

Freedom

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OUR NEW ADDRESS!!

All communications, exchanges, &c., for "FREEDOM" to be addressed to
THE EDITOR, 61, ST. AUGUSTINE'S-ROAD, CAMDEN-TOWN, LONDON, N.W.

THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.

THE commemoration of the Commune held, on March 17th, in South Place Institute, by the London Anarchists in no whit fell behind the great meeting of last November at the same place. Again a crowded hall, the blood-red banners, the well-known faces of steadfast comrades, the interested outsiders, curious to hear the "dreadful Anarchists" speak for themselves, the moments of hushed attention and the thunder claps of applause. At no other meetings in the world perhaps does the spirit of internationalism manifest itself so plainly as at the Anarchist gatherings in South Place Institute, and it is certain no other subject evokes such a universal throb of emotion as the memory of the Commune, for now the revolutionists all the world over look back on that 18th of March, twenty-two years ago, as the birth-day of the spirit which inspires all Socialists to-day.

Many say: Why continue to hold these annual commemorations? We go to them and merely see the same old faces and hear the same old speeches. What is the good of that, give them up and start something new. But we reply: Not so; these meetings are of much value. They are Anarchist parades, whereat we meet comrades whom the "magnificent distances" of our modern Babylon prevent us from seeing at other times. When we meet we know who has fallen from the ranks, and who held steadfast by the banner of revolt. And they are recruiting agencies too, for nothing succeeds like success, and at these splendid demonstrations of our theories many who have halted between two opinions are led to cast in their lot with us. Nor do we hear the same old speeches. We hear indeed the belief we have elected to stand by reiterated, but always adorned with fresh experiences and increased knowledge, so that even the sagest Anarchist among us, if he will but listen, may learn each time something new, and find some fresh attractions in the faith which embraces all that is of worth in human life.

In the opening speech Mowbray said most truly that these commemorations had done much to remove the stigma placed by an ignorant or malicious bourgeois press on the Commune of Paris, who represented our dead and gone comrades as mere ruffians wantonly firing a beautiful city with petroleum. The English WORKMEN at least know better than this now. They know that those "ruffians" fought for the thing we preach to-day—a society without slavery. The task Mowbray suggested to us was to teach our fellow-workers that all that was worth doing or having could be done and had without the hideous spirit of denomination, and by this means Trades Unionism might be diverted into the paths of Anarchism.

Merlino pointed out to us that the two great revolutionary movements of the century—the only two in fact, those of '48 and '71—were essentially workers' movements. The first claimed the right to work, the second, the right to manage their own affairs, and by this latter claim Anarchism was spread all over the world. We are told of some countries that the people are too miserable to revolt; Mrs. Besant judged from a recent lecture tour in America that the workers there are too well-off to be Socialists. So much for material conditions being an index of a people's spirit. Get rid of abstractions and hair-splitting, look at life from a purely practical point of view. Life is a necessary compromise; Free Communism is the basis of Anarchy.

Agnes Henry drew our attention to the fact that at the present moment the constitutional upholders of law and order were stirring the people of Ulster to open revolt against the carrying out of a law they did not approve. The most extreme revolutionist did no more than this.

Barker dwelt more particularly on the weakness of our movement, which lay, he contended, as did that of the Communards of 1871, in ignorance. Man was only slowly learning the folly of delegating his rights to another. The politician, priest and journalist, in his opinion, combined in an unholy trinity to keep the people ignorant of their rights and powers. Education of the masses was the most powerful engine against tyrants of all kinds.

Samuels attributed all failures to half-heartedness and the conventional morality of the Communards, which left untouched the treasure in the Paris banks, and no doubt crippled the strength of their movement. He thought the next revolution would have to be more uncompromising and thorough.

Kropotkin pointed out how it was impossible for the middle-classes to do anything without robbing the workers, and in addition to this, as in the case of the Panama affair, they sent the workers by thousands

to die of yellow-fever, and shot them down when they revolted against the horrors of their position. However, the retribution had begun. No illusions as to Governments were possible any longer in France. In that country Communes would soon be proclaimed. Shall we look idly on? When France moves we must move. Workers must take possession not only of the means of production, but of all wealth and necessities; for now men had learned that bread was as much fuel to a machine as coal. Financial enterprise had grown like a cancer in society and had brought it to a state of utter rottenness. Neither in England, nor Germany, any more than in France, would the workers trust again to a centralised Government.

Louise Michel then followed with a charmingly poetic speech, in which she told how through the long deferring of her dearest hopes she had learned the meaning of patience, but that they would be realised at last she knew. The extermination of revolutionists did not destroy the idea; as well might one think to stay the coming of spring by cutting down the forests. Anarchy is the advent of humanity.

Leggatt, Cook, Yanovsky, and Tochatti all made excellent speeches, which want of space prevents our reproducing, even thus briefly. Mrs. Tochatti sang The Marseillaise as a finish to a most successful meeting, so successful that the daily papers could not afford to boycott it, although the majority dressed their accounts in the customary sneer.

The growth of English Anarchism is, however, at last admitted by them to be an established fact, despite the journalistic prophecies some three years back that "Anarchism was a foreign product which would never, never, never take root on English soil." Along with this prediction we would relegate to the shades the later declaration that the memory of the Paris Commune and its stirring tragic existence of 72 days "is dying amongst us." On the contrary, the memory and true import of those days is every year becoming more widely understood. Nay, more, the principles for which the Communards fought and died are being to-day applied, perhaps unconsciously but still applied, to life in England. When Mr. Ritchie brought in his London County Council Bill he never dreamed of the changes it has brought and is bringing into municipal life, nor guessed to what further decentralisation it is leading. Now the "Parish Commune," as the latest thing in Councils has been dubbed, is to give the agricultural laborer a right long denied—a hold on his own existence. Yes, there are certainly in England politicians who know the "psychological moment for making concessions." We are spinning down the grooves of time, much too fast for the plethora of HAVES, not nearly fast enough for our famished HAVE-NOTS; and having spelled out the lesson of the Paris Communards, when our turn comes, we shall profit by it. We shall not fail again through an excess of conventional morality, for we have found out what the phrases MINE and THINE are worth. Nor shall we prove ourselves less merciful than our Paris brothers, although the woes of the oppressed cry for vengeance however just. This generation of revolutionists surely will not prove themselves less magnanimous than those of 1871. All honour to the noble dead whose best bequest lies in the memory of their untarnished humanity!

The Socialist Movement in Germany.

THE evils inherent to authority, government, centralisation—namely, slavery, exploitation, corruption and incapacity, are strikingly illustrated not only by the examination of any of our modern social and political institutions, based on the capitalist system, but also by that of the history and present state of parties. These, whilst avowedly aiming at the destruction of that accursed system, but have not freed themselves from the above named obstructions to all progress, end by becoming in reality upholders of the present system, if not promoters of a still worse system of coercion and degradation. We have in view the so-called State Socialist, Social Democratic and labor parties, and shall try to prove our assertion by a rapid glance at the present state of the "leading socialist party of the world," the incarnation of "scientific socialism," as the Marxians themselves modestly baptised their particular doctrines: viz., the social democratic party of Germany. Later on we shall consider the corresponding parties of Austria, Hungary and Switzerland, which, as far as the German speaking populations are concerned, are closely connected with the great German party, the differences existing being of purely local character. Notwithstanding we shall have to record many depressing facts of how the working classes are still deluded by politicians and reformers, there are also some cheering items, for example, the gradual rising of the spirit of opposition within the rank and file of the old authoritarian party, and the marked revival of and new ground opened up to Anarchism in Germany.

