economics he really displays the most astonishing ignorance. He absolutely confuses the heaping up of riches with the making of wealth. I agree with Mr. Herbert that "the making of wealth, speaking generally, is one of the truest and best services that any of us can render to our fellowmen." When, however, he adds:—"When a man builds up a fortune [!] by the fair method of trade [!]" (I am excluding fortunes made on the Stock Exchange, by trusts, or similar methods) he has done a right good deed, and one only wishes that there were twenty such men to-day, when there is but one." Socialists must part company with him. Does Mr. Herbert really believe that wealth is equivalent to money? What, too, is the distinction in *kind* (there may be one in *degree*) between fortunes made on the Stock Exchange or by trusts, and those made in what is comically called the "fair method of trade?" Each means a reaping where one has not sown.

In a local paper I find a curious illustration of the character of "Chief Constable" Withers, of Bradford, which will interest our comrades in that town and Leeds who have lately come into collision

with this policeman. He recently, it seems, attempted to conduct a prosecution before the Stipendiary as an advocate. To his great astonishment the Bench declined to allow him to make speeches and examine witnesses. Upon this he appears to have lost his temper and his head altogether. He blustered about being responsible for the "law and order" of the town, and actually objected to a solicitor being heard for the defence. This apparently was a little too much even for a Stipendiary Magistrate. However, Withers escaped without serious rebuke. Chiefs of police are too necessary to our masters not to be treated tenderly.

Dr. Cesare Lambroso, specialist in "criminal psychology," is occasionally visited by some glimmerings of common sense,—a common sense often sadly obscured by his specialism. He has discovered that true revolutionists are almost always geniuses or saints, and have a marvellously harmonious physiognomy. They have mostly (Lambroso is responsible for these statements, not I) a very large forehead, a very bushy beard, and very large soft eyes. Among the Anarchists there are no true criminals,—i.e., in this signification Lambroso attaches to the word "criminal," no really anti-social and anti-human perversities. The Russian Nihilists, he thinks, represent both psychially and in their physiognomy the early Christian martyrs. He would execute "born criminals" (wherein I should not concur with him), but would never execute political revolutionists. We shall really become too conceited, if we continue long to be thus complimented by bourgeois professors.

Japanese policemen would appear to have become a little touched with the spirit of revolt. One of them has scratched the Czarewitch with a blunt sword, and extremely agitated all the able editors in Europe. The truth of the matter is probably hopelessly buried beneath the deluge of self-contradictory romances with which we have been favoured. According to one story an escaped Nihilist from Saghalien is responsible for the deed; according to another tale, the Imperial cub was returning home late at night from what is euphemistically called a "place of amusement," in company with "Prince" George "of Greece," and got into trouble with a bobby who did not know him.

The Great Strikes in Belgium would appear to be advancing satisfactorily and with some measure of true revolutionary spirit. It is a thousand pities that they have not a better aim than Universal Suffrage—an object not calculated to wake the enthusiasm of the best informed and most enlightened workers. It is not likely that, just at this juncture, these strikes will bring the Revolution which alone can set us free. For all that, the attainment even of such a delusion as Universal Suffrage by *their means* would be a thing to rejoice over,—since it would demonstrate the advantage of a General Strike for more worthy ends. Let us hope that the Belgian workers will not falter. From Bilbao, too, there is good news of a threatened big strike.

In Pennsylvania a true bill for murder has been returned against the scoundrel Laur and his "deputy sheriffs," who (as our readers will remember) slew some of the Morewood strikers under peculiarly atrocious circumstances on the 2nd of April last. It is sufficiently wonderful, of course, that the charge should have even got this length; but it is not at all likely that bourgeois-made and bourgeois-administered law will do more than, at the utmost, slightly reprimand these miscreants. After all, they were only discharging their "duty to their employers" in shooting down revolted wage-slaves. It is those same employers one would like to see dealt with according to their deserts.

There is a wonderful similarity in method between the two great bourgeois republics of France and America. As at Morewood so at Fourmies. It would seem, however, as though Constans had a little over-shot the mark by the deeds for which he is responsible at the latter place. The blood of the harmless women and helpless children there slain may choke this monster yet. His latest exploit has been to jelpel our friend Cunningham Graham from France for characterising his conduct in something approaching to fitting language. Needless to say that the only result of thus silencing a single speaker is the gratification of Constans' personal spite. One is glad to find Graham, despite his strange clinging to parliamentarianism, generally to the front when practical protest is to be made.

