Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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The Breakdown in France.

THAT the Opportunist Republic of France would not last for more than some twenty odd years, has been evident since 1875—the year of the present Constitution. Hypocrisy in political matters is not in the character of the French nation, which has, before all other nations, the immense advantage of developing each political system to its utmost logical consequences.

The First Republic was in earnest when she said : Liberty, Fraternity, Equality—OR DEATH ! The First Empire went to the utmost limits of militarism when it levied 4,000,000 men, massacred two and a half million on battle fields and in military hospitals, and dreamed of conquering Europe. The Restored Monarchy was in earnest when it inaugurated a White Terror, before which the Red Terror was a plaything, and returned to the old Bourbon traditions. In another twenty years the reign of the doctrinarian philistine had reached its utmost absurdity and odiousness. And another twenty years were enough to bring the Empire of the crowned prostitute and of the robbers' gang to its last expression of abjectness.

It was evident that the "reign of business," inaugurated by Gambetta, also would soon reach its full expression. When the would-be tribune got his philistine palace, his silver-bath, and his famous cook Trompette, and said to his followers, the not less famous: "ENRICHISSEZ-VOUS !" (now, get rich)—the next phase of middle-class republicanism was clearly written in these words. It was then the little shopkeepers' time to enter on the footsteps of the Empire : to have their Compiègne, their orgies,—their last orgies.

Another country might have stuck for fifty years, or more, in the mud of a moderately vicious and moderately virtuous Philistine Republic. France could not.

Once she had given herself five hundred anonymous rulers and surrendered to them a centralised country, an athoritarian centralised government, as well as a State's, a provincial and municipal budget of £900,000,000, the system had to be developed to its logical consequences.

IT HAS BEEN developed, and its absurdity has been rendered self-evident. They have accomplished their historical mission, not in a half-hearted way, by carefully mixing vice with virtue : they have done it in a frank way, so as to render Parliamentary rule—any rule, in fact—impossible in the future.

The present position of France is a complete breakdown of all systems of government hitherto known.

Not one of the political parties enjoys any national confidence.

Not one of the political and judicial fictions under which the rest of Europe is living ; not one of the "conventional lies of civilised mankind" survives in the general breakdown.

Imperialism ? Dead in the mud of Sedan !—Clericalism ? Hated all over !—Orleanism ? Patronised by the bankers, the clergy, the manufacturers, the Russian Tsar ; despised, hated everywhere by the masses !—Opportunism ? How could it survive after the recent crash ? —Radicalism ? Some representatives of this superstition have fallen in the same mud ! The rest are like ghosts who speak of a revision of the Constitution, while France believes in no Constitution whatever !—Labor Party ? "The to-morrow swindlers," as they say among the workers who only too well remember the muddle of the Loan of the City of Paris, the terrific Internationalists now tamed by middle-class prating and money !

Not one single political party evokes the slightest confidence.

It is the same with all institutions.

—Justice ? What grim mockery ! Who believes in it in France ? The last of the Mohicans lose their confidence on learning that one of the ex-Ministers of Justice stands on the list of thieves ; that the ferocious prosecutor of Anarchists, Devès, has a prominent place in the same list. "All thieves, and the judges are the worst of them !" that is what is said in France now.

—Parliamentary rule ? Nowhere has any political system had such a piteous end. Not even Marie-Antoinette's rule with the Diamond Collar affair ; not even Imperialism under Napoleon III. The Blowitzes of the English Press do not tell even one-half the facts relative to the Panama affair ; but these facts are told every day in the French Press and they are eagerly discussed all over France

A hundred and four deputies of the Chamber and some fifty Senators have been bribed to vote for the grand pumping of the poorer people's savings by means of the Panama loan. The Press, from the top to the bottom, has been paid to sing the glories of the rotten enterprise. All crimes—stealing, lying, poisoning—have been committed to get some of this money ; and thousands upon thousands of workers were massacred in the isthmus only to make a display of work, only to pump the money into the Company's bottomless desks.

Every one knew that the canal would never be terminated by the Lesseps company. Every one knew that of the 1,300 million francs subscribed only 320 had been spent in the work, mostly sham work, in Panama—the remainder having been divided among the jackals of the financial and political world. But the loan was a new food for the jackals, and 104 deputies were bought to vote for it.

Cheap cattle, after all : £800 apiece. The cost rose to £8,000 in exceptional cases only. This was the price of a minister. This was also the price of Sans-Leroy, a member of a committee of "specialists" nominated by the Parliament to report about the Canal. He was one of the six who had voted against the loan. He was offered £4,000 to vote FOR. He stuck to his price, was paid £8,000, and "the committee" by a majority of six against five reported FOR the loan. A beautiful example, by the way, of majority rule, and of "committees of specialists"—that panacea of Social Democrats !

But the average Frenchman is sharp enough to understand that the Panama affair is only one of the countless scoundrelly affairs of the last years. If the Tunisian loan, the City of Paris loan, the renewed railway concessions, the Tonkin campaign, the prisons' reform, the Boulangist scare, the mélinite affair, and the like, were disclosed in the same way,—the Frenchman knows that there would not be ten names in all the world of politics, journalism, Justice and so on, which would come out clear of more or less rascally theft.

All thieves ! All plunderers ! And if new men are entrusted with the same powers, they will continue the same plundering, only they will take better precautions, and give to their robberies a more legal form, as they do in other countries where they start all imaginable kinds of "long firms" with noblemen, members of Parliament, and reverend gentlemen on the Committees of the plundering shareholders associations. And as France has no India, no Egypt, no Argentina and no Canada to plunder, plundering will go on—more discretely perhaps but even on a larger scale—in the mother country as before. Such is what the average Frenchman, especially the worker, thinks at this moment.

No trust in any party ! No faith in any of the conventional lies named Justice, or Parliament, or Political Honesty, or Honest Government. But what may be the outcome of these conditions ?

The Revolution—and there is no other possible way out of the difficulty.

The Orleans Princes, aided by the Blowitzes, the English bankers, and the Russian Tsar's gold, may dream of a Restoration of Monarchy. But the whole scheme will be swept away in a moment the day they attempt it.

The dictature of the sword is not possible, because—happily enough —there is no "honest sword" to rely upon. And no re-patching of the Parliament is possible under the present conditions.

This is so well understood by the reasoning Frenchman that even the colourless "Petit Journal" tells its 900,000 readers in France that the whole of French society is now living as if it were staying in an undermined house. "If the scandal is not over by March, we shall have the Revolution,"—this is what you may read, already now, in the French Press.

But the scandal cannot be stopped ; it is fated to grow, it must spread over larger and larger spheres ; and if some unforeseen events do not come to change the state of minds in France, it is most probable that 1893 will be an historical as well as an arithmetical anniversary.

What the Revolution might do, what turn it may take, we shall analyse in our next issue.

The Year '92.

"THE year," says the "Times" of Dec. 31st, in making a review of '92, "has been marked by political crises everywhere, by scandals in high places, and by the Anarchist terrorizing activity. To these three faetures we may add three more, an enormous growth of ideas other than political, some upheavals of the long-suffering masses and considerable attempts, on the part of those who dread progress, to repress Anarchism.

In our summary we will not devote any lines to chronicling the deaths of those titled persons, often mere nonentities to whom the newsmongers devote so much space and type. To us such beings are but the shreds and patches of dusty antiquity or phantoms of an odious system almost extinct. The most interesting and hopeful part of last year's history consists, for us, not in its sensational incidents, but in the evidences of progress of socialistic ideas. In our own country numberless groups have been formed for the earnest study of social problems

During the past year many of these groups have advanced towards a more definitely Anarchist position, which is at last beginning to be understood as being one of desire for a general reconstuction of society, not merely a menace towards the existing state of things with no further outlook than a universal upset and mobs clamouring in the streets for they know not what. By means of the educational work to which the English Anarchists are devoting themselves, the people will ere long know what to demand and what they should do to gain possession of what they ask. By this we do not wish to destroy or weaken social relations between man and man, our aim is to make social relations stronger, more brotherly, more human, and this can only be done by equally sharing the means and results of production to the everlasting confusion of profits, interest and all manner of money-grubbing.

Glancing at the events of the past year in England, the two Anarchist trials stand out pre-eminently. Early in the year, four Walsall Anarchists were convicted, on very suspicious evidence of conspiring to manufacture bombs, and sentenced with the utmost rigor of a cruel law. Then came the outburst of indignation from all true Socialists at the injustice of their sentences and the flash of red heat in the pages of "Commonweal" which gave an opportunity, longed for by constables seeking promotion, in the arrest of our comrade Nicoll on the charge of inciting to murder. He was convicted although the liberal newspapers maintained that the language in thé article for which Nicoll is undergoing eighteen months imprisonment was much less an incentive to bloodshed than that used by ex-premier Salisbury and the Orange M.P.'s of Ireland when preaching resistance to Home Rule. To these two trials may be attributed much of the impetus given to Anarchism in England and Scotland within the past year.

The recognition of this increase of Anarchism in England is chiefly responsible for the granting of François' extradition in December. François was accused of complicity in the explosion at the Véry Restaurant, but no satisfactory evidence was brought against him although remanded week after week to enable the French police to collect it. The appeal against Sir John Bridge's decision was refused by Chief Justice Coleridge, and this refusal of English judges to recognise the political nature of François' supposed offence is but another sign of the fear that, from time to time, seizes upon "authority's evil conscience."