The official Social Democratic party commands 36 members of Parliament, many members returned to provincial and local public bodies (churchwardens included!), more than 100 papers, large funds at their bankers, an increasing income, etc. It provides employment for many men, and owing to its centralised organisation the power of disposing of all sorts of paid offices is chiefly in the hands, directly or indirectly, of a few men at head-quarters in Berlin, Messrs. Bebel, Auer, Singer, etc. This economic power gives them, as to any manager of a great capitalist concern, sufficient power over the political and socialist attitude of the minor party officials, to prevent any independent action on their part. Men who try to be independent are promptly got rid of, by fair or foul means. This is not only the case with the officials themselves (editors of papers etc.), but with that great number of apparently independent small shopkeepers, newsvendors, publicans, etc., the principal agitators and public speakers of the party; men who, having been sacked for the active share they took in the movement, were provided by the party with the means of starting in business, and are therefore entirely dependent on the custom of Socialist workers. Should any of them show marks of opposition, at a sign from one of the central authorities, he is regularly blacklisted and boycotted, which means ruin for him. All papers are scrutinised by the secretaries, Messrs. Auer and Fischer, and an editor publishing some independent criticism, or even mentioning some man whom the central clique have decided to suppress by a conspiracy of silence, or for using civilised language about men in opposition and the Anarchists, instead of calling them muddleheads, perturbors and spies,—such an editor gets a sharp letter of rebuke, and if he persists, intrigues are set on foot to get him dismissed; or, if the paper happens to belong to him, to start a rival paper, etc. Thus it cannot be wondered that thoughtful men leave that party, and that the offices fall into the hands of a band of incapable busybodies, brutal party-sergeants and self-seeking intriguers.

You will ask, do the working-class Socialists submit to all this? For the most part they are only voters, not Socialists. Among those who call themselves Socialists, there are certainly excellent men; but these leave the party in disgust and join the opposition. The majority, however, being thoroughly permeated with a belief in the necessity of authority, i.e., in this system, sanction it, and necessarily fall victims to it, by becoming gradually corrupted, emasculated and mere tools in the hands of their leaders. All this could be proved by quotations from acknowledged authorities on the matter, but space will not permit, so we must only refer the reader to the columns of the "Sozialist" of Berlin. Still more convincing proofs may be found by the seeker after truth if he looks over the official organ itself, the "Vorwärts" (Forward) of Berlin, and some of the provincial papers.

The columns of most of these papers are intellectual deserts. The editors, afraid of dismissal if they dare to think for themselves, in many cases excel in nothing but submissiveness to the party authorities and coarse brutality towards all opponents; they fill their journals with cuttings from publications sanctioned by authority, with reading matter for women and children, and with local trash. An editor who tries to make his paper a brisk exponent of Socialism invariably meets a violent end; he is not executed, it is true, but either sacked or bribed, and silence is restored.

Look at the two arch-official organs, the daily "Vorwärts" of Berlin and the weekly review "Neue Zeit" (New Age) of Stuttgart. In the former Mr. Liebknecht predominates, who writes in every number some stale centennarian jokes and jests against the bourgeois parties, Russia, his favorite Eugen Richter, etc., and the same old lies about Anarchists and Anarchism. "Every dynamite explosion has been, is, and shall be the work of the police; Ravachol was a police agent; riots are the work of the police and of a poor, benighted mob who have not benefitted by the teachings of 'scientific socialism' and, what is more, who are scum and will never be good for anything (Lumpenproletariat); Anarchism is pure individualism, the bourgeois theory par excellence, etc." The intellectual level of that paper in general is incredibly low. As to the "Neue Zeit," it is the chief organ of the Marxian sect, and every book or thinker not belonging to that small clique is insulted and vilified by the bullies of that school, Messrs. Kautzky, Bernstein, etc. No wonder that able writers are becoming scarce among them, and that twofold renegades like Mr. Mehring become its chief intellectual supporters. Papers which are less intolerant and really discuss Socialism, like the now extinct "Volkstribüne" of Berlin, are systematically done to death.

Intelligence is not wanted, only obedience. Mr. Bebel said himself, he did not care whether all the members understood the program of the party, provided they submitted to the discipline of the party. The votes and the pence of the working classes are wanted, and when they have sent their leaders to Parliament and paid their subscriptions, their duty is to be quiet, and to obey orders from above. The sleepy patience of the people is so great that the so-called leaders are already thinking of how best to make capital out of the masses under their sway. Mr. von Vollmar, in Bavaria, leads the way in advocating transactions and compromises with the present State, as the price of palliative measures here and there. His rivals in Prussia, Messrs. Bebel, Singer, etc., having at their ease abused and scorned at Revolutionary Socialism, like sometimes as a diversion, to put on record that they are still Socialists, and so do a little shamfighting against the treacherous trickery of Mr. von Vollmar, who is only saying bluntly what they dare not yet acknowledge openly themselves—although they are doing the thing itself, as when Mr. Bebel supported the Anti-Russian policy of the government in 1891 by Chauvinist speeches against the Russian people, in favor of a Russian war; or when he insisted on eternising militarism by compulsory military education of the rising generation, having remarked

quite recently that Social Democracy with its iron discipline was the best preparation for militarism, etc.

Their methods of striving to catch votes, not convince people, has resulted in the Social Democrats' becoming one of the mildest parties at election times, whilst in their theoretical declamations they sometimes maintain that they take part in elections only to educate the people. They do not dare to expose the exploiting practices of the shopkeeping classes, as many of their voters and most of their candidates belong to them; they do not speak against paying no rent: "otherwise no landlord would vote for us" (a historic dictum). Of late they go for the votes of the peasants, and it is recorded that a peasant, after a splendid electioneering meeting, being asked what the Social Democrats really wanted, answered: "They want whisky to become cheaper." This man certainly voted for the socialist candidate, and it is not altogether his fault that he gleaned nothing more from the address of the socialist speaker, for the provincial agitators are officially instructed not to speak before the peasants against religion, nor against the king and the fatherland, as the peasants are considered as being religious and patriotic; so they chiefly speak of taxes, the corn question, etc., saying hardly anything which either Liberals or Tories would not have said to the English agricultural classes before the last general election. And, after all, in Parliament they say the same things, e.g., Mr. Liebknecht quite recently assured an opponent that the "Catholic church shall be better off in our future society than in the state of to-day" (quoted from his own paper), etc.

The two ideas which have in no small degree contributed to help stir up the workers of all countries, that of the general strike and the first of May, are among the BÊTES NOIRES of the official party. Without overrating their value or considering them more than symptoms, still they are useful occasions for Anarchist propaganda, incidents by which the indifferent masses are brought out into the streets where is possible to speak to them. That is all, from our standpoint. But the Social Democratic party, the "real party of order," as they often call themselves, do not, like their sister party of order, the bourgeois, look favorably on movements of the masses which are not entirely under their control. Riots might ensue, as in Berlin in February 1891, where the unemployed were dastard enough to loot among many other shops three belonging to Social Democrats; or large numbers of workers might be discharged and become unable to pay their subscriptions. In short, the same fear which invades all capitalists when they hear of revolution seizes upon the directors of that huge company called the Social Democratic party, and they use the powerful apparatus which the centralist organisation puts into their hands, to mislead public opinion, hampering and discrediting even such ideas which, though not revolutionary in themselves, might yet create a soil favorable to the growth of tendencies to rebellion. So the first of May demonstration was once and for ever relegated to the first Sunday in May, when excursions, picnics and indoor meetings will be held: a good opportunity for all ingenious inventors and men of business connected with the party, who will then have a splendid sale for soap with the portraits of Mr. Bebel or Mr. Liebknecht stamped upon it, etc. The effigies of these favorite leaders should appear on nearly all articles of clothing of a loyal Social Democratic subject: hats, neckties, pins, pipes, sticks, etc. etc.

The last strike of the Rhenan miners spread over the Rhine to Westphalia and other districts, where the miners struck work "from sympathy." As in London at the time of the great Dock Strike, in 1889, this was a spontaneous and generous movement of the workers themselves—a fertile germ out of which by-and-bye more general strikes and finally THE general strike might develop. But it was cold-shouldered by the Social Democrats, and Mr. Auer, the chief secretary of the party, proudly declared in Parliament that the Social Democrats had nothing to do with all that frivolous action; the proof of this is, said he, that in the ONLY mining district which the Social Democrats control, that of Saxony, the miners did NOT strike—of course because they are too much up in "scientific socialism" etc. The same is said whenever riots occur: the M.P.'s always point out with satisfaction that the good social Democrats never do such wicked things. And with regard to those who are consciously abiding by their orders, they speak the truth. These men, indeed, only use force of the most brutal kind against the independent Socialists and Anarchists, as some recent meetings in Berlin and other places showed. These measures are no doubt supposed to be their "scientific arguments," their "intellectual weapons," and are similar to those used at the International Congress of Paris in 1889 against the Anarchists there.

(To be concluded.)

THE CONQUEST OF BREAD.

By PETER KROPOTKINE.

CHAPTER II.—PLENTY FOR ALL.

II.

