

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

H. S.

## Correspondence.

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

EDWARD AVELING.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### PRACTICAL SOCIALISM.

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

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

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

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

W. M.

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