Owing to the system of arbitration the labor troubles of '92 have been kept in many instances from boiling over. But for all that strikes have been numerous and even noteworthy, showing an increase of solidarity among the workers and a proportional determination of purpose. The general strike of coal porters in London last February, in which several thousands took part, was brought about by a quarrel affecting directly only one firm of employers, and although this strike lasted but a couple of days it proved the fellowship in the coal porters' union. A month later Newcastle-on-Tyne's chief industry was brought to a standstill for a considerable period by a dispute between the engineers' and plumbers' unions respecting the decision of an arbitrator. This was followed by an almost general mining strike in which 400,000 miners of the North Country Midlands and Wales took part. But after a week the majority returned to work, leaving 70,000 Durham men to struggle against the fearful odds of capitalism for twelve weeks, March to June. The masters had tried to make a reduction of 13½ per cent. in their wages. The men eventually accepted a reduction of 10 per cent. being literally starved into submission. Towards the close of the year a great strike took place among the Lancashire cotton operatives, this has now been running seven weeks, and may last as many more or longer. The masters wish to reduce wages, the men admit, notwithstanding the raggedness of working Englaud that there has been over-production, but prefer to remedy matters by a reduction in the hours of labor. Meanwhile the cotton-mills stand idle, the bales remain unpacked, men and women starve and go naked waiting for the "surplus stock" of the cotton lords to be cleared off. At Bristol there has been a strike of four months' standing, enlivened by police-bludgeonings and dragoon-sabrings, by way of Christmas cheer for the strikers and those who sympathised with them.

A bad harvest forced the agriculturalist into something like activity. Early in December an agricultural conference was held in St. James's Hall, but the farmers and their friends could think of no other remedy for their troubles than protection and bimetallism—cold comforts for hungry stomachs.

Great interest has been taken by all classes in the doings of the present London County Council, which was elected in March. The eighty-three Progressives led by John Burns and Sidney Webb have been making the hair of old-fashioned people stand on end by their proposal to tax the ground landlords of London in proportion to the value of the rents they receive, and there was a flutter in the dovecots of the middlemen when the Council decided to be its own contractor as far as possible and to pay its workers for the future "the trade union rate of wages."

In Ireland a new feature in politics has developed in the shape of an Independent party, who have struck a good note in their resistance to priestly influence. Among the unseating of parliamentary jockeys for "corrupt practices or undue influence" the most noteworthy fall has been Mr. Michael Davitt's in East Meath, where he had been rushed into his seat by the priests' threats of hell-fire held over the simple peasantry if they dared to vote for his opponent. This was only one out of many cases, but funds were lacking to expose the entire absurdity of the "free and independent" elections in Ireland. The dynamite explosion which took place Christmas Eve outside a police-station close to Dublin Castle is popularly attributed to a dismissed castle-hack.

In France matters have been converging towards the periodic revolution. The corruption of the whole body of officials there has not tended to increase the patience of the least patient of European peoples. A series of dynamite explosions have taken place in Paris, beginning in February with an abortive attempt to blow up the house of Princess de Sagan, and have gone on at varying intervals up to November. This period will be remembered in Paris as the time of Ravachol, whose daring devotion to the cause he espoused has aroused admiration for him even in the minds of those who are opposed to his methods. After the last explosion a stringent legislation was introduced for dealing with "inflammatory and seditious newspapers." The strikes in France have been numerous, that of Carmaux being the most bitter and prolonged. But the terrors of "catastrophic sccialism" in France has been for the present lost sight of in the hurly-burly evoked by the disclosure of the Panama Scandal, the enquiry into which stretches out indefinitely and will probably result in England's having a few more "illustrious exiles" to honour her shores.

Spain was early in the field. In January the peasantry in the neighbourhood of Xeres armed themselves and attempted to take possession of that town. After some bold fighting the peasants were driven back by the soldiery, the leaders taken prisoners and afterwards put to death. That this has not brought peace or content to Spain is testified by the numerous bomb explosions which have taken place throughout the year all over the peninsula.

In Germany the year has beeen marked by the more than usually foolish utterances of William, by the resistance to his interference in educational matters, and by the growth of the party of Independent Socialists. The popular discontent in this country broke into open revolt in Berlin, Feb. 20th, when large bodies of workers gathered in front of the palace and were with difficulty dispersed by mounted police.

In Austria too Socialism has increased, and the labor troubles have been attended by riots in the capital and strikes in various parts of the country.

(To be continued.)

THE CONQUEST OF BREAD.

By Peter Kropotkine.

Chapter II.—Plenty for All.

I.

Plenty for all is not a dream. It is possible, realisable because of all that our ancestors have done to increase our powers of production.

We know, indeed, that the producers, although they constitute hardly a third of the inhabitants of civilised countries, even now produce enough to bring a certain degree of comfort to every hearth. We know further that if all those who squander to-day the fruits of others' toil were forced to employ their leisure in useful work, our wealth would increase in geometrical proportion to the number of producers. Finally, we know that contrary to the theory cnunciated by Malthus—that Oracle of middle-class Economics—the productive powers of the human race increase in a much more rapid ratio than its powers of reproduction. The more thickly men are crowded on the soil, the more rapid is the growth of their wealth-creating power.

Thus although the population of England has only increased since 1844 by 62 per cent., its production has grown, to say the least, at double that rate, to wit, by 130 per cent. In France, where the population has grown more slowly, the increase in production is nevertheless very rapid. Notwithstanding the crises through which agriculture is now passing, notwithstanding State-interference, the blood-tax (conscription) and speculative commerce and finance, the production of wheat has increased fourfold, and industrial production more than tenfold, in the course of the last eighty years. In the United States the progress is still more striking. In spite of immigration, or rather precisely because of the influx of surplus European labor, the United States have multiplied their wealth tenfold. But these figures give a very faint idea of what our wealth might become under better conditions. For along side of the rapid development of our wealth-producing powers, we have an overwhelming increase in the ranks of the idlers and middlemen. Instead of capital gradually concentrating itself in a few hands, so that it would only be necessary for the community to dispossess a few millionaires and enter upon its lawful heritage—instead of this Socialist forecast proving true, the exact reverse is coming to pass, the swarm of parasites is ever increasing.

In France there are not ten actual producers to every thirty inhabitants. The whole agricultural wealth of the country is the work of less than seven millions of men, and in the two great industries, mining and the textile trade, you will find that the workers number less than 2½ millions. But the exploiters of labor—how many are they? In England (exclusive of Scotland and Ireland) 1,030,000 workers, men, women, and children are employed at the looms, rather more than half a million work the mines, rather less than half a million till the ground, and the statisticians have to exaggerate the figures in order to establish a maximum of 8 million producers to 26 million inhabitants. Strictly speaking, the creators of the wealth exported to all the ends of the earth comprise only from six to seven million workers. And what is the sum of the shareholders and middlemen who levy the first fruits of labor from far and near, and heap up unearned gains by thrusting themselves between the producer and the consumer, paying the former not a fifth, nay, not a twentieth, of the price they exact from the latter?

Nor is this all. Those who withhold capital constantly reduce the

output by restraining production. We need not speak of the cartloads of oysters thrown into the sea to prevent a dainty, hitherto reserved for the rich, from becoming a food for the people. We need not speak of the thousand and one luxuries—stuffs, foods, etc., etc.—treated after the same fashion as the oysters. It is enough to remember the way in which the production of the most necessary things is limited. Legions of miners are ready and willing to dig out coal every day, and send it to those who are shivering with cold; but too often a third, or even two-thirds, of their number are forbidden to work more than three days a week, because, forsooth, the price of coal must be kept up! Thousands of weavers are forbidden to work the looms, though their wives and children go in rags, and though three-quarters of the population of Europe have no clothing worthy the name.

Hundreds of blast-furnaces, thousands of factories stand constantly idle, others only work half-time, and in every civilised nation there is a permanent population of about two million individuals who ask only for work, but to whom work is denied.

How gladly would these millions of men set to work to reclaim waste lands, or to transform ill-cultivated land into fertile fields, rich in harvests! A year of well-directed toil would suffice to multiply five-fold the prodnce of lands which now yield only about six bushels of corn per acre. But these hardy pioneers must stay their hands because the owners of the soil, the mines and the factories prefer to invest their capital—stolen in the first place from the community—in Turkish or Egyptian bonds, or in Patagonian gold mines, and so make Egyptian fellahs, Italian exiles, and Chinese coolies their wage-slaves.

So much for the direct and deliberate limitation of production; but there is also a limitation, indirect and not of set purpose, which consists in spending human toil on objects absolutely useless, or destined only to satisfy the dull vanity of the rich.

It is impossible to reckon in figures the extent to which wealth is restricted indirectly, the extent to which energy is squandered, that might have served to produce, and above all to prepare the machinery necessary to production. It is enough to cite the immense sums spent by Europe in armaments for the sole purpose of acquiring control of the markets, and so forcing her own commercial standards on neighboring territories and making exploitation easier at home; the millions paid every year to officials of all sorts, whose function it is to maintain the "rights" of minorities—the right, that is, of a few rich men—to manipulate the economic activities of the nation; the millions spent on judges, prisons, policemen, and all the paraphernalia of so-called justice—spent to no purpose because we know that every alleviation, however slight, of the wretchedness of our great cities is followed by a very considerable diminution of crime; lastly, the millions spent on propagating pernicious doctrines by means of the press, and news "cooked" in the interest of this or that party, of this politician or of that company of exploiters.

But over and above this we must take into account all the labor that goes to sheer waste, in keeping up the stables, the kennels and the retinue of the rich, for instance; in pandering to the caprices of society, and the depraved tastes of the fashionable mob; in forcing the consumer on the one hand to buy what he does not need, or foisting an inferior article upon him by means of puffery, and in producing on the other hand wares which are absolutely injurious, but profitable to the manufacturer. What is squandered in this manner would be enough to double our real wealth, or so to plenish our mills and factories with machinery that they would soon flood the shops with all that is now lacking to two-thirds of the nation. Under our present system a full quarter of the producers in every nation are forced to be idle for three or four months in the year, and the labor of another quarter if not of the half has no better results than the amusement of the rich or the exploitation of the public.