(Concluded.)

Meanwhile the people suffer. The factories are silent, the workshops closed; industry is at a standstill. The worker does not even earn the meagre wage which was his before. Food goes up in price.

With that heroic devotion, which has always characterised them, and which, in great crises, reaches the sublime, the people wait patiently. "We place these three months of misery at the service of the Republic," they said in 1848, while "the representatives" and the gentlemen of

the new government, down to the meanest Jack-in-office, received their salary regularly.

The people suffer. With the childlike faith, with the good humour of the masses who believe in their leaders, they think that "up there," in the House, in the Town Hall, in the Committee of Public Safety, their welfare is being considered. But "up there" they are discussing everything under the sun except the welfare of the people. In 1793, while famine ravaged France and crippled the revolution; whilst the people were reduced to the depths of misery, whilst the Champs-Élysée was lined with luxurious carriages where women displayed their jewels and splendour, Robespierre was urging the Jacobins to discuss his treatise on the English Constitution. While the worker was suffering in 1848 from the general stoppage of trade, the Provisional Government and the House were wrangling over military pensions and prison labor, without troubling how the people were to live during this crisis. And could one cast a reproach at the Paris Commune, which was born beneath the Prussian cannon, and lasted only seventy days, it would be for this same error—this failure to understand that the Revolution could not triumph unless those who fought on its side were fed, that on fifteen-pence a day a man cannot fight on the ramparts and at the same time support a family.

The people suffer and say: "How shall we find a way of escape?"

III.

It seems to us there is only one answer to that question:—We must recognise, and proclaim on the house tops, that every one, whatever his grade in the old society, whether strong or weak, capable or incapable, has, before everything, THE RIGHT TO LIVE, and that society is bound to share amongst all, without exception, the means of existence at its disposal. We must acknowledge this, and proclaim it aloud, and act up to it.

It must be so contrived that from the first day of the Revolution the worker shall know that a new era is opening before him; that henceforward none need crouch under the bridges, with palaces hard by, none need fast in the midst of food, none need perish with cold near shops full of furs; that all is for all in practice as well as in theory, and that at last, for the first time in history, a Revolution has been accomplished which considers the NEEDS of the people before schooling them in their DUTIES.

This cannot be brought about by acts of Parliament, but only by taking immediate and effective possession of all that is necessary to insure the well-being of all, that is the only really scientific way of going to work, the only way to be understood and desired by the mass of the people. We must take possession, in the name of the people, of the granaries, the shops full of clothing, and the dwelling houses. Nothing must be wasted. We must organise without delay to feed the hungry, to satisfy all wants, to meet all needs, to produce, not for the special benefit of this one or that one, but to ensure that society, as a whole, will live and grow.

Enough of vague catch-words, like "the right to work," with which the people were misled in 1848, and which are still used to mislead them. Let us have the courage to recognise that COMFORT FOR ALL, henceforward possible, should be brought about at all costs.

When the workers claimed the right to work in 1848, national and municipal workshops were organised, and the workmen were sent to drudge there at the rate of 1s. 8d. a day! When they asked that labor should be organised, the reply was "Patience, my friends, Government will see to all that; and meantime here is your 1s. 8d. Rest now, brave toiler, after your life-long struggle for food!" Meantime the cannons were trained, and all the reserves called in; and the organisation of the workers was broken by the many methods of oppression in which the middle classes are past masters. At last, one fine day, the workers are told "Go and colonise Africa, or stay and be shot down!"

Far other would be the result if the workers claimed THE RIGHT TO LIVE IN COMFORT. In claiming that right they would claim with it the right to possess themselves of all the wealth of the community, to take the houses to dwell in, according to the needs of each family, to seize the stores of food, and learn the meaning of plenty, after having known famine but too well. They would claim their right to all the wealth—fruit of the labor of past and present generations—and they would learn by its means to enjoy those higher pleasures of art and science too long monopolised by the middle classes.

And while asserting their right to live in comfort they would assert, what is still more important, their right to decide for themselves what this comfort should be, what must be produced to insure it, and what discarded as no longer of value.

The right to comfort means the possibility of living like human beings, and of bringing up children to be the members of a society better than ours, whilst the "right to work" only means the right to be always a wage-slave, a drudge, ruled over and exploited by the middle-class of the future. In the right to comfort consists the Social Revolution, the right to work means nothing but the Treadmill of commercialism. It is high time for the worker to assert his right to the Common inheritance and to enter in and possess it.

CORRESPONDENCE.

AN ANARCHIST'S POSITION TOWARDS TRADE UNIONISM.

Comrades, the time has now arrived when we must put aside questions of respect for persons, and feelings for principles should guide us in this as well as in other questions and methods of procedure. For the sake of the Revolution-

ary movement to which we have dedicated our lives; the reasons for our attitude and actions towards what is called the "Labour movement," should be stated in plain language. There is a tendency among certain of us to allow opinions to crystallize into creeds, and we run the risk of losing sight of the ends through the means. I have personally refrained from exhibiting a hostile attitude until now towards the actions of comrades whom I know to be honest and fearless, but who, as I will try to show, are I believe quite mistaken as to the wisdom and ultimate results of their propaganda. My object is to call the attention of these comrades to the need for further reflection before taking any further part in what I consider to be useless work. I am no dogmatist, neither will I accept any pope, and so do not wish to be understood to anathematize or excommunicate anyone whatsoever. I agree, that it may be to the interest of every worker to join his trade union, and to see that its functions are properly regarded and carried out, so that a minimum wage is maintained and even increased; but there are many seemingly who do not care to use such means to that end, and these are in an immense majority. According to Robert Giffen (giving evidence before the Labour Commission, Jan. 24.), there are but 871,000 Trade Unionists, out of an adult working population of 7,250,000 in England. As Revolutionists, as Anarchists we must consider this question from other and wider points of view. A very serious consideration is that, while the harvest is so great at the labourers are but few; and while a dozen meetings could be held at once, there are not a sufficiency of speakers, owing to the fact that some of the most capable are "otherwise engaged," in assisting directly or indirectly to strengthen organizations that are anything but revolutionary and in some cases quite reactionary or antagonistic. It is quite evident that we cannot spare a single capable man from amongst us for this work; even though we admitted the desirability of doing so. If permeation is necessary, there are scores of comrades who, unable to do any other kind of propaganda, can and do permeate their fellows in the workshops, factories and stores, by talking, distributing literature, and announcing meetings, &c., which work is valuable and permanent by transforming those who, strange to say, were once our bitterest opponents through want of education. But for real revolutionary agitation a strong moral and mental fibre is required, or what is more useful a strong flow of animal spirits and audacity; those who do not possess these qualifications can find less exciting and dangerous channels to work in. Because one believes that future production will be carried on best by highly-trained trade organizations is no reason, it seems to me, why we must commence here and now to sow the seeds for such development. Can we not understand that at any future time when the people have acquired the means of production, they will at once see the necessity and advantage of such organization, co-operation and self-control? We might just as well get into teetotal societies and what not, because that many of us agree, that it is unwise and cruel for a father to spend his small but hard earnings in beer and 'bacca, when there are so many other and more necessary things wanting by his wife and little ones, and because a sober clear-headed person is more likely to understand us, than a drunkard. No! comrades; there are hundreds of men gifted and energetic, who are doing all this and other work, then why waste our precious time and neglect the revolutionary teachings that put into a man's heart the idea of and the aspirations towards a Universal Brotherhood. Have not many of the most energetic workers in the Revolutionary movement, Socialists of different shades been lost, swallowed up by the Unions that they themselves have formed? These have found it much harder to leave them than to found them. Does it not prove to us the danger and absurdity of such action, when even some of the most active of the Social Democrats are openly preaching against Trade Unionism. A challenge is out now from W. White to debate the question with any trade unionist in London! Have not the results in Norwich, Leeds, Bristol, Manchester and London been most disappointing to the Socialist and Revolutionary movement? Consider also the position of an agitator, or organiser in the event of a strike, for any reason, when he would have to wage war on all those who were not Unionists, many of whom, are prevented from being such by reasons for which the Unions themselves are responsible. In the event of defeat, the men are cowed and demoralised; in the event of success, their gain is the peoples' loss. For the Capitalist or employer always gets his pound of flesh! He raises the price of the commodity, and the result is that the whole working-community are taxed for the benefit of one set of workers or one industry. This is the true position. Whether it is satisfactory or not, is for each one to say. It seems to me to be dissension and disintegration, instead of harmony and solidarity. When it is urged that Unions are what the members make them, I would remark that they are what the economic forces prevalent allow them to be. They are influenced by "supply and demand," competition; and profit-mongering; bad seasons, change of fashion, invention, &c., will sap their foundations and break them up, despite their abstract ideas about industry and justice. Were the members themselves sure of not being molested, coerced and terrified, they would to a large extent leave their organizations to-morrow. Fear and not mutual regard keeps them where they are, and were it not for the efforts during the last four years or so, by Socialists, the Trade Union movement would have been nearly if not wholly of no account in the movements of to-day. Much more might be said, but as it is essential that we hear the other side, I conclude with this, that in a serious and vital struggle like our own, the capable men should not retire to the rear to worry over trifles that are not essential to the progress of the cause, and that so as some shrink back from the real issues of the battle, so is the fight made harder and more bitter for the few that remain. Hoping, that this expression of opinion will be the cause of a real and profitable discussion. I am in the cause.