One notices that "Labour Electoral Associations," "Labour Representation Leagues," and suchlike bodies are coming again to the front with the old delusive advice to the worker to concentrate his energies upon returning "members" to the capitalist House of Commons. Surely this time vainly will the snare be set in the sight of that extremely foolish bird, the British toiler as he is to-day. Let him look abroad and ask himself once more the use of the Socialist party in the Germany Reichsrath, or of the thirteen or so of Socialists in the French Chamber. He will never (let us never tire of repeating) achieve aught by bourgeois methods and those "constitutional means" which I see a Mr. S. Chambers was lauding down at Woolwich the other day. Let him look rather for salvation to that Universal Strike which more and more opposes itself as the "only thing to be done."

For us Revolutionary Socialists and Anarchist-Communists there is surely vitally important work to be done, and done now,—done in preference to anything else. Let us turn to what here in England at any

rate, is an almost virgin field of propaganda; let us go among the miners and the railway men,—that is among those two categories of toilers who hold the key of the situation, and who could, if they so pleased, stop the whole mechanism of civilisation to-morrow. With no coal got, with no locomotives running, their machine guns, their Lebel rifles, and all their instruments of destruction, would be as useless to our robber-masters as the snows of yester-year. It assuredly only needs a determined effort to capture these workers for the Revolution; but that effort cannot be made without money for the out-of-pocket expenses of propagandists. What comrade will start a Special Fund?

R. W. B.

LESSONS IN ANARCHISM.

III.

THE determination of price by cost of production is not to be understood in the sense of the economists, who declare that the average price of commodities is equal to the cost of production; this, according to them, is a law. The anarchical movement in which the rise is compensated by the fall, and the fall by the rise, they ascribe to chance. With just as good a right as this, which the other economists assume, we might consider the fluctuations as the law, and ascribe the fixing of price by cost of production to chance. But if we look closely, we see that it is precisely these fluctuations, although they being the most terrible desolation in their train and shake the fabric of bourgeois society like earthquakes, it is precisely these fluctuations which in their course determine price by cost of production. In the totality of this disorderly movement is to be found its disorder. Throughout these alternating movements, in the course of this industrial anarchy, competition, as it were, cancels one excess by means of another. We gather, therefore, that the price of a commodity is determined by the cost of its production, in such manner that the periods in which the price of this commodity rises above its cost of production are compensated by the periods in which it sinks below its cost, and conversely, of course, this does not hold good for one single particular product of an industry, but only for that entire branch of industry. So, also, it does not hold good for a particular manufacturer, but only for the entire industrial class.

The determination of price by cost of production is the same thing as its determination by the duration of the labour which is required for the manufacture of a commodity; for cost of production may be divided into (1) raw material and implements, that is products of industry whose manufacture has cost a certain number of days' work and which, therefore, represents a certain duration of labour, and (2) actual labour, which is measured by its duration. Now the same general laws, which universally regulate the price of commodities, regulate, of course, wages, the price of labour. Wages will rise and fall in accordance with the proportion between demand and supply, that is, in accordance with the conditions of the competition between capitalists, as buyers, and labourers, as sellers of labour.

The fluctuations of wages correspond in general with the fluctuations in the price of commodities. Within these fluctuations the price of labour is regulated by its cost of production, that is, by the duration of labour which is required in order to produce this commodity, labour. Now, what is the cost of production of labour itself? It is the cost required for the production of a labourer and for his maintenance as a labourer. The shorter the time requisite for instruction in any labour, the less is the labourer's cost of production, and the lower are his wages, the price of his work.

In those branches of industries which scarcely require any period of apprenticeship, and where the mere bodily existence of the labourer is sufficient, the requisite cost of his production and maintenance are almost limited to the cost of the commodities which are requisite to keep him alive. The price of his labour is, therefore, determined by the price of the bare necessities of his existence. Here, however, another consideration comes in. The manufacturer, who reckons up his expenses of production, and determines accordingly the price of the product, takes into account the wear and tear of the machinery. If a machine costs him £100, and wears itself out in ten years, he adds £10 a year to the price of his goods, in order to replace the worn-out machine by a new one when the ten years are up. In the same way we must reckon in the cost of production of simple labour, the cost of its propagation; so that a race of labourers may be put in a position to multiply or to replace the worn-out workers by new ones. Thus the wear and tear of the labourer must be taken into account just as much as the wear and tear of the machine.

Thus the cost of production of simple labour amounts to the cost of his subsistence and propagation, and the price of this cost determines his wages. When we speak of wages, we mean the minimum of wages. This minimum of wages holds good, just as does the determination by the cost of production of the price of commodities in general, not for the particular individual, but for the species.

Individual labourers, indeed millions of them, do not receive enough to enable them to live, marry, and beget children; but the wages of the whole working class, with all their fluctuations are nicely adjusted to this minimum.

Now that we are grounded on these general laws, which govern wages just as much as the price of any other commodity, we can proceed to examine our subject more exactly, and in our next shall deal with capital.

TRUTHSEEKER.

THE FUTURE OF LIBERTY.