Thus, if we consider on the one hand the rapidity with which civilised nations augment their powers of production and on the other hand the limits set to that production, be it directly or indirectly, by existing conditions, one cannot but conclude that an economic system a trifle more enlightened would permit them to heap up in a few years so many useful products that they would be constrained to cry—"Enough! We have enough coal and bread and raiment! Let us rest and consider how best to use our powers, how best to employ our leisure."

No, plenty for all is not a dream,—though it was a dream indeed in those old days when man, for all his pains, could hardly win a bushel of wheat from an acre of land, and had to fashion by hand all the implements he used in agriculture and industry. Now it is no longer a dream, because man has invented a motor which, with a little iron and a few pounds of coal, gives him the mastery of a creature strong and docile as a horse, and capable of setting the most complicated machine in motion.

But, if plenty for all is to become a reality, this immense capital—cities, houses, pastures, arable lands, factories, highways, education—must cease to be regarded as private property, for the monopolist to dispose of at his pleasure.

This rich endowment, painfully won, builded, fashioned or invented by our ancestors, must become common property, so that the collective interest of men may gain from it the greatest good for all.

There must be EXPROPRIATION. The well-being of all the end; expropriation the means.

The Commune of '71.—A Public Meeting will be held, at South Place Institute, on Friday, March 17th, to commemorate the Commune of Paris. List of speakers and further details will be given in our next issue.

Sketches from Life.

II.

DAVID EDELSTADT.

THE 15th of last October left the Anarchists the poorer by the death of our comrade David Edelstadt. He died at Denver, Colorado, a victim to consumption—that disease peculiarly proletarian—worn out at the early age of thirty by his unremitting labor in the cause of the workers. Born in Russia, he passed his early youth in that land of contrasts where a horrible despotism is seen on one hand and unlimited self-sacrifice for ideals on the other. He left Russia to go to America, hoping to find there an atmosphere of liberty, only to be bitterly disappointed. He found instead, to quote John Most's panegyric on him, delivered Oct. 18th before 2,000 persons in the Walhalla, New York, "an abyss of conventional lies, a mountain of corruption, an ocean of misery, a world full of humbugs and swarming with slaves." His dream of a "land of the free" being thus dispelled, Edelstadt threw himself unreservedly into the struggle of the poor against the rich, from which he never swerved till "death stepped tacitly" and took him. Up to the last eighteen months of his life he edited the "Freie Arbeiterstimme," New York. Then his health gave way utterly and he was compelled to go west. But it is as a labor-poet he will be best remembered. His poems are widely popular among the Jewish workers, and some day we hope to be able to reproduce some of them in English. Had he chosen he could have won gold by his gifts, but such was his sympathy with those struggling to be free he did not care to write on any other subject than the sorrows of the poor, unless when hope lifted the veil from the future and let him see with eyes of prophecy the time when "every slave a man, every man a hero," we would need no other weapons than love and truth. Writing of the persecution of Anarchists he says:—

> "Cruel tyrants, you may slay us,
> Time will but new champions breed,
> And the struggle will go onward,
> Till the universe is freed."

Of his poems Most said, "by them the poor and oppressed will be able to express to each other their sufferings; in his prophetic words they will find consolation and a hope for a happy future, and when the time comes when all are called to the struggle there will be many then into whose hands Edelstadt's lyre will press the sword." All honor to the memory of David Edelstadt, who spent his too brief life in the cause of freedom, and died as much a martyr for his opinions as any that have perished by knife or rope.

A Blow below the Belt.

JOHN BURNS has been talking about shopkeepers and their assistants. According to Burns, the shopkeeper is a man whose mind lies in the same region where the Cretans had their god:—"his mind is narrow and circumscribed by the apron string that goes round 'the most intelligent portion of his anatomy'"! This was appreciated by an audience who were possibly conscious both of unpaid bills and short measure. The born orator, in order to maintain his reputation for making hits, is compelled to let off witty generalisations of the kind without pausing too long over them, and a throw at random is sure to reach some mark. Yet we question whether this description is more peculiarly applicable to the shopman than any one else. The shopkeeper is as unable to rise above the limitations of his position as is any profit-monger's mind whose daily aim is the collection of small items of gain. But Jay Gould's mind was no wider because his aims were enormous gains though the largeness of his operations made him bolder and more cruel. An assiduous application to inglorious details fritters away the larger part of the mind, leaving the shopkeeper in this undoubtedly, the victim of a social system that permits him. Like other victims, he is a nuisance to himself and others. What is wanted is a wider horizon to the every day work. It is not the smallness of the details of his labor that narrows him, it is the watchful, anxious eye perpetually set on the crumb of personal gain which he gathers—or hopes to gather—with each. This gain is his LIFE. Rob him of it and you place him face to face with the Workhouse. It is because the social system obliges this tiresome, corroding anxiety to accompany his work, so that the latter is lost sight of in it, that the shopkeeper is debased.

Set him free from this necessary personal greed and socialise his work! Surely then the duty of a distributor, whose labor is to scientifically ascertain the great average wholesome needs of average citizens, and effectually to supply them, becomes as capable of large-minded handling as any service of the State? Put the service first and eliminate personal profit-gathering, substituting proper communal wage payment, and society will one day recognise the distributor as standing at least as high in social rank as the present state recognised cut-throats.

But the day when the nourisher of life will be recognised as equal with or superior in honour to the destroyer of life, is distant.

A GROVELLING FABIAN TRYING TO WRITE AS AN ANARCHIST.

A CONFERENCE AND DEMONSTRATION will take place at Birmingham, Easter Sunday, April 2nd, the anniversary of the condemnation of our Walsall Comrades. Subscriptions towards expenses will be received by Editor *Freedom*, 72, Kentish Town-road, London, N.W.; A. Gorrie, 18, Princess-street, Leicester; and E. C. Chapman, 8, Laburnam-grove, Woodbridge-road, Moseley Birmingham. Suggestions for the agenda &c. to be sent to W. MacQueen, 13, Stafford-street, Birmingham.

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TWO LECTURES

WILL BE GIVEN AT THE ABOVE HALL

In Aid of the "Freedom" Publication Fund.

SUNDAY, MARCH 5th, AT 6 P.M.

PETER KROPOTKINE,

Subject—"ANARCHISM."

FRIDAY, MARCH 10th, AT 8 P.M.

WILLIAM MORRIS,

Subject—"COMMUNISM."

EACH LECTURE WILL BE PRECEDED BY VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.

Admission by ticket 6 pence. A few reserved seats at 1 shilling.

NOTES.

A NEW YEAR'S GREETING.

Our summary of the past year's events gives us, on the whole, cause for congratulation. Although individual Anarchists have suffered much for their opinions, and some of our most active workers have been compelled to inaction, yet the movement has made not only in England but throughout the world most astounding progress. We heartily thank those comrades who responded to our appeal for pecuniary help last October. There are many reasons why we should struggle to keep the paper going. Besides its educational value, the most important purpose of *Freedom* is to serve as a rallying point for those who think as we do. By our report column alone the steady increase of Anarchism may be noted, as in point of fact it is being noted all the world over, and courage is thereby given to the faint-hearted who are sometimes tempted to think that we lead a forlorn hope, because the ideal we aim at is so comprehensive and the change in society it implies so vast.

OUR EXCHANGES.

We have, during '92, exchanged regularly with more than twenty papers, nearly every one being of Anarchist sympathies. America sends us several English journals, "Solidarity," "Liberty," "Coast Seamen's Journal," "Open Court," "Twentieth Century," "Altruist." In the Spanish tongue we receive "El Productor," "La Anarquia," "El Despertar," "El Perseguido," "La Questione Sociale." In Italian—"La Tramontana," "L'Ordine," "Sempre Avanti," "Grido degli Oppressi." In German—"Die Autonomie," "Der Anarchist," "Freiheit," "Der arme Teufel," "Vorbote," "Sozialist." In Dutch—"Anarchist." In Roumanian—"Munca." In French—"La Révolte," "Père Peinard," "L'Endehors." In England we have seven exchanges—"The Church Reformer," "Financial Reformer," "Free Russia," "Land and Labor," "Personal Rights," "Labor Prophet," "Workers' Friend," the last-named in Yiddish. With "Solidarity" we have now arranged to exchange 100 copies of every issue, so that our readers, on making application, can have this admirable little paper sent them along with "Freedom," its price being one penny.

OUR SCOTCH COMRADES' VIEWS ON "FREEDOM."

In the report of the Scotch Anarchist Conference we see with pleasure that the Comrades there resolved to support "Freedom" more vigorously than ever, and also that they propose to contribute regularly "Scotch notes." We hope they will do both. As to their suggestion that we should get the paper out earlier in the month, we can only say, as we have said before, that the period of our issue depends mainly on the state of our funds. We would gladly put on an extra "comp"to expedite matters, if we had the money to pay him with. Remember comrades the more Freedoms we sell in the month, the easier it will be for us to publish our next number.

OUT OF SIGHT, OUT OF MIND.