H. B. SAMUELS, Commonweal Group.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR SUPPORT OF LITTLE VICTOR NICOLL.

RECEIVED FROM JAN. 12th TO MARCH. 22nd:—

Leicester Anarchists, 8s.; Elam, 4d.; Galbraith, 5s.; J. O. Brown, 3s.; Wesley, 1s.; Schweitzer, U.S.A., 4s.; Pope list, 4s.; Joy list, 5s. 6d.; Torch Comrades, 2s. 6d.; W. Graves, 4s. 6d.; Presberg list, 5s.; Smith, Manchester, 1s.; Leicester Anarchists, 8s.

Comrades who remember D. J. Nicoll's self-sacrificing efforts in the movement, are requested to do what they can to prevent his little boy from wanting anything during his father's imprisonment. Comrade Nicoll has still about 9 months to endure.

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

C. C. DAVIS SUBSCRIPTION LIST.

We have opened a subscription list to enable the B'ham friends of C. C. Davis to supply him with proper food during the two months imprisonment he must undergo before he is tried. The following sums have already been received and sent:—1st List—Davis, 6d.; Yallop, 6d.; Tinscinsky, 1s.; H. N., 6d.; Milburn 6d.; Mrs. Maslyn, 6d.; L. Hyde, 6d.; A. Marsh, 1s. 2nd List—C. M. W., 3s.; Presburg, 1s.; N. F. D., 1s. 3rd List—S. Merlino, 1s.; A. Marsh, 1s.; L. S. B. and G. & A. Lawrence, 2s.; L. Hyde, 6d.; Sinsinsky, 6d.; Archibald Gorrie, 5s. 4th List—Atterbury, 1s.; Cook, 6d.; Presburg, 6d.; N. F. D., 1s. 5th List—H. W. N., 2s. 6d.; N. F. D., 1s.; L. S. B., 1s. 6d.; Mrs. Salt, 2s.; Cartwright, 1s.

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NOTES.

ANNIVERSARY OF SENTENCES ON THE WALSALL ANARCHISTS.

Sunday, April 2nd, at 3 p.m., a demonstration will be held in Trafalgar Square by London Anarchists, to protest against the sentences on the Walsall men, victims of a police plot.

C. C. DAVIS'S TRIAL.

The sessions at which our comrade Davis is to be tried for smashing the jeweller's window in Birmingham will open April 10th. We have heard from Davis every week and believe that he is in good health and spirits, "nothing wavering." He sends thanks to those comrades who have contributed to his food fund, and best wishes to all.

"THE COMMONWEAL" REVIVES.

Our readers will be glad to hear that our comrades of the "Commonweal" Group have resolved to revive their paper that has done such good service in the cause of Socialism. We understand that it will be issued fortnightly, and those wishing to receive it are requested to send subscriptions to T. Cantwell, 24, Sidmouth Mews, Gray's Inn-road, W.C., or to J. Presberg, Club Autonomie, 6, Windmill-street, Tottenham Court-road, W.

ANARCHISM AND THE "ECHO."

The "Echo" was not pleased with the Anarchist celebration of the Commune, which is rather good news for us. But that it should have been so transparently absurd in showing its displeasure was hardly to be expected. After cavilling at Kropotkin for having been born to a title which stupid people, like the writer connected with the "Echo," will persist in using, it goes on to remark, "Anarchy simply means destruction." How deceived we have been! We always thought government meant destruction; at any rate it is governments that spend many millions every year in manufacturing the most awful engines of death and destruction and pay thousands of men to work them. About that we are perfectly sure. We also have a pretty vivid idea of where they get the money from to do it with: not from "voluntary contributions," as the poor Anarchist does to try and get his ideas a hearing. Not a bit of it! Force, or the fear of force, is how they work the business. They don't bring it up to your front-door, it's true, but all the same it's waiting for you round the corner if you don't "stump up" your taxes. Now, Anarchists object to putting their destinies in the hands of people who act like this, and because we object we are—well goodness knows what we are in the eyes of the "Echo." Not that it matters much. But obviously the "Echo" has been looking at life upside down and has confused Anarchy with government.

RECENT FRENCH AND GERMAN MANIFESTOES.

Our French comrades have been very active lately in the issuing of bills and posters well calculated to keep the public aware of the Anarchist movement in its midst, and of the aims towards which Anarchists are persistently working. One of these manifestoes—"Down with the Chamber"—has been translated and published in full in "Solidarity" (Feb. 25th). It appeared shortly after the Panama disclosures, and appeals to the workers of France to believe no longer in government of any kind, but to take their liberty and initiative, sweeping aside the exploiter, the priest, and the politician, overthrowing Power and Capital, and shaking off the governing class "as a lion shakes off his fleas." This was soon succeeded by a satirical MESSAGE AU PEUPLE (Message to the People), purporting to emanate from President Carnot. No. 3 of "Le Tocsin," in which this appeared, was promptly seized by the police. Next appeared a MANIFESTE DES DYNAMITEURS, which is interesting as written from the point of view of comrades who honestly see in the use of physical force a valuable aid in the spread of

revolutionary ideas. Still later a DECLARATION DE SOLDATS ANARCHISTES (Manifesto of Anarchist Soldiers) has been issued and widely circulated. It is addressed to the workingmen of France, and after encouraging them to boldness and unanimity in revolt against the tyrant and the exploiter, ends with a promise to stand by the people in the hour of need, not to march against them nor fire upon them, but rather to turn the muzzle of their firearms against their commanders.

A vigorous German appeal has also been issued to the miners. It is headed "Glück auf! zum Kampf für Brod und Freiheit," and points out to the toilers in the coalmines what special facilities are theirs for taking the lead in the struggle of the workers against their exploiters.

THE CALTAVATURO MASSACRE.

Some time back the civilised portions of the Italian people were shocked by a little governmental affair in the neighbourhood of Caltavuturo. The peasantry there had begun to doubt the right of the town council's secretary and other local officials to exact from them a high rent for the use of land that belonged to the commune—so they ignored the rent, and, with bands and provisions for the day, the people sallied forth to till the ground, which, be it remembered, belonged by law to the poorest among the peasants, and while marching peacefully to their work, apprehending no danger, they were set upon by police and shot down.

ITALIAN JUSTICE!

The Italian government promised an inquiry into the Caltavuturo affair, which was to result in the punishment of the massacre of the peasantry. But according to a private inquiry made by a correspondent of the "Critica Sociale" it seems that whilst the two policemen who first fired on the peaceful peasants are free and safe from any prosecution, the leading members of two local Benefit Societies, which were in no way connected with the affair, as well as several peasants have been arrested. Many more are threatened with a similar fate, to avoid which more than 200 peasants have left the village, and general panic prevails. The object of the present prosecution is of course to throw the blame of the conflict on the peasants, although fifteen of these were killed and a hundred wounded, whilst not one single soldier or policeman was either killed or wounded. The witnesses are intimidated; the presiding magistrate takes no notice of alleged facts when they are unfavorable to the theory that the fault of the massacre lies with the peasants; pressure is brought to bear on the prisoners themselves to induce them to say that they were incited to revolt by mysterious agitators. Indeed, the correspondent of the "Critica Sociale" declares he can prove that some of the prisoners have been subjected to actual torture and put in the strait-waistcoat; practices hitherto unknown in Italian prisons, but apparently now becoming quite usual. So these poor peasants, who, after all, as nobody disputes, have been robbed of their lands by a few local politicians and proprietors; who, while trying to cultivate their own fields, were fired on and some of them killed, are now being terrorised by judicial ruffianism. But what does all this matter in a country where it is known that one of the men, who was arrested recently when trying to fire a bomb in Rome, was acting under the orders of a high police-official in whose house he lived. Thirty Anarchists are in prison for that little affair, and so Italian Justice can still smile serenely. It should, however, be a comfort to all good Italians to know that the report on their Bank Scandal, their little Panama, fills 700 pages, and that the chairman of the Commission declares that there are very few names of political personages on the long list of those who have overdue bills on the Banca Romana, but notwithstanding this their Prime Minister will not permit the scandal to be discussed in Parliament. Wise man! He has seen whither such discussion is leading France.