You may call me a fault-finder, a pessimist, perhaps I am, but the faults are easily found. They stare me in the face at every turn. Wherever I go I see useless idlers enjoying the wealth that is stolen from the hands of toil. I see some of our grandest institutions built upon the blood and bones and lives of little children; I see bent, grey-haired farmers turned out of toil-worn homes to wear with wives and children the chains of wage-slavery or pauperism. I see over-burdened, worn-out women on whose faces is written the tragedy of their sad, subjugated lives. I see sickly, puny, half-developed children with no forces of mind or body to meet the struggles that lie before them. I see millions of human beings wandering over a land of plenty without a place to lay their heads. I see good men and women imprisoned and murdered for trying to right these wrongs.

But in spite of the confusion and disorder of our half-civilised condition I believe the world is growing better, the good time coming, is a little nearer; though troublous days may intervene. Liberty is not dead. Even through the long dark ages of cruelty and superstition, of tyrannical priests and kings, the bright light of the torch of liberty can be traced like a silver thread, along the troublous history of man. The dungeon, the stake, the rack, the headsman's axe, prisons, and hangman's ropes have not and cannot darken or extinguish it.

The people have hoisted it aloft that the world may see how brightly they keep it burning. Methink I see its light flicker and grow dim in the hands of the Garys, Benedicts, Posters, Comstocks, Wanamakers and Villards, but my faith is strong that the growing army of strong hands and earnest hearts will rescue the light of Liberty from her enemies. Liberty in the future will not be represented by a figure of stone and brass, but by the rights of every man, woman and child to live, love and labour free from the dominion of greed, lust and hate. Then will the world be truly enlightened by liberty.

LILLIE D. WHITE, in the Chicago *Freedom*.

ANARCHISTS AND POLITICIANS.

At Edinburgh, on Wednesday, April 29th, a Tory posing as a Labour Candidate, came to address the electors. Though the audience consisted of Liberals there was a large turn out of Anarchists and Socialists. At the end Comrade Bell, not recognising the existence of a chairman and order, moved an anti-Parliamentary resolution. Amid the greatest uproar Comrade Gilray began to second the motion, and one of the committee knocked him off the platform. The Scottish Socialist Federation took possession of the platform in no time, and Gilray finished his speech. The meeting ended with cheers for the Social Revolution, and for the first time in Edinburgh it has been shown how a dozen Anarchists can carry all before them at a meeting of three thousand politicians.

CYRIL BELL.

PROPAGANDA IN THE PROVINCES.

LEICESTER.—Comrades have by no means been asleep here, though they have published no report since September last. Since that date we have had among us Andrew Hall, John Turner, and H. Snell (Fabian), and several meetings were held weekly, including some at several of the villages around here, at one of which our comrades names were taken by the local defenders of law 'n' order, but no further action was taken by them. November 4th, Graham Wallis lectured in the Co-operative Hall on "The Eight Hours' Movement;" November 9th, Tom Pearson (Anarchist) spoke three times, twice at Radical Club, once at Russell Square. The Sunday following, Pearson still with us, we repeated the number of discourses at same places. The next lecture was by Kropotkin, who had a capital audience; £2 4s. collected, and 5s. 5d. taken for literature. December 2nd, Rev. Joseph Wood of Birmingham, formerly of this town, gave an illustrated lecture in the Co-operative Hall on "Sweating." Mr. Wood created a sensation by exhibiting and explaining the articles made by the sweated. On Sunday, May 10th, John Peacock debated with the Rev. Martin Anstey, M.A., at Gallowtree Gate Chapel, on "Is Collective Ownership of Land and Capital just and practical?" Crowded audience. Splendid advertisement for us from Mr. Anstey's discourses, which have been given now several Sundays, and which, being superficial and full of misrepresentation, we have attended dutifully and criticised mercilessly.

T. B.

LEEDS.—Although it is some months since we reported our progress in the 'Weal,' we have not by any means been idle. Of course, in common with other groups we have suffered through the severe weather which we experienced during the winter and spring. We have held meetings on Sunday mornings and evenings at the Market Gates, Kirkgate, where the "limbs of the law" unsuccessfully tried to drive us away; on Woodhouse and Hunslet Moors, and near the Leeds Bridge. Comrades Jesse Mitchell of Bradford, Stockton of Manchester, Tom May and Andrew Hall of Sheffield, T. Walker of the London Cabinet Makers' Union, together with George Coras, Sweeny, Roper, Allworthy and Sollit have spoken at the meetings. R. Hicks of London has lately fixed his residence in Leeds and has greatly assisted in the propaganda. Besides our usual meetings we have been busy in other directions. During the severest weather we organised meetings and processions in aid of the Manningham Weavers, and succeeded in adding £24 to their funds. Our Sunday meeting in the Market Place eclipsed that held by the Leeds Trades' Council in support of the Scottish railwaymen the week before, both in numbers and enthusiasm. We turned the tables completely on a couple of vindictive Council members who charged us, through a local paper, with having our printing done at an "unfair house," the local secretary of the Typographical Association publicly exonerating us. Among other things we have given the Tailoresses employed by a "sweating" firm a helping hand. Our visit to Bradford is notorious, but I may add that in addition to distributing hundreds of *Commonweal* and *Freedom*, new and old, pamphlets, and thousands of leaflets, we held two meetings, the first in "Docker's Square," which lasted for over half an hour, the second at Peckover Walk. Large audiences applauding most revolutionary speeches; altogether we did a very good day's work. Two Sheffield comrades also brought some piles of literature. In face of many exceptional difficulties we have kept Socialism well to the front in York-