"La Libre Parole," Dec. 26th, says:—"Whilst the robbers of the Panama millions, confined at Mazas, are the objects of every attention, and are benefitting by a kindly supervision, an unfortunate man is languishing at the Dépôt. He is, it is true, an Anarchist." . . . This refers to comrade Puschel, who was arrested six months ago, after the explosion in the Rue des Bons Enfants. It is not necessary to state that he had nothing whatever to do with that attempt. For this very reason he is forgotten. He has only been brought up for examination once, the 2nd or 3rd day after his arrest, since then no one has taken any further notice of him. Puschel is confined at present in a dark cell—so dark that the gas is always kept alight in it. His health has given way and he spits blood. Had he been in any way concerned in the explosion the press would have been speedily informed of it, as it is the authorities, no doubt, count on his being forgotten, and will certainly make no noise over their blunder in arresting him, unless the more advanced French papers take this matter up.

A LESSON IN THRIFT.

The gigantic fraud of the Liberator Building Society, the English Panama, has been a fine comment on the philantropists' lectures on thrift to which we have all listened. The life-long savings of small tradesmen and workers of all kinds have been swept once more into the pockets of rogues who would do anything in the world rather than an honest day's work. The extent of the misery entailed by the bursting of this bubble will never be known, but an attempt is being made by the charitably disposed to reinburse those sufferers who have lost their only means of subsistence. What a sense of humor Jabez Spencer Balfour had as managing director when he wrote, as it were, up over the door, "No speculative builder need apply"!

A REVOLUTION IN MINIATURE.

"Il Secolo," an Italian capitalist paper, gives the following account of an affair which took place at San Gervasio, a small town of 2,000 inhabitants in Southern Italy. On Wednesday, 30th Nov., at 10 a.m., a demonstration filled the streets. The people assembled before the mayor's palace, where on account of the mayor's illness the town-council met to consider the promise made the preceding day to abolish the local taxes on articles of food. The crowd, not satisfied with the decisions, nor with the securities given by the delegated commissioners, demanded that the decisions should be publicly posted up, which was done. The demonstrators, still not satisfied, insisted, with menaces and loud expostulations, upon the breaking up of the council, forcing each member to sign his own dismissal. That done, the people dispersed.

LET SLEEPING DOGS LIE.

At 3 p.m., a lieutenant of the gendarmes arrived with four men, and towards six in the evening proceeded to arrest several leaders of the demonstration. This act exasperated the families of the arrested, who, with cries of alarm, called together over a thousand armed men.

PROMPT AND UNANIMOUS ACTION.

They surrounded the barracks of the gendarmes and demanded the liberation of the prisoners, throwing stones at the balconies and windows, and destroying the doors with hatchets. The throng growing denser every minute, and their efforts increasing, the arrested men were at length freed from the cells on the ground floor of the barracks. The people then divided, some went beyond the village destroying the telegraph posts, others went to the prison to liberate the prisoners. Meanwhile another crowd pressed on to the mayor's palace, beat down the office door on the basement and set fire to furniture and papers, but the fire was soon extinguished by the mayor's servants.

IT'S A WISE MAYOR THAT HESITATES TO SHOOT.

The tumultuous crowd, more and more excited, then climbed the balconies of the first floor, using their hatchets even against the door of the palace itself. But the mayor prevented his people from firing upon them. Several shots being heard in the direction of the gendarmes' barracks recalled the furious populace to that spot, where they smashed all the windows to atoms, and damaged the balconies and doors. Finally, when they were assured of the liberation of all their friends, they returned to their homes, after three hours of what "Il Secolo" calls "brutal devastation."

A FRIENDLY CRITIC.

J. W. Sullivan in "Twentieth Century," of which he is editor, Nov.—Dec., has written a series of very interesting articles entitled "Is Homestead Portentous of a General Class War." The growth and importance of Anarchists is frankly avowed and fairly criticised. He notes the "long list of Anarchist meetings" published every month by "Freedom," and reprints from "La Révolte" the names of Anarchist Communist periodicals, saying: "it must be kept in mind that in the world of the propertyless one specialist journal stands for many readers and a large circle of sympathisers; again, wherever possible, the governments suppress Anarchist papers and jail the editors." The writer admits that the Anarchists have penetrated society throughout the civilised world, and compares American government morality with Anarchist morality considerably to the advantage of the latter.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

"Solidarity's" Pamphlet No. 1 says: "The wealth of the United States has been found to have reached in 1890 the sum of $62,610,000,000. One-half of it is owned by 25,000 persons; three-fifths belong to 31,000 persons. One-hundred persons are worth $3,000,000,000; seventy persons command $2,700,000,000; and less than fifty of them can control the currency and commerce of the country at a days notice. As a basis for democracy, this distribution of wealth is rather a queer one."

"A NORMAL PRODUCT OF AMERICAN CIVILISATION."

This is what the "Star," Dec. 3rd, called the late Jay Gould, still

further particularising him as "a wrecker of railways, a destroyer of homes, a nobbler of the Press, an accomplished actor of lies, a treacherous friend, a merciless foe,—otherwise a great financier." Unfortunately, with Jay Gould the great financiers have not become extinct. The better part of mankind has at last ceased to regard a man's powers of acquiring wealth as the test of his worth. A wave of reaction against plutocracy has set in, because we have realised that it is impossible for a millionaire, or even a moderately rich man to exist, without there having been some foul play to make the foundation of his good fortune, but, as the Yankees say, there are a darned sight too many reptiles about yet.

A Dramatic Fabian Pamphlet.

When Bernard Shaw presented his picture of middle-class society to a London audience last December in the Royalty Theatre, Soho. There were a good many among the audience who declined to accept it as a true likeness of what is going on to-day. We were shown a father as loving as Jay Gould, who died "gazing at his family with inexpressible tenderness." This Mr. Sartorius has gently nurtured his only daughter on money wrung from miserable slum-dwellers. A rising young doctor of aristocratic connection shies at a marriage with the well-brought up young lady, when he learns the source of her father's wealth. But on being told that he draws £700 a year from a mortgage on the same slum-property, the doctor lets his skin-deep sentiment drop off, and ultimately marries the girl and her money-bags. This was too much for our virtuous Londoners—who, though they continue to shear the lamb all day, certainly do try to temper the wind at night—though by philanthropic lectures mainly. Mr. Shaw's play was dubbed a dramatic Fabian pamphlet, and no manager has as yet ventured to place his unique work upon the regular boards, for have not the critics said it was a false presentation of the society to which they belong.

Salisbury Points the Moral.

Scarce a week had passed, however, when lo and behold! Lord Salisbury appears in the rôle of Sartorius. Dec. 19th, before Mr. Hannay, Marlborough police court, summonses were heard against his lordship, ordering him to pull down or repair, as being dangerous four houses belonging to him in St. Martin's Lane. To be sure, it was always Lord Salisbury's FOREIGN policy we were told to admire him for. Since then a woman living at 89, Sardinia building, Wild-street, has been killed, falling down a staircase such as Mr. Shaw describes Sartorius as dismissing his agent for daring to spend £1 4s. in repairing. And our Christmas festival brought with it the usual tale of deaths by starvation in London; a tale that is being continued ever since in our daily papers. All these poor creatures, it must be remembered, paid rent to somebody. Who are the Satoriuses, we may well ask, that thrive and fatten their families on miseries such as these?

The Joys of National School Teachers in Ireland.—The Irish National School teachers have at last dared to unite together to protect themselves from clerical despotism. All the National Schools in Ireland are under the control of the Board of National Education. But every school has an outsider as Manager, who, in almost every case, is either the local Catholic parish priest or the Protestant rector. These managers can dismiss a teacher whenever they please—though three months' notice is required by the Board of Education. Now the Catholic priests require the teachers under their supervision to devote their Sundays to collecting at the church-doors and teaching Catechism classes, and a refusal to work on Sundays in this manner involves the teacher's dismissal from the post by which he earns his daily bread. The teachers having endured this slavery for years have now demanded the right of appeal to a higher tribunal in case of dismissal. This we would call a very mild protest indeed, but the Irish priests have met in conclave and denounced it as an attempt to undermine the faith and morals of the whole community. What dusty relics Irish faith and morals must have grown, if they cannot endure ventilation or the light of criticism: mere dry bones ready to crumble at a touch of living realities!

The Bristol Labor War.

Black Friday—The People Sabred by Dragoons.

The city of "guzzling Aldermanic fools" has at last been stirred. The Rip-van-Winkle-like apathy slowly but surely rising from the brain of the laborer has caused ominous rumblings to be heard on all hands, and now panic stricken authority stands ready to strike at the first movement that may be made on the side of Liberty. For some months back wave upon wave of action have brought with them fresh vigor to the workers, until on Friday, Dec. 23rd, 1892, ever after to be remembered in Bristol as Black Friday, the great crash came that separated the sheep from the goats and proved to the citizens the audacity, ignorance, and criminal folly of those persons whom they in their blindness had elected to rule over them and their city's destiny.

But let us for a while survey the events of the past few months. One of the first branches of trade to resist the increasing demands of the masters was the pig-killers. For seven weeks the men engaged in that trade stood manfully out and fought their battle. And indeed so pluckily was the struggle maintained that the demands of the men were eventually conceded, and all returned to work under much improved conditions of labor.

A similar trouble beset the chemical workers, and for over fourteen weeks did the members of this industry defy the forces of capitalism and authority. Police and masters combined and attempted to extinguish the men and their union, but on account of the determined efforts of the workers terms were subsequently agreed upon satisfactory to both parties.

Both the pig-killers and chemical workers have branches in connection with the Gas Workers' and General Laborers' Union, the Bristol District Secretary of which, Harold Brabham, was tried for intimidation in connection with the latter strike, but fortunately sufficient evidence could not be manufactured by the prosecution to convict him.