SOCIALISTS IN THE GERMAN ARMY.

Speaking in the Reichstag on March 10th, Bebel protested against the spies sent by the Government into workshops and factories to report against any Socialists who might be employed there. The Socialists are classed under three heads, as agitators, active members, or quiet adherents; and the reports are sent in to the military officials of the district, who as far as possible refuse to accept any Socialists as recruits. We know from personal experience that this is true, and to some it may seem that Socialists are to be congratulated on thus escaping from service in the army. But it must be remembered that, though they pay the heavy taxes like other people, they are excluded from the advantage of learning the use of arms, which may some day be useful, and from the physical and mental education of military life, at all events a more agreeable condition, as Bebel said, than slaving in a workshop.

TIME FOR THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT TO SHUT UP SHOP.

Another consequence of the system of spies is that Socialists are refused work at government factories and arsenals. In some cases, especially in the construction of fortifications, the laborers have to sign a paper saying that they are not Socialists, and the Minister of War declared in the debate that he would never employ a Socialist in an ammunition factory. Bebel retorted that the war office had better shut up shop then, for soon all workmen would be Socialists. After this it seemed hardly worth while to complain that military bands were forbidden to play in halls or gardens where Socialists were known to resort, and that recruits from a village near Darmstadt were called "Socialist Swine," and were given extra drill at night in their shirts as a joke. Such things only show how far even Germany still is from the ideal of a people trained to arms for its own defence, which is the only possible excuse for the existence of an army of any kind.

OUR EXCHANGES.

Since the beginning of the year we have received four new exchanges. "La Voriame" (Let us work) and "La Liberté" from Argentina; "Literary Digest" from New-York; "Lutte Pour L'Art" from Bruxelles. The last named advertises Anarchist papers and journals. We would like to draw the attention of those comrades studying French to the excellence of the magazine "La Societé Nouvelle," published by F. Brouez, 32, rue de l'Industrie, Bruxelles; price 1fr. 25c., containing frequently articles by Kropotkine, Merlino, Malato and other well-known Anarchists, and also to "La Révolte," published weekly at 140, rue Mouffetard, Paris, the literary supplement being made up from the works of the best writers in France; yearly subscription 6frs.

"BEER, BIBLE AND BLUSTER!"

These are the "busy bees" that are buzzing throughout the country at present. We cannot sympathise with the narrow, selfish aims of either brewer, churchman or Ulster Tory, but we smile when we see ardent upholders of "law-and-order" issuing blood and thunder manifestoes to beer-drinkers and sectarians, calling upon them to come forth in their thousands and "strike a blow for freedom." These gentlemen admit then that law is only endurable when it fits the humour of the law-abider, but what a conception of freedom is theirs!

BIRDS OF A FEATHER FLOCK TOGETHER.

"What," the "Daily News" asks, in speaking of Lord Howard de Walden, "are the uses of such lives, to themselves or other people? It is not merely that those who lead them fail to toil: they claim so much sustenance for their idleness, at any rate in the liquid form. They are devoted to absolutely self-regarding ends, and they are too richly established and endowed for their worse than profitless parts. A king's ransom must be capitalised to keep them going in horses, houses, dinners and all the rest of it. It is as though one conferred an annuity on the bacillus of cholera, and tended its noxious personality with all manner of superfluous offerings. A man of this stamp is made by Nature to live on three shillings a day, and to earn it. He should weed the home farm, or dig at the London clay. The toil would 'take it out of him,' and all that was lost to the indulgence of his appetite would be saved to society by the making of sewers." The one little mistake in the above is that such men as Lord Howard de Walden are made by Nature; they are the products of an artificial Society, and belong to the class that support the "Daily News" and such respectable journals. It would be rather hard on our sewer-makers to compel them to consort with such a carrion-crow as Lord Howard. We believe the workers would willingly continue to pay a king's ransom to keep such gentlemen in their own ranks rather than endure daily contact with them, or give their daughters in marriage to them, if there was no alternative.

Scotch Notes.

Aberdeen people have had a few of the scales rubbed from their eyes on the matter of Reformatories for the Young. During the past month a rumour gradually spread through the town that several inmates of the Rosemount Girls Reformatory were with child or had given birth to children, the father being a manager of the institution, an Ex-Baillie and a prominent man in temperance and religious circles. The rumour has been verified by the holding of an inquiry into the scandal (with closed doors, however), which has resulted in the resignation of the matron, Miss Hutchison. Strange to say, that, although the story has been and is in every mouth, not a single comment has been made by any of the local papers on the subject. What fellow-feeling must exist among our masters! The affair is but another instance of the failure of authority to carry on organisations so that they might have a beneficial effect, and points to the helpless condition of the inmates of Reformatories. Stigmatised criminals, bullied by teachers, governors and governesses, such poor girls fall an easy prey to the gross licentiousness of corrupt old hypocrites, whose sole delight seems to be to ruin the lives of the daughters of the workers. Who, with the spirit of a man, could blame the relatives of these unfortunate girls should they take the law into their own hands and wreak vengeance on a heartless seducer.

Mrs. Aveling has been in Edinburgh lecturing the Fabians of that town, and in the course of her lecture thought fit to warn those innocents against the Anarchists, who were, she said, evilly-disposed persons that made the propaganda of Socialism (if she had only said STATE-socialism) almost impossible wherever they gained a footing. Bruce Glasier and Bullock of Glasgow, who were present, in reply to this said, that though not Anarchists they could not sit still and hear such misrepresentations go uncontradicted, and each spoke at some length in defence of our principles. However, Mrs. Aveling having the last word, took the opportunity of launching out into still more bitter invectives, declaring us to be always hand in hand with the police; that we went about blowing up buildings and destroying innocent lives, and when caught said we did not mean it; that Albert Parsons' speech was written for him by some one else (a Marxist perhaps), winding up with a denunciation of Anarchists particular and general. The lady, however, overshot her mark, as the main effect of her abuse was to make the majority of her audience sympathise with those attacked and feel thoroughly ashamed of such a display of vindictiveness from one their own party.

Andreas Scheu is pretty well known to Glasgow Socialists, so, when he lectured for the Labor Army here, on Sunday 12th March, there was a large turn out to hear him. The title of his lecture was "A Reply to our Opponents"; but we Anarchists were scarcely prepared to find ourselves included among their number. So long as he confined himself to dealing with the common enemies of Socialism he was very effective, turning their time-worn objections and fears to ridicule with Carlylean humour and sound arguments. There was much in the lecture with which Anarchists are in hearty sympathy, and therefore it was all the more regrettable that he should have aroused the indignation of our comrades as he did by his references to Anarchists and Anarchy. To prejudice people against Anarchy it must be either misunderstood or misrepresented. At the hands of the lecturer it suffered severely in both these ways. For to attribute to the advocates of a cause ideas and opinions which they do not hold, and which they would be the first to repudiate, and then criticise such ideas and opinions is not to criticise the cause itself, but one's own conception of it; and this was exactly what Andreas Scheu, in common with most critics of Anarchism, did. For instance, he declared that Anarchists claim ABSOLUTE freedom, and then went on to show that no such thing is possible: pointing out that even an individual who had the whole world to himself would still have his freedom limited by natural conditions. Of course he was right; but where is the Anarchist who makes such a ridiculous claim as absolute freedom in this sense? But when he admits that man is limited in his freedom by natural conditions what more limitations does he want? These limitations are the laws—and the only laws—man is justified in obeying.