shire; and although just now we are hard pressed by poverty, (we were unable to organise a May Day demonstration through lack of funds) if comrades put their shoulders to the wheel we shall pull safely through once more. G. C.

BRAINTREE, ESSEX.—On Saturday, May 9th, Comrade Mowbray paid us a visit and held three successful meetings. There is some excitement in the town at the present time owing to the action of James Fuller, boot manufacturer, who has been teaching his slaves a valuable lesson in Freedom, by locking them out for refusing to leave the Union. I am glad to say the men are firm, and are being well supported by the workers in the district. "James Fuller" has only been able to keep a few girls at work, they being aided by three men, one of whom is a native and a member of the local Liberal club, who will in future be known in the district as, "Please, sir, I can do the clicking, and I'll not go out." The father of this "thing" is ashamed of his offspring, and rightly so. The other two are not natives. I expect they will see the advisability of coming out, and very likely leaving the town, especially after what was said by Mowbray. The workers here are becoming earnest in their enquiries about Socialism, and the meetings were very successful. The collections amounted to 10s. 1d. and 4s. 7d. for literature, making 14s. 8d. for the day. C. W.

"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

Cyril Bell	0 5 6	J. S. S.	0 5 0
W.	0 2 6	Collected in Regent's Park	0 1 1
J. G.	0 2 0	Comrades per R. T.	1 0 0
H. A. Hopkins	0 2 6	H. Glasse	0 10 0
Anarchist Shop Assistants	0 10 0	W. Chapple	1 0 0
G. Poynts	0 2 0		
Collection at Braintree	0 10 1		
XXX	0 10 0		
			4 0 8

THE "COMMONWEAL."

The Committee of the London Socialist League would remind Comrades and Friends that if we are to continue the weekly issue of the "Commonweal," it is absolutely necessary, not only to settle for the papers promptly, but to subscribe liberally to the Guarantee Fund. If this is not done, we shall be forced to discontinue the weekly issue.

In accordance with a resolution of the Jewish Anarchists of England and America, to hold an International Revolutionary Celebration, on May 30th, the International Working Men's Club, 40, Berner Street, Commercial Road, E., have arranged a Public Meeting, Concert, and Ball, on Saturday May 30th, to which all English comrades are invited. Admission by Ticket, Sixpence. All particulars will be duly advertised.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST SCHOOL, Autonomie Club, 6, Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road. Conducted by Louise Michel and A. Coulon, assisted by Mrs. Carr, B.A. of the Fabian Society. Free Education in English, French, and German. The Committee have now secured large and commodious premises in the neighbourhood of Tottenham Court Rd. Funds however are urgently needed, and subscriptions should be sent to A. Coulon, Secretary, 6, Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.

THE YOUNG ANARCHISTS. A new propaganda group has recently been formed to spread our principles among the young. The group meets every Wednesday at 8.30, at the Club Autonomie. All young men anxious to work for the Cause are invited to attend.

TO LET, for Trade Union Meetings, Lectures, &c., three nights a week, the Large Hall of the London Socialist League, 273, Hackney Road. For particulars apply to the Secretary.

JUST OUT. Labour's May Day, by Walter Crane, on fine toned paper, suitable for framing. Sent in cardboard protector, post free, 5d.

Comrades and Sympathisers can each do something to help the Cause, and those unable to help otherwise can subscribe to our Fund for the propagation of Anarchist Communism in the Army and Navy. Subscriptions addressed to the Secretary will be duly acknowledged in the *Commonweal*.

On Sunday next, at 3 p.m., Comrades are requested to attend the Propaganda Meeting of the London Anarchist-Communist Groups, at the Club Autonomie, 6, Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road.

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS AND EXCHANGES.

The 'COMMONWEAL' being now the property of the newly-constituted London Socialist League, all communications should be addressed, "The Secretary, 273, Hackney Road, London, N.E.," and remittances made payable at Post Office, Hackney Road.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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