In the midst of the above disputes a more serious trouble occurred, and this time with women. On Sept. 5th the girls of Sanders & Son's Confectionary works, Redcliff-street, come out to resist the imposition of an extra hour's work a day, excessive fines, locking the girls up during the dinner hour and such-like grievances. A settlement was made, and afterwards the girls seeing that the only means for finally improving their condition lay in combination formed a branch of the Gas Workers' and General Laborers Union. A fortnight after this the employer dismissed one of the girls concerned in the late dispute, giving as his reason that he intended to bring about a general reduction of wages. This was followed by a wholesale dismissal of girls to the number of 30 or 40, the employer openly saying he would have no union in his factory. He also stated that he would no longer employ day-workers at more than five shillings per week. On Oct. 5th the majority of the girls, 84 in number, determined to work no longer until their comrades who had been dismissed were re-instated and their right of combination established. This number was quickly increased to 106, and the fight commenced in real earnest. The G.W.U. practically took charge of the strike, aided by the Bristol Strike Committee, the latter being a body brought into existence by the upheaval of 1889, and which is always willing to aid in every labor trouble. The members of these societies being nearly all old campaigners, soon had things in thorough working order. Pickets were immediately posted, courses of meetings arranged, committees formed, collecting boxes made and sent out, and these arrangements are still working on this first day of the New Year, although 17 weeks have possed and gone.

A seventeen-weeks' strike and still running—perhaps to extend another 17 weeks—is no idle joke. The misery it entails is known only to those actually engaged in it, and the work absolutely necessary to get the means of subsistence for those engaged in the struggle is one of Sisyphean toil. None of the girls are unionists of a sufficient time to enable them in benefit by their trade organisation. But union or no union, money has to be found, and that, by the committee of free lances devoted to the cause of the girls. And money is being found. Throughout the length and breadth of the land appeals have been sent to the various labor bodies asking for help. Besides this, boxes are carried daily in the streets by the girls, and at every week's end at the mouths of the Bristol, North Somerset, and South Gloucester coal pits young women may be found receiving silver and coppers from sympathising miners. The spirit of good fellowship that has evolved during the strike has been marvellous. Societies never before taking part in processions have marched to aid their struggling sisters, and the Bristol Trades Council, for the first time in its history, paraded on a Sunday with the girls. Demonstration has followed demonstration, never a Sunday passing without thousands of trades unionists joining Sander's white slaves, and enlivening the processions with their bands and banners.

Towards the latter part of the year the dockers, who are also fighting against the tyranny of capitalism, joined the girls' demonstrations, and from meetings of at first merely a few hundreds now, without any trouble whatever, 10,000 or 12,000 enthusiastic supporters can be always found.

Owing to the support received from the unions and other friendly sources, the committee have been able to pay all girls the full rate of wages that they were receiving while at the factory, and besides this for ten weeks sixpence extra was added to each one's pay. But pecuniary support is an unstable commodity, and the committee has now to strain every nerve to get together such funds as shall prevent the plucky girls from being conquered simply by the power of the purse. More money is wanted and must be got if the fight is to be won, and all sympathisers are requested to do what lies in their power to procure the sinews of war for carrying on the struggle.

One important feature of this and the other disputes has been the outrageous conduct of the police. From the first pickets and collectors have been interfered with, and bully Smith 18 B amused himself one evening by catching hold of two of the girls, bumping their heads together, and pulling them to the ground by their hair. Truly noble conduct this! But to know the Bristol police is to despise it. On the 26th Oct. an organised attempt was actually made by the police to smash the strike. Dep. Chief Constable Cann, with a body of brother brutes, made a direct onslaught on the strikers, and deliberately attempted to make them commit such breach of the peace as would warrant certain arrests being made; and so far were the "guardians of the peace" successful that three of the girls, E. Maunders, S. Jones and E. Vowles, together with Brabham, Dis. Sec. G.W.U., Lacroix and E. J. Watson was taken, tried and sentenced, some to imprisonment and others to be bound over to keep the peace. Altogether no less than 12 prosecutions have arisen out of this single strike.

Right through, the conduct of those in authority has been unbearable. Dirty work has been ordered to be done, and dirty scabs of the Cann type have been ever ready to perform the task. And, indeed, rats and religion seem particularly compatible. Sanders the slave driver being a member of one of the richest nonconformist churches, whilst bully Cann is a prominent soul saver of a local chapel. Truly does the poet sing:—

CANN carries a bludgeon all the week,
But leaves it at home on Sunday;
A bible he flourishes then instead,
And CANT is his name till Monday.

How edifying a sermon must be from either of these hypocrites. But brutality and sweating connot last for ever even if strongly sprinkled with religious pepper.

Dastardly though the above conduct be, yet the BLACK FRIDAY episode is the one that will live for ever in the annals of Bristol. As the Riots of 1831 stand prominently forward as a lesson to the world, so will the Military and Police Riot of Dec. 23rd 1892. The facts are briefly these. Demonstrations having been held for some 14 or 15 consecutive Sundays, it was resolved to hold a Friday night parade on account of the next Sunday being Christmas Day, and to cheer the hearts of the dockers' wives and children everyone decided that a collection should be especially made on the route to provide a Christmas dinner for them. What form more atractive than a chinese lantern parade? It was thought citizens would bring their children to see the novel procession, and of course the more people present the better for the collection. But judge of the workers' surprise when on the Wednesday night a ukase was issued by the Chief Constable prohibiting the demonstration. Excitement began to run high. The public were interested, everybody was wondering what would happen, and when, on Thursday, a squadron of the 4th Dragoon Guards and another of 20th Hussars were drafted into the city from Aldershot, the general feeling was intensified. There was no likelihood of a disturbance on the part of the people, for a Bristol crowd is noted for its good temper, but to insult the city by importing hired swashbucklers was a deliberate incitement to violence. And it was because of the advertisement given by the frantic "old pusses" who sit as justices, together with the employment of 200 Cavalrymen and nearly 500 police, that a hundred thousand people trooped into the streets on the evening of Black Friday. The proceedings were of such a character as to completely mystify and discompose the police and the press. Spy after spy could be seen rushing here, there and everywhere, giving orders to the blues and reds, orders that were never executed simply because of their impossibility. Crowd after crowd of innocent sightseers were taken for parts of the processions, and scores of police rushed up, only to find that they had been mistaken. At last a small contingent was found near Bristol Bridge, but these quickly made doormats of Cann and his four-and-twenty stalwarts. With what relish must these processionists have rubbed the dirt off their boots in the clothes, hair and whiskers of the defenders of law and order; but on the other hand, with what curses did the dragoons who were sent to the assistance of the stalwarts receive the jeers and hoots of the crowd. Soldiers, police and people rushed hither and thither pell mell. But soon the meetings commenced, Brabham, Gore, Watson, Curran and Weare addressing the people from one platform, and Tom McCarthy, Dancey, Barnett, Vincent and Gorman from the other. 50,000 at least poured into the Horefair and roused the echoes with their ringing cheers. But just as the assemblage were dispersing a charge was made by the police—for what reason no one could ascertain—and a score of heads were cracked. Immediately on this the Dragoons were ordered to charge and rode furiously at the platforms, sweeping all before them. 40 or 50 people fell and were sabred and lanced as they lay under the horse's feet. The brutality was appalling, and women and children who rushed into doorways and corners for shelter were pierced with a lance, cut with a sabre, or bruised with a truncheon or boot. This though was merely a beginning. For well on two hours did the cavalry keep charging the crowd, urged on by an armed scoundrel of a magistrate named Wills, a quondam commercial traveller. "What must we do, Sir?" said the officer of cavalry to this Bumble when the troopers were facing the assemblage, "When I say charge, charge! and never mind the Riot Act," replied this inhuman cur. And charge they did. Not once nor twice only but a dozen times and more, and people were injured at every fell swoop made upon them. Cases of lance wounds and sabre cuts are continually coming to light, and it seems almost a miracle that many were not killed outright.

While the cavalry were acting it must not be imagined that the police were idle. They were charging defenceless men, women and children, up and down every street within a radius of a quarter of a mile of the Horsefair. And until long past midnight did this continue. In fact scores of people going quietly home alone from business were brutally beaten and wounded by these bullies. The police completely ran amuck, and one superintendent complained "that he couldn't keep his men in." Children of ten years of age were truncheoned and kicked, and women with babies in arms received similar treatment. Indeed, if one had not been an eye-witness to these cowardly and savage scenes they would appear almost incredible. Not less than 300 persons could have been injured that night, and one case at least is likely to terminate fatally. The press have tried to hush up the affair as much as possible, and have wilfully suppressed the list of casualties. A full report of cases treated at the public medical institutions has not even yet appeared, although the police had a clerk at each place, and of course every hospital was visited by the newspaper reporters. To arrive at a true knowledge of the case, the Strike Committee have issued bills asking all the injured to communicate at once with them, and probably by that means a true estimate may be arrived at.

The events of that night are written in blood on the hearts of the people, and the Wathens, Willses, Bakers, Pethicks, Thomases, Lows, and such like vipers are directly responsible for the atrocities of the evening.

It may be asked, why were the military ordered to act? The answer is not hard to give. Simply to justify the action of the panic-stricken magistrates in importing troops into the city. If they had not been used the justices would have been denounced for putting the city to unnecessary expense. When the demonstration proved perfectly orderly they felt their prestige sinking, and deliberately ordered the police to cause, if possible, a riot, for the sole object of utilising the military to suppress it. In the truest sense of the words, the whole affair was a MAGISTRACY, MILITARY AND POLICE RIOT.