That Andreas Scheu does not in the least comprehend the spirit of Anarchy was clear from his contention that Anarchy and Communism were incompatible; and that, therefore, the phrase "Anarchist Communism" was a contradiction in terms. The error he falls into is that of assuming that Communism is necessarily an arbitrary arrangement which would have to be imposed upon the community, whereas the Anarchist contention is that it will be the natural and spontaneous outcome of freedom, entered upon by common consent as the result of experience and the changed conditions which the abolition of our present industrial system implies. Where then is the incompatibility, and where the contradiction between Anarchy and Communism thus freely adopted, and which can be as freely abandoned should those participating in it see fit?

Observations on the Russian Commune (Mir).

THE Russian Commune (Mir) guarantees to every male member of its population the equal right to use the land, forests and rivers—when it owns any forests or rivers, as, for instance, among the Cossacks of the Ural. The rights of use of forests and rivers are of the most widely varied kinds, and depend upon local agreements; the administration of the land, on the contrary, is more or less alike all over Great-Russia and other provinces of the empire inhabited by Great-Russians. As a general rule, all the land, with the exception of that occupied by buildings and farm-yards, is divided into equal parts, according to the number of persons paying the governmental and communal taxes. If the Commune contains a hundred tax-payers, then the land is divided into a hundred plots, and each tax-payer has the right to one of them. But as it seldom happens that all the land of the Commune is entirely equal in productivity and convenience, the land is almost everywhere sorted into three sections, in each of which section every member of the Commune receives an equal share. The work of sorting the land among the peasants is very complex, and involves the minute description of the divisions of pasture, meadow and waste land, etc. Hence it follows that—as from the first, in a Commune of a hundred members, each receives a hundredth part of the produce—the burden of all State and communal taxes falls equally on every one.

The allotting of the land takes place at a general meeting of all concerned, and the mothers of fatherless minors can attend the meeting on their behalf—though with a right of debate only, not of vote. The assembly elects the most experienced old men in the Commune to measure and divide the land. It is, indeed, a laborious task to separate the unequal land into fair divisions. With what solemnity this process is gone through! When all the land is divided the peasants cast lots, slips being drawn by a child. It is hard to imagine without having been an eye-witness of the solemn proceeding how enormously important, in the eyes of the peasants, is the dividing and sorting of the land.

"In old times," said to me an aged peasant from the Kolomna district, of the province of Moscow, "among us by the Oka, two lads used to get a bit of a thrashing by the boundary mark, so as they shouldn't forget the place."

The land separated and the lots drawn, all the allotments are given over to the assembled members of the Commune under the supervision of the elected elders. Each member, on receiving his plot, becomes full owner of it until the time of the next division. A member has the right to let his plot to another, or even to refuse acceptance of his entire allotment and take only a portion of it—which happens very rarely, as every member is obliged to pay State and municipal taxes. The prompt payment of the taxes is guaranteed to the government by the common responsibility of the whole MIR of the district, that is to say, if one

member cannot pay his share of the taxes, the Commune has to pay it for him; therefore any member refusing his allotment of land, by so doing, leaves the Commune either temporarily or permanently; in both cases the matter is decided at a meeting of the Mir.

The re-distribution of the land does not take place every year. In a few places it is every three years, in most places the term is from five to ten years; there are Communes where the distribution takes place only once in fifteen or even twenty years. This depends on the quality of the land, and also on the nature of its cultivation. Almost everywhere the land used for market-gardening or for perennial crops is distributed only once in fifteen, in twenty or twenty-five years; orchard land and land used for the cultivation of exceptional crops being distributed once in ten years—never oftener than once in five years. With meadow-land the case is different. In many parts of the central provinces near the Volga, on the Don, in the Urals, and among the Cossacks the meadows are not divided, but are mowed by the whole Commune together, the hay being divided according to the number of scythes and rakes given out from the farms. This hay-making in common is one of the rare pleasures in the hard life of the Russian peasantry. On that day, which is appointed by the elders of the Commune, the dewy grass is mown from dawn till lunch time—all the people, old and young, boys and girls, come out into the meadows as for a holiday, carrying scythes and rakes, and often wearing their holiday clothes.

The best mower gives the first straight sweep with his scythe; when he has taken four or five steps forwards, another begins, then a third and so on, until a whole line of mowers is formed, often singing, and always in the best of humours, laughing and joking over their work. The time of greatest merriment is usually when the hay is gathered into cocks and divided; at this moment the men hand over their pitchforks to the women and girls, taking their rakes in exchange. The elders and the middle-aged peasants supervise the fair distribution of the hay, which the young men rake and toss. More than once I have happened to be eye-witness of such scenes, and I am convinced that so accurate and just a distribution could be seen only among the working masses. On such occasions the young men often pay homage to this or that member of the Commune. When the hay-cocks are made, some lad will suggest: "Now, mates, shall we not show honour to uncle Ivan?" "Of course we will!" answer merry voices. Then, amid much laughter, struggling and screaming, a girl is seized and thrown onto Uncle Ivan's hay-cock, and the depression made by her weight is filled up with extra hay.

But the jokes and merry-making grow rarer and rarer; the Russian peasant is crushed down by famine and misery—direct results of the government's exorbitant taxation; and now oppression and epidemics are turning all his life into a hopeless struggle with utter ruin—a struggle in which neither his Commune, nor his traditions, nor his meadows can help him any more.

It is true, the communal land tenure guarantees a beggarly but still an equal possibility of bare existence to the enormous majority of Great-Russians. It saves the peasant from actual death even in those cases in which he has to migrate into the large towns, to seek employment in the workshops and factories, in order to earn a few roubles with which to pay the accursed taxes. Whether he be factory hand, cab-driver, wood-chopper, casual laborer, in the large towns during the winter, in summer the peasant always finds his support in his allotment, in his tumble-down hut, where the other members of his family struggle on, and to which he too always returns in slack time, in sickness and in old age. It is thanks to the Commune that the proletariat class increases so slowly in Great-Russia, in spite of poverty, exhaustion, dearth and diseases ravaging the whole country. And the people fully recognise the immense value of communism to them in their sad lives.

Always and everywhere, the Great-Russians, when left to their own initiative, arrange their life on a social and co-operative basis. The colonies along the Volga, in the Ural, the provinces of Pechersk and Siberia, on the Don and on the shores of the Caspian sea, consist entirely of Great-Russians, and everywhere in these provinces the economic life is founded on the basis of association—a communist life on the principles of communal self-government.

(To be continued.)

Opium Culture in India.

SURELY the moral conscience of England must have sunk to an abnormally low ebb when it can tolerate even for a single day the immorality of its government and that of India in their dealings with opium.

England cannot deny her share in the wholesale poisoning of China. India dare not attempt to defend herself from a charge of fostering immorality, degradation and crime, in order that an annual income of £200,000 may be secured.

The opium industry of India is entirely in the hands of the Government, and 500,000 acres of land are under cultivation of the drug. Small farmers, called ryots, grow the poppy, and sell their harvest to the Government: their licences are bought by auction, and in consequence of the competition thus engendered, a bare living only is possible.

What is the consequence?

Demoralised by the use of opium, the poor ryot is a prey to every vice; he cheats and steals; sells poison to his friends, and is liable to murder his family, fellow-men, or to destroy himself in the delirium of opium madness.

"One opium cultivator demoralises a whole village," writes Mr. Pym,

a resident of eleven years in India, and who was for eighteen months an agent in opium.

The Governor and council of Bombay made protest against the introduction of this industry:—"It has already been tried in Gujerat," they said, "and the result was wide spread corruption and demoralisation."

Dr. Valentine, with thirty-one years' experience, writes (1) that a large percentage of mortality among children is due to opium; (2) that a large percentage of crime is committed through the influence of opium; (3) that a large percentage of murder is due to opium poisoning; and (4) that a large percentage of diseases a medical man is called upon to treat are due to opium eating.

Opium suicides are extremely common: out of 180, 97 were from opium in one district; 80 per cent. were women, 14 of them girls from the ages of 14 to 18 years.

8000 chests of opium are consumed in India, while 90,000 are sold to China, annually. "Sell the drug as far and as fast as possible among the Chinese," is the order of the government.

Arguments were useless against such determined and consummate villany: the raving of the opium eater is preferable to this.