Bristol has been often accused of being asleep, but, as has been well said, it sleeps with one eye open. Never has the labor movement made such strides there as it has during the past few months, and the events of Black Friday merely make the workers more determined than ever to resist tyranny of all kinds. Master and rulers must beware how they anger the people, for the time is rapidly approaching when they and their institutions will be swept away. Troubles similar to those experienced in the "metropolis of the west" will no doubt be soon felt in other towns and cities, and it behoves every worker to be on the alert to guard jealously his liberties. Who knows how soon the great struggle between capital and labor may come? At any rate, be it soon or be it late, let all stand ready to strike the blow that shall for ever free the world from the domination of capitalism and class rule.

Swift to the head of the army!—Swift!
Spring to your places,
Pioneers! O, pioneers!

ÇA IRA.

Enemies of Progress.

(No. 3.)

THE PARLIAMENTARIAN.

"CODLINGS is your friend, not Short!" The old, old cry which is continually used by all shades of politicians to entrap the unwary worker and to appear as veritable angels of light during election time. Promises are extracted from the politician during the heat of an election, to support all sorts of possible and impossible measures if he should be sent to Parliament. Ask him on the eve of polling day if he will bring in a measure for the alleviation of this or that form of poverty or help in passing this or that bill if elected, and he will answer in the affirmative. He will tell the electors that he is their servant and will represent their wishes in Parliament and fight for their opinions in the House of Commons, if they will entrust him with their confidence. And the foolish worker, believing the deceiver, returns him to Parliament, only to be deceived once more. And so each election goes on, and each generation of false promises comes and goes. Any amount of deception will be practised by most politicians as long as they can gull the people. They are more anxious about their own aggrandisement than they are about the welfare of their constituents. Let them enter Parliament after an election, and then observe the change. The many promises are scattered to the winds. The M.P. who called himself a servant of the people, is a servant no longer. He becomes a law-maker, helps to frame laws in conjunction with others to crush the very people whom he was going to serve. But what are the motives of politicians who struggle for parliamentary honors? Are they really in earnest when they say they have the welfare of the people at heart, and are wishful to better their condition by parliamentary and constitutional methods, or can we discern a motive underneath their false promises? It will be no exaggeration to state that ninety-five per cent. of our present members of Parliament are merely in the House of Commons for selfish ends. Their vanity is flattered by having the magic letters M.P. applied to the tail-end of their name. They know that these two letters are the "open sesame" to social circles to which before they had no admittance. From ordinary men before their election to Parliament they become veritable little gods after the election. Their stature perceptibility increases. They are not the same men. On the day of election they shake hands with the dirtiest voter, and will call him "friend." But just allow the voting-day to pass, and then—things have changed: the voter may go to the devil. The M.P.'s object is accomplished, he has ridden into power on the back of the worker, and the worker is now cast aside like a worn out jade. And so this game goes on, and has gone on for more than a hundred years. It will go on for a few more, worse luck! Until the worker sees that help will never come from politicians of any school. A few politicians cannot help the masses of the people; the many must help themselves.

Parliament and its band of politicians can never be of any practical use or benefit to the producer. They never increase the amount produced; they merely swallow up, in the shape of taxes and other expenditure, much that is made by the working bee of the industrial hive. But let us suppose that they really desire to help the community of workers: can they do it? How? When? Can they take great measures in hand? How will they bring about a change for the benefit of the worker? It cannot be done even if the desire be there. Great deeds are done not by talking or sending others to talk, but by practical action. Ask any politician what good Parliament is doing now. What can M.P.'s ever do in helping our slaving brothers and sisters? What good will it do our poor sisters of the streets when the liberals are in power: will it alter their prospects? What good will result to the man who has been crushed in the battle for existence, when he is informed that the conservatives are holding the reins of office? That great evils exist is a fact which the most bigoted will admit, but there is great difference of opinion about the methods for their alleviation. The parliamentarian holds that "these things can only be accomplished by slow and sure steps." Ay, so slow that we may starve in the meantime. Look through the annals of the House of Commons, and see how little has been done for the poor, during the last fifty years! How little! And yet, with these facts before him, the intelligent worker is blinded and still gives his support to an institution which is rotten from beginning to end. The member of Parliament is an enemy of "Progress," for he is an enemy to liberty, to socialism, to freedom. He knows well enough that, when the lovers of freedom question his right to make laws, to cripple liberty, that his governorship will soon be

at an end. And then he begins to misrepresent the growing movement of "Bread for All," and condemns the leaders of the Gospel of Socialism as rioters, loafers and thieves, and forthwith helps to frame more laws for the suppression of these agitators. All politicians strive to uphold the present system with its grievous wrongs, and all members of Parliament are the enemies of "Progress." Progress means movement, and anyone who holds that the present system of society is right is not on the side "Progress." Can any good be expected to accrue to the toiler when he sends to an institution like the House of Commons a conservative farmer or a liberal banker? Can Parliament give bread to all? Can Parliament take the vast wealth from the capitalist and give it to its rightful owner? Can Parliament restore the land to the people to whom it rightfully belongs? Can Parliament make the people happy? Can Parliament give liberty to all, freedom to all? No. Parliament can never do these things, the people must do these things themselves. They must recognise themselves that they have a right to live and work. Before long they will recognise the fact that Parliament is useless, and that parliamentarians uphold the present system of society, and are therefore the enemies of Progress. When the people do recognise this, they will soon depend upon themselves. They have been too long in leading strings; let them learn to walk. They *can* walk if they but try. Why don't they make the attempt?

G. E. Conrad Naewiger.

Anarchism according to Stepniak.

Mrs. Grundy confounds Socialists with Anarchists, for the latter impress more the majority of folks who live rather by imagination than by reason. With Anarchists too Nihilists are confounded, although in Russia there are no Anarchists whatever, nor will there be until there is more possibility of political action. Yet in the psychology of the movements there is much in common, as is always the case in the psychology of rebel movements. For a long time violence is a compulsory element in social movements. When the millennium comes perhaps moral suasion will be enough to produce reforms. But in Russia violence has to be exercised at much greater personal inconvenience than in western Europe. In every country the amount of violence exerted by common criminals is greater than what Anarchists have committed, but the daily violence of the former is unnoticed. People think that everything is possible when an idea is at the back of a movement. Yet is it frightful to imagine that the power of man over man should lapse? No. Anarchism is an idea without which the world would be poorer. But it is not a working class idea. For them it is too great a luxury. It is a good theory for thos: who can depend on themselves, not for the weak who have to combine. Common action demands the sacrifice of individual freedom. Trade unionists are necessarily authoritarian on account of the intense struggle between workmen and capitalists. There is a chance of workmen's giving up too much freedom. It is therefore desirable perhaps there should be a party to transmit the inheritance of the middle class whig idea. In spite of Proudhon work must be done in common, and there must be, under what name you please, a directing body. The Auberon Herberts are more numerous in the U.S.A., and individualists there frankly deny all socialist tendency. The party of Tucker are for private property, right of inheritence, etc., and inveigh against the tyranny of the trade unionists. It was Bakounin who invented Communistic Anarchy, and his scheme of society was based on the Russian "mir," in which there is certainly a certain amount of communism and authority, but which is of no use for western Europe. In the "mir" everything is passed unanimously, and it works smoothly as a play where the actors have learned their parts so well as to need no prompting. The age long patriarchal reverence of the Russian peasant makes him submit instinctively to the voice of the elders. The fundamental problem is how to get from every member of society an average amount of work. The Social Democrat proposes that the idler should be forced to work, or left to starve. Kropotkine boldly decides by averring that it is unnatural for a healthy man to be idle and that therefore only a few will be so, whom the community can afford to disregard. But where is that community to be found which would commiserate a man for a hard day's idleness? Kropotkine also declares that men are not criminal, that criminals should not be punished, and the criminal should be allowed to walk out scot free. If this were acted on, we should have lynch-law. The problem must be left to work itself out until the time when jurors refuse to convict, and people will be willing to consort with criminals. Anarchism is quite unfit to deal with the practical obstacles of life, such as the distribution of houses, land and other wealth, and gets out of the difficulty by alleging that men are too good to quarrel over such things! Yet the fact that many adhere to it must not be overlooked, because no one theory is wide enough to embrace all the facts of life. Political questions are far from settled even in England. In certain places Social Democracy is still revolutionary. There is nothing *per se* to be said against those who would reconstruct by revolution, which may be called a sort of plebiscite. Anarchists object to the idea of power, and their notion is to strike at everything, or at any member of the possessing class. This right of striking a blow has been followed up by the notion of striking a blow on the *chance* of injuring a member of the class in possession. Their sympathy for suffering humanity it is that makes Anarchists adhere to such wild theories, which fortunately are not strong enough to make a man do violence altogether to his nature. The training of a common criminal is requisite to make a man commit such an outrage as the blowing up of a restaurant in which some Anarchists possibly were eating their dinner. Hence, when an outrage has been committed, it is common to hear Anarchists cry out that some police spy hath done this. In Chicago the people executed were not guilty of throwing the bomb. They had used very violent language—permitted, however, by the laws of Illinois—but the death of the five policemen put the Chicago population into a frenzy. Fortunately Anarchists, though possessing as much physical courage as other folks, have not retaliated for the Chicago business. Their instincts, better than their logic, have operated against any attempt at promiscuous revenge on individuals. The danger of such a policy in France is not great, because to carry it out implies a subordination and discipline destructive of the Anarchist principle. There Social Democracy is not so well organised, but is stronger as a feeling than in England. Violent outbreaks are on the cards both in the Latin and Slavonic countries. In Germany the Socialists are numerous, especially pure theorists. But autocratic power is strong there, and, though the flag be Socialist, the German movement must for a long time be radicalism. Here in England we have a good working compromise between practice and theory. The last six years has wrought almost a revolution in ideas and aims, and the daily extension of municipal activity is the sign of far reaching changes. People should not be too impatient with the political machinery. The political shape of a reform was an important matter, and politics should be philosophically treated.

This is the gist of the lecture on Anarchism delivered by S. Stepniak before the Fabians, Oct. 21st, and in other places since. We give this report to our readers because the opinion of a man who has taken part in the Russian struggle for freedom is worth having. But it is with pleasure we note that the only charge brought by Stepniak against Anarchism is that of "impracticability." This charge has always been pleaded against the introduction of every reform; against every innovation, whether in the world of thought or of science; against every change in the forms of our manners, our morals, our religion. Yet the reforms and changes have taken place, and the impracticable of yesterday is the practice of to-day. Like all other Democrats, Stepniak errs when he attempts to explain theories he has not thoroughly studied, "To strike at everything or at any member of the possessing class" may be preached and practised by individual Anarchists, but it has never yet formed part of our propaganda as a whole. As Stepniak himself says, in all social movements violence is still a compulsory element, but this is simply the result of the artificial repression of natural evolution, which it is the chief aim of Anarchists to remove, and that *not* by chance blows s ruck without caring upon whom or where they fall.

The Irish Labor Movement.

Irish Trades Unionism had been distinctly reactionary till the advent, in 1890, of the Gas Workers' Union in Dublin. The new organisation, which preached, though in a somewhat mild form, the existence of the Class War, got a particularly chilling reception from the old-fashioned unionists who glory in the creed that the interests of the capitalist and his wage-slave are identical, This, however, was to be expected.

But the most violent and unprincipled opponent of the New Unionism was the so-called labor reformer, land nationaliser, &c., Michael Davitt, who stood aghast at the broaching in Ireland of such extreme revolutionary doctrine. When Michael was informed that the Secularist, Dr. Aveling, was to address a public meeting in the Phœnix Park, under the auspices of the G.W.U., he was filled with indignation at the danger which threatened the Faith and Morals of the people of the Island of Saints, and forthwith launched into the columns of the *Evening Telegraph* a manifesto proclaiming the gathering and denouncing its promoters as enemies of the best interests af Ireland.

However, despite Mr. Davitt, this meeting was a magnificent success. The strong Socialistic speeches which were delivered were cheered to the echo; a resolution proclaiming the necessity for national and international organisation being carried unanimously by between seven and ten thousand workers present, who evidently began to realise that "there was something rotten in the state."

Michael's proclamation of the meeting; its great success, notwithstanding; and the fierce denunciation of the Communards by the Reptile Press of Dublin—Catholic and Orange, Nationalist and Conservative—which, by-the-way, patted the aforetime dangerously revolutionary demagogue, Davitt, on the back—all helped to advertise and plant more firmly in Irish soil this pioneer of New Unionism.

Thousands upon thousands of all classes of toilers flocked into its ranks; victory succeeded victory—the Dublin and Belfast gasworkers gaining the eight-hour day, the dockers and other toilers proportional advantages. Branches of the new organisation spread from Dublin and Wicklow in the East to Derry in North and Limerick in the South.

However, the Union spread too rapidly. It outgrew its strength, and was besides weakened by internal dissensions. Ultimately, owing to rash strikes entered on despite his advice, its founder, who filled the post of District Secretary, resigned. His successor, a man named Michael Canty, who has since earned the reputation of a Union Smasher, soon succeeded in demolishing what promised at one time to rival the National League in strength and to place the Emerald Isle well in the forefront of the International Labor Movement

For this disaster the Central Executive of the Gas Workers Union was largely to blame. It was aware of the character of the man it left in charge in Dublin; it knew he had published bogus accounts and had been concerned in other shady transactions; but for some reason best known to itself the Vandal was allowed to complete his work of destruction.

Contemporaneously with the Gas Workers' Union there sprang up in Dublin, and spread thence through the country, the United Laborers of Ireland, the Sailors' and Firemen's, the Railway Servants,' and the Dockers' Unions, all of which moved along rather sleepily, taking particular care not to shock the sense of decorum of the "repectable" unionists. The Dockers' Union was formed in Dublin rather late; a vast majority of the toilers about the quays and docks having already thrown in their lot with the gasworkers. However, it soon absorbed this class of workers in most of the other Irish ports, and now that its once powerful rival, the G.W.U., is defunct it is beginning to draw in the Dublin dockers also. The dockers are meeting some slight opposition from Canty, who, after preaching for years against local unions, has now started one himself—the Irish Independent Labor Union; but as the Union Smasher is thoroughly discredited his venture has but little chances of success.

This new organisation has deservedly met with much the same treatment from the Dublin Trades Council as the Glasgow Harbor Men's Society got from the recent Trades Congress—viz., that of being *fired out and dubbed a blackleg union.*

Although still, as its President (Mr. Shelley) honestly declared on his return from the Glasgow Congress, "200 years behind," the Dublin Trades Council is slowly advancing, being now somewhat leavened with the New Unionist doctrines propounded so vigorously during the past few years.

But this advance is in a large measure due to the educational work done by the "Irish Worker," whose Economic Odds and Ends column gives much needed lessons on the *vital question.* The "Worker" also contains from time to time excellent articles from the pens of poor Nicoll, Cunningham Graham, Sketchley, and other comrades.

Until recently your correspondent believed in the possibility of the New Unionism's ushering in the Social Revolution; but his couple of years' experience of its many vitiating tendencies—of its jealousies, its meannesses, and its self-seeking—have proved to him that it will require something very much stronger and less tainted to bring about what all true men and women long for—the reign of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.

"William Orr."

The Scotch Anarchists' Conference.

On Monday, 2nd January, in the Argyle Coffee Rooms, Dundee, the Scotch Anarchists held a Conference. Comrades to the number of 25 were present from Dundee, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Haddington and Aberdeen. The meeting discussed the advisability of issuing an Anarchist paper for Scotland, but although it was considered that Anarchy had got a firm footing and was progressing rapidly in Scotland, it was not yet strong enough to support a paper of its own. It was agreed therefore to support *Freedom* more vigorously than ever, and to suggest to Freedom Group that *Freedom* should issued as early in the month as possible. Comrade Burgoyne (Glasgow) suggested that the Scotch Anarchists should take a more active interest in the paper and occasionally contribute articles to its pages. Campbell (Edinburgh) thought that *Freedom* might pay a little more attention to revolutionary methods of realising our ideal. McFarlane (Aberdeen) also suggested that *Freedom* should be asked to allow a column for

"Scotch notes." It was agreed to get as many lectures from the South as possible, among the names mentioned being Kropotkine, Carpenter and Agnes Henry. A common fun was started for the purpose of making an exchange of speakers more easily brought about, the Secretaries agreeing to get a list of the names of those speakers and send them to the various groups. It was also agreed to start a fund to issue leaflets on the Anarchist position, the first of which to be a leaflet demanding the release of the Walsall Anarchists. It was decided to question M.P.'s on the same subject, and to hold demonstrations in the spring, for the purpose of forcing the injustice done to our comrades on the notice of the public. Regarding the Trade Union movement it was recommended that all Anarchists who at present were not T. U.'s shall at once become so, and take an active interest in their unions, at the same time endeavoring to propagate our ideal among the Unionists. In view of the fact that as yet the Anarchist movement in Great Britain was young and its work was of an educational character, it was thought best to entirely ignore the political Socialists. With reference to the Anarchist Dynamitards some discussion took place; several comrades thinking that these actions were not only justifiable but beneficial to the movement, others the reverse; but all were agreed that Society itself was responsible for its "wild beasts." It was decided to hold another Conference next year in Edinburgh.

The whole proceedings were marked by the utmost unanimity, although of course there was no chairman to tell the comrades what was right and what was wrong. The Conference lasted about five hours, and little time was wasted in discussing abstract problems—all the subjects under discussion being of an eminently practical character, and were dealt with, as will be seen by the foregoing report in a practical fashion. Considerable excitement was created at the Tay Bridge Station previous to the delegates leaving Dundee. Comrade Lebeau, surrounded by the boys, sang the Carmagnole in French, and quickly gathered a large crowd. He was stopped in the middle of singing the Song of the Workers by the Railway officials. However, the Glasgow boys, who seemed to be adepts at getting up crowds, went into their carriage and then Lebeau again sang the Carmagnole, this time with a liberty cap on his head. When he finished, comrade Joe Burgoyne appeared at the carriage window and addressed the crowd in rare style. He told them about the object of the Conference and said that the Anarchists were working for the time when the workers would be relieved of the burdens of Landlordism and Capitalism. Cheers were again and again given with great force by the comrades for Anarchy and the Revolution. The Conference has created quite a sensation, almost every paper reporting it and making comments on it.

THE PROPAGANDA.

REPORTS.

LONDON—

Commonweal Group.—The in and out door propaganda have been carried on successfully. On Sunday, Dec. 11th, a big Anarchist meeting was held in Trafalgar Square on the Unemployed question; speakers, Mowbray, Samuels, Creaghe and Leggat.—At the Autonomie Club, on Wednesdays, interesting lectures and discussions took place, among the lecturers being Barker, Samuels, Creaghe, J. Turner, A. Henry, Cantwell and others.—On Sunday, Dec. 18th, several comrades took part in the Tailors' Demonstration, in Trafalgar Square, Mowbray being one of the speakers.—Brisk sale of *Freedom*, *Solidarity* and other literature.

A crowded and most successful meeting, convened by the French Group, was held at Grafton Hall, on Friday, Dec. 16th, to protest against the Panama Swindle. Vigorous speeches have been delivered by Comrades Malato, Malatesta, Louise Michel, Tcherkessoff, Mollet and others, which were very enthusiastically received.