Not content with wrecking the art of India, we must demoralise its people. Truly we are a great, a good, a Christian civilisation! A triumph of progress, and a glory to the nineteenth century! Yes! we carve one nation with the sword, and poison another with opium; and breed parasite upon parasite up through all the castes of society, we live upon the labor and degradation of the poor; and to crown our infamy build up towers, temples and "gorgeous" palaces for scoundrels and "such like."

"While three men stand together
The nations are less by three."

In the spirit of this sentiment we must live, who would redress the wrongs of the people of India, and of other lands.

Kropotkine on Anarchism.*

MARCH 5th, at Grafton Hall, Kropotkine delivered an address to a crowded and attentive audience, of which the following is a summary taken from shorthand notes:—

I have been asked to give our general ideas on the subject of Anarchy, and I feel overpowered by the immensity of the subject. It has been long thought a mode of action belonging to the Socialist propaganda, but it is more than a mode of action, more than a Utopia, more than a theory. It is a tendency of thought, which begins to prevail more and more as the century ends, a kind of philosophy, a manner of thinking, a general conception, which re-acts on the whole Socialist program.

When Anarchy has been considered philosophically it induces every one of us to take an attitude vastly different from the attitude of Socialists generally. It is a mode of thought distinctive of modern science. Consider the changes in the thought of Europe at the time when the earth ceased to be considered as the centre of the universe, and the revolution that followed on the abandonment of that idea. In astronomy masses and forces were formerly taken for granted; modes of thought prevailed, which considered integrals but neglected particles, science now goes into the infinitely small component parts. In biology, for instance, species were once considered exclusively, now not the individual merely, but the component parts of that individual were taken into account. Psychology, formerly the science of the indivisible soul or mind, is now the science of the elements of the soul, and this last is treated as a result of infinitely small actions. The same change is acting in sociology, in political economy. Adam Smith in his famous book dwelt on the wealth of nations, on their balance of trade, etc. Now the welfare of the individual is postulated as the basis of the science. In politics history used to talk of states and the policies of kings and political wars, now it treats of the life even of the villager. The centre of gravity of history has now been transported to the sphere of the individual, and the point of view is entirely changed. The Anarchist might claim the title of synthetic philosopher, were it not for the fact that Herbert Spencer has employed the term and made it known in a rather different sense. The synthetic treatment of life, that is Anarchism, for it deals with life, with the small particles that make up the individual. Economics now begins to understand that it must conduce to the satisfaction of the needs of every separate individual. The economist formerly would take the theory of value and discourse on it not from the facts of life. The exchange value that the professor talks about as a benefit to both exchangers is not found in actual existence. We consider that political economy must be written directly from the lives of the workers; how the workers work and produce wealth and how they are repaid, or rather not repaid, and their needs never satisfied, that is what we have to enquire into. Economics must enquire into the number of hours necessary for building a decent house, and ask why the excessive labor of the peasant does not provide him with such. Why has not the laborer to-day all the scientific and artistic enjoyments which alone make life worth living? If we pursue our enquiries into the slums of the East End, the houses of the middle-class, the mansions of the rich, the palaces of the rulers, why is it that everywhere we meet with dissatisfaction on account of the worry and harass and pressure of life. We know how the poor live; that they cannot produce houses such as they require. Surely were men's riches properly used immense numbers might be produced. A hundred years ago man's power of production was low, but his means have now enormously increased. We might produce with the present means ever so much more than we do, but we don't, because the organisation of society is based on false principles. Miners, for instance, only work three days a week in order to keep up the price of coal. Strikes are produced even by employers themselves, and in this way human labor is wasted. Not to speak of the military armaments of the continent, have we not here armies and forces to protect the colonies? Don't we employ vast masses of labor in producing utilities? Think of from three to eight thousand men employed in making silk plush for the American market, an article which I am told is now out of fashion there. Why do we look for customers in Asia or in Zululand, when we have children at home with so many needs to satisfy?

We are told that employers are necessary for the organisation of production, but if our books of political economy were written by people that worked in the shops, we should have learned that the waste of human labor even in the best factories is on an immense scale. I believe it might be reduced by 25 per cent. without difficulty. Some two years ago, the dockers in Glasgow struck; they were defeated. Shoddy work was the consequence. And a few months later the employers declared that they were losing at the rate of 25 per cent. through the inefficient work of the discontented strikers.

* This lecture is being published in full by *La Révolte*.

In the present condition of things workers give only a low average. Here are instances of the evils of the competitive system of to-day: Bryant and May's match girls become bald at the age of fourteen because they carry on their heads trays, which it would be a saving to transport by machinery. In lace manufacture a man with his limbs huddled together binds two ends of cotton all the day long and does nothing else, to the destruction of his physique, merely because human labor is so cheap. Human labor is wasted because production has for aim the sale of objects which will realise a certain profit. Production must be re-organised; the responsibility must not be left with the capitalist. Every one ought to be interested in the production of goods. The community as a whole ought to look after its industry. The business of exchange assumed in books on political economy is not that which is going on in daily life. There is no measure of the effort of the individual in production. Every individual should live well. Remuneration cannot be based on the work of the individual producer. Four or five hours a day has been reckoned as enough to ensure the well-being that the middle-classes now enjoy. The remaining four or five would bestow similar well-being on the other classes along with artistic and scientific enjoyment—but these ideas the Anarchists of course share with the Socialists. Furthermore, the Anarchists consider that the interference of the State is a mistake. Take for instance 1848. What stood in the way of Communism, and induced the lovers of freedom to oppose it? They thought that Communism must be organised hierarchically. But during these last fifty years the workers have learned to trust themselves, and experience has disgusted them with democratic government. The Commune idea has made great way. In France and England the workers speak of the municipalisation of everything. But this is only territorial separation. Read the Eight Hours Labor Day discussion, and you find that the idea gains ground that the organised trade is absolutely sovereign in matters of production. In mining matters the miners consider that they must be supreme. When the State proposes to introduce the Eight Hours they are distrustful. The workman now considers that the employer is nothing else but a fifth wheel to the coach. "No Bismarckism!" is his cry of to-day. Because, even if State-legislation in labor matters could be made successful, it would lead to the crushing of the individual. Home Rule therefore for city, for village, for every separate branch of work is what he proclaims to-day. The abolition of the State must therefore come about. Free groupings between producers and consumers are bound to ensue. Enforced law, prisons, judges, police, etc., do not improve the public morality. The prisons are the great universities of crime. Judges and police exist to protect the privileges of the minority. Authority is the creation of wizards, priests, etc.

Dr. Clifford has lately told us that Christ was an Anarchist and a Communist. The rising in Judea was imbued with a Communist spirit. This too was the case with the peasants' revolt in the XVI. Century. The Anabaptists, for instance, did not recognise any power but the rules of man's own conscience, and they held that property belonged to all. But we have been fed on Roman law, and trained in the theocratical notions of the East, and therefore the idea of not being governed seems strange to us. You must throw away more of the chains which have bound men down. Compulsion is not necessary to make men work. The lazy people at the present time receive no real training in anything. They know nothing of the real work of life; they cannot make shoes, they cannot build houses, they cannot drive engines. The universities might be accused of turning out lazy fellows: they are said to teach men to govern; *Voilà tout!* There is no attempt made in them to turn men's capacities to account. Where are the lazy boys, the lazy schoolgirls when reproached for not being at their books? Why, working in the garden, working at making mills, toy-engines etc. Darwin was reputed a lazy fellow; so much so that they almost refused to take him on the *Beagle* as being worthless for scientific observation. Stevenson spent his time at the wheelwright's shop, and was called lazy for it. Does the fear of a fine keep order in a workshop? No, it is the trade organisation. In France and Belgium there exists a hierarchy of superintendants and foremen which is not necessary here. It is the spirit of his trade which keeps the worker going, not supervision. In the mills and big workshops of this country there is an infinitely small amount of superintendence. We need not be afraid of the results of the removal of authority.

Overwork in the mine, in the shop, in the dock is now universal, and under such conditions a man tries to throw away part of his labor. When the workshop becomes healthy and beautiful, which it is occasionally in England even at present, work will become welcome to us; the man who does not work will be treated as an idiot. In Switzerland, where military service is looked upon as a test of physical excellence, a boy would be quite depressed lest he should not be able to enter the service on account of his chest not measuring the necessary number of inches. This direction of mind, which is stupid when it treats military service as a standard of excellence, might be turned to common advantage when men are engaged in work for society.