International Working Men's Club, E.—After seven stormy and eventful years, this Club has been obliged to leave its premises, at 40, Berner-street, Commercial-road, E., the house having been "condemned" by the L.C.C. as not in a safe state for a club—although the rent was no less than £2 per week. It was on Nov. 21, 1885, when the Club celebrated its inauguration in that house, and during that period it had to undergo a life of utmost severity, flying the flag of liberty in all sorts of weather. At present the members are holding meetings every Friday evening at the "Sugar Loaf," Hanbury-street, Whitechapel, while the *Worker's Friend* office has been removed to 77 Aldgate-avenue, E.C.; but it is hoped that new premises, safer and more commodious, will soon be taken, and the propaganda resumed even more vigorously. To raise the necessary funds for this purpose, Comrade Kropotkine gave a most interesting lecture on Siberia at Grafton Hall, on Sunday, Jan. 15th, to a large and very appreciative audience, presided over by Walter Crane.

PROVINCES—

Aberdeen—Outside work goes on as usual, but we have had to give up our Sunday afternoon meeting once or twice owing to exceedingly bad weather. Our indoor meetings in the Oddfellows Large Hall continue to be successful, the audiences turning up in as great numbers as ever. On Dec. 4th, we had a splendid concert; songs and recitations being given by Comrades Cameron, Smith, Dow, Taylor, Duncan, McFarlane, G. and A. Fraser. We intend to make the concert a monthly affair, as we find it draws very full houses, besides having an elevating influence and increasing our already large regular congregation.—Dec. 11th, H. H. Duncan lectured on "The Criminal," 18th, Anthony Smith, on "Freedom and Faith," and on the 28th, H. H. Duncan and Jas. Horm debated on "Is intemperance the main cause of poverty?" when again Duncan managed to show the audience that the Anarchist position was the only tenable one.—Literature sells fairly well, and altogether the prospects of Anarchy in Aberdeen never looked brighter than they do at present.

Birmingham & Walsall.—Comrades are requested to note that we have taken at 13, Stafford-street a house and shop, the first floor front-room of which is our group meeting room. Any comrades passing through Birmingham will be welcome there at any time. It is a little over five minutes' walk from New-street Station. All letters for Birmingham comrades can be addressed there. The group meets on Tuesday at 8 p.m.—During the latter part of November and when the weather permitted in December the usual open-air meetings were held in the Bull Ring, B'ham, and Park-street, Walsall, by W. Rooke, Geo. Cores, C. C. Davis and W. MacQeen of Leicester, who has settled in Birmingham for the coming year's propaganda.—On Boxing-day, comrades C. C. Davis ond W. Rooke spoke in the Bull Ring at a democratic meeting on the Unemployed question, criticising the democrats and evoking remarks from amongst the audience concerning 'dynamite and physical force,' the questioner having it in his mind that Anarchism meant the destruction of "i nocent creatures." This and some tipsy opposition was disposed of greatly to the amusement and satisfaction of the crowd. The Anarchist teaching was greatly relished.—We intend being very active during 1893, and doing our share towards making the workers of England revolutionists and rebels in place of being constitutional slaves. Any comrades or groups having Anarchist leaflets or pamphlets, old copies of *Freedom*, *Commonweal* or other Anarchist journals for free distribution in this locality should send them, carriage paid, to G. Cores, 13, Stafford-street, Birmingham. Letters respecting Walsall Conference —which will be very important, and which we hope to make very successful—should be sent to the same address.

Edinburgh.—As a result of the Conference in Dundee, an Anarchist group has been formed in Edinburgh, which, though few in numbers, has every hope for a speedy increase. All wishing to join or help in any way this new group will please communicate with H. Campbell, 4 Angle Park-terrace, Edinburgh.—Several of the most prominent of the S.D.F. there have formed a branch of the new Labor Party, lured, no doubt, by visions of C.C. and M.P. after their names, which sometimes make men lose sight altogether of Socialism. The small Edinburgh band, however, keep pegging away at all the ambitious ones' meetings, and latterly the discussions have gone entirely in favor of our comrades' views, much to the disgust of the Labor Party.

Glasgow Socialist League.—Owing to the severity of the weather, during the past month, we have been prevented holding our usual out-door meetings. On Christmas day, however, Comrade Barton of Manchester delivered an excellent address at St. George's Cross, which, although the weather was severely cold and misty, attracted an audience of about 300, who listened attentively from beginning to close. Comrades Jack Robb and Joe Burgoyne also addressed the meeting. A quantity of literature was sold.—Our annual Social Gathering took place on Tuesday evening, the 3rd Jan. Leo Melliet in the chair, and the usual International Revolutionary program was carried through with success.—A number of delegates from the Socialist League attended the Anarchist Conference held at Dundee on the 2nd Jan., a full report of which appears in the present issue. *Freedom* sold well at the various indoor meetings, and we find we will be able in consequence to increase our order.

Hull.—Outdoor propaganda is for the time being out of the question here, and indoor propaganda at the time has been abandoned. We trust, however, in two or three weeks more that active work will be resumed. As soon to as the weather permits, outdoor work will be recommenced with vigour.—On Sunday, Jan. 1st, Comrade Sketchley lectured at the St. George's Hall on the question of the unemployed, dealing with the report of the Unemployed Committee. From that report it appears there are at least 6,000 men entirely out of work; about an equal number working one or two days a week; and some thousands of others working three or four days a week. The lecturer traced from the close of the last century the increase in our productive powers, and said, since 1823, there has been a steady increase in our wealth, and in the value of the labor of the worker; the social blots of which we complain being inseparable from our modern commercial system. There was no opposition, all who took part in the discussion agreeing with the lecturer.—We hope soon to have better work to report.

Sheffield.—On New Year's day, our comrades were holding forth at the Monolith, in the morning, to a good and attentive audience. Comrade Creaghe being among us for farewell meetings previous to his departure for South America. We had no opposition. At night, it was snowing and therefore we could not hold any meeting. Monday evening, we had a social evening, a good tea, singing, dancing and recitations, which we kept up till a late hour, and all seemed to enjoy themselves.

Great Yarmouth,—There is very little to report for the last month. The weather being too severe for open-air propaganda, we have had to confine ourselves to the Club Room, where there have been good musters Saturday and Sunday evenings. On Dec. 18th, three Danish comrades paid us a visit—Christian Lune, P. C. Peterson and F. Samuelsson, who are on a voyage here for herrings. Although they could not speak very good English, they could understand the various Socialist cartoons that are hung on the walls of the Club Room, and were much pleased with the plaster cast of William Morris, two copies of which they took away with them. They have promised to bring back a Danish picture of our Chicago Martyrs, and some Danish cartoons. They were quite overcome by the fraternal greeting they received, and departed with cheers for the International Brotherhood of Mankind.—Since our last report, Comrade Ruffeld has registered his youngest child Ravachol Ruffeld, in commemoration of our Paris Comrade of that name.—On Sunday, Jan. 7th, we decided to test the feeling of the town by running two Anarchist candidates for the forthcoming School Board Election in next month, viz., A. Stanley and J. M. Headley.—Good sale of literature, and several new members.

NOTICES.

LONDON—

Lectures by English Anarchists will be given during the winter months every Wednesday evening, at 8 o'clock, in the Autonomie Club, 6, Windmill-street, Tottenham-court-road, W. Admission free: discussion invited.—Jan. 25th, Mr. Owen on "The New American Revolution."

Walthamstow.—Comrade A. Henry will lecture on "Anarchism: its basis and principles," at the Workmen's Hall, Higham-hill, Walthamstow, on Thursday, Feb. 9th, at 8 o'clock. All comrades living in the district should turn up and support our comrade.

Grafton Hall, 55, Grafton-st., Tottenham-court-road, W.—On Wednesday 1st Feb., at 8, Debate between C. W. Mowbray, Commonweal Group, and W. G. Pearson, S.D.F., on "Anarchism v. Social Democracy."

A propagandist group for London is being formed for the purposes of a wider distribution of literature and a more constant supply of lectures, both indoor and out. All those who are willing to take active part in the work are invited to communicate with Comrade Presburg, 7, Lamb's Conduit-street, W.C., or with W. Wess, 72, Kentish Town-road, N.W.

Freedom can be obtained at Mrs. Baker's, News Agency, 125, Kentish Town-road, N.W.

PROVINCES—

The Glasgow Socialist League Club Room, 15, Adelphi-street, S.S. Members' meeting every Friday night, at 8 o'clock. All Revolutionary Socialists and Communists are cordially invited to become members.

The Crimes of Governments, by J. Sketchley. 28 pp., in wrapper. Price 2d. As many applications have been made for the above pamphlet, all parties wishing for a supply will oblige by kindly sending their orders with cash to the Author, 52, Salthouse-lane, Hull. The 6th edition of *The Workman's Question*, price 2d., now ready.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR SUPPORT OF LITTLE VICTOR NICOLL.

RECEIVED FROM NOV. 20th, 1892, TO JAN. 11th, 1893:—

Walkden, 10s.; C. E. Skerrit, 5s.; Hull Comrades, 10s.; C. Joy, list, 3s.; Presburg, list, 6s.; Leicester Comrades, 8s.; H. Pope, list, 6s. 4d.; Creaghe, 5s.; Per T. Cantwell, 3s. 11d.; Domoney, 4s. 6d.; C. Palmer, New York, 3s. 6d.

M. GALBRAITH, *Sec.*

All communications should be addressed to M. Galbraith, Club Autonomie, 6, Windmill-street, Tottenham-court-road, W.

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