Now as to the mode of action. When a young worker enters a Radical or Socialist association he is often shocked by what he sees of the intrigues for power than go on. In an Anarchist organisation he sees the reverse. Papers are printed without authority being exercised. The man, who can, speaks, the other writes, and so forth; for the Anarchist encourages above all individual initiative. Try to do what you yourself consider right and out of that will come a better sort of community. Some ten years ago the idea among Anarchists was that they should not have anything to do with strikes or labor questions; now they think that they must try to take part in the workmen's organisations. This idea is spreading *per se*, through intercourse with Anarchists. Take the change of ideas during the last ten years about Home Rule as an example of the unconscious change in the direction of people's thoughts. We Anarchists have no central organisation to give orders; every one has to think and act for himself; experience corrects mistakes. Evolution is not opposed to revolution. In 1793 it was not the cutting off the aristocrats' heads that was revolution; the basis of that revolution was the peasants rising themselves and taking possession of the land. As to the people who lost their lives through refusing to recognise the abolition of their privileges, they had only themselves to thank; they had tried to make the river flow backwards. A conspiracy against established fact was the cause of the Terror. The rapid abolition of worn-out institutions *en bloc*, that is the mark of revolution; and such is the law of development. Lloyd Morgan tells us in his writings that revolutions come to pass rather than evolutions. New ideas are kept back by an obstinate minority. If England has had no revolution since 1688 that was because the minority knew the psychological moment when to make concessions. Unlike the French aristocracy and middle-classes, the English ruling classes have known when to give way. But if the ruling classes become so situated that they cannot give way, then a bloody revolution may be the result. The capacity of the rulers and the capacity of the workers are crucial points in the struggle. Evolution follows revolution. We develop feverishly, then enjoy a quieter spell—that is the life of society and the life of the species.

Anarchism is represented as the party of violence. But when I look back to the acts of violence which I have lived through during the last twenty years, I see the 35,000 Paris workers exterminated by the French property owners in May 1871; the attempt of the Social Democrat Hoedel and the Republican Nobiling against the German Emperor; the attempt of the Socialist Otero in Spain, and in Italy that of Passanante, who was a Mazzinian more than anything else; thirty-two gallows in Russia, and upon them not one Anarchist; the Irish Nationalists' violence; and the Anarchist acts of violence during the last few years; and I maintain that violence belongs to all parties, and that they all have recourse to it when they lose confidence in other means and are brought to despair.

Of all parties I now see only one party—the Anarchist—which respects human life, and loudly insist upon the abolition of capital punishment, prison torture and punishment of man by man altogether. All other parties teach every day their utter disrespect of human life. Killing the foe, torturing him to death in a prison, is their principle. For the interest of bondholders they will massacre the miners in the mine, kill passengers in a train, or bombard Alexandria, slaughtering women and children in the streets. They only ripen the fruit of their own teachings. The sacredness of human life! Yes, by all means; but society itself must first learn to recognise the sacredness of human life, and not teach the opposite. The sacredness of human life is the great principle of the Anarchists.

CUTTING FROM A BOURGEOIS PAPER.

"In connection with your article on the importance of the proceeding in the House of Commons on March 21, it is interesting to note how many political developments have dated from the month of March. The Paris Commune was inaugurated on the 18th of March, 1871. The Bill for establishing our Parish Commune was introduced on the 21st of March, 1893. The Bill establishing the London Commune was introduced on the 19th of March, 1888. It might seem that in politics as in vegetation, the month 'of daffodil and starling' brought 'hours of fruitful birth.'"

THE PROPAGANDA. REPORTS.

LONDON—

During the past month the propaganda has been both vigorous and successful. At the Autonomie Club, the lectures have been very interesting and instructive. Wednesday, March 15th, we had the extreme pleasure of listening to one by our individualist friend named Blane, who contended that private property could exist without government of any description, but on being questioned he said that the private property he believed in was the things which an individual wore and used. However, when some comrades present informed him that, the people to be free, common property must be in existence, he at once began to argue as though he were dealing with Social Democrats, and actually stated that we had the same ideal as State-socialists. Comrades Merlino and Turner then pointed out to him that we were not State-socialists, but Anarchist Communists and that we believed in common property, that is to say, the right of any and everybody to work as he feels disposed, either in the workshop or on the land, and also the right to have all the necessities of life in return; not in any way to measure out what this or that party has produced and pay them accordingly, but, in so far as we believe that all labor then performed will be of a necessary character, so we think that the producers will have a right to fully satisfy their desires in return. The lecturer then said that he could see very little difference indeed between us and himself.—March 22nd, Comrade Merlino lectured on "The Labor Movement in America," this, by the way, was a continuation of a previous lecture on the same subject. Merlino pointed out what form the development of capitalism had taken in America—by the formations of trusts and syndicates, which were nothing but huge monopolies of different branches of industry. Mrs. Besant had stated that in America there is neither a Socialist nor Anarchist movement, which is true in so far as there are no particular organisations of the sort, but there is a tremendous amount of propaganda being done in different trade organisations by Anarchists, and sooner or later the fruits of it will be seen; it must show itself in some way or other. A very interesting discussion followed; in which comrades Cantwell, Henry, Presberg and others took part.—March 29th, Comrade Barker lectured on "Anarchism." An interesting discussion followed. At each of these lectures we have always had a good sale of literature, good collections, and during the last month four new comrades have come forward to help us in our work.

A course of lectures on Anarchism are being delivered, every Sunday evening, at 8 o'clock, at the Tailors' Club, Wardour-street, Soho; among the lecturers have been comrades Barker, Mowbray and Roland. On Sunday, March 19th, Mowbray spoke on the Paris Commune. He told his hearers how nobly the men and women of Paris had risen up to assert their freedom; but, he said, the cause of their failure must be our success: they failed because they were too good, too tender-hearted. They were not sufficiently desperate; they had too much pity. When the next fight comes you, workmen, must strike without mercy; strike without waiting for orders to go forward, but depend upon your own initiative, and then your success must be sure.—When Mowbray had finished, the audience continued applauding for some minutes.

The outdoor propaganda has been very successful. Meetings have been held every Sunday morning, at 11.30, in Regent's Park, Mile End Waste, Broad-st. Soho, and Kensal Green; in Finsbury Park and Hyde Park, every Sunday afternoon; and every Sunday evening, at 7.30, on Mile End Waste. Among the speakers have been Comrades Mowbray, Samuels, J. Turner, Leggett, Presberg, Barker, Lawrence, Tochatti, Atterbury, Gittens, Parker and Cantwell.—Although the meetings have been discontinued at Leman-street, the propaganda in the East End has been more successful than ever. New comrades have come forward, and a good, sound group is being formed here and even a more active propaganda carried on.—Comrades Barker and Lawrence being out of employment, have been holding good propaganda meetings in Hyde Park. They always attract tremendous audiences there, and quite an interest is taken in Anarchism by these audiences, who stand for hours and listen to our comrades' discourses.—Good sale of literature at each meeting, and audiences always very attentive. Comrades should turn up and help in their respective districts, for although good work is being done, yet there is more to do, and the more there are to do it, the quicker we shall realise that ideal which we are working for.

Comrade A. Henry lectured to the East London Ethical Society on "Justice and Humanity" on last Feb. 19th, which lecture was reported in a local paper.—On March 14th, she also lectured on "the Tendency to Government by Majorities is Retrogressive" to the E.L. Ethical Debating Society: the meeting was well attended and a lively discussion took place.

Peckham.—The respectable, law-abiding, church-going inhabitants of this benighted resort of city-clerkdom, have been startled by the appearance of Anarchists in the midst of them, openly advocating "the wild and insane theories of Anarchist Communism." On Sunday, Mar. 12th, we started active open-air propaganda on the Triangle, Rye Lane, comrades Atterbury, Banham and another comrade speaking to a large audience; feeble opposition from a State Socialist disposed of by comrade Atterbury. We afterwards adjourned to the Pioneer Hall, where a debate had been arranged between our comrade Turner and W. G. Pearson (S.D.F.), on "Anarchist-Communism and Social Democracy." Good report in local paper concluding as follows:—"The Anarchist replied in due course, and the meeting seemed to think he had the best of it." Sunday, Mar. 19th, large open-air meeting addressed by comrades Leggett, Banham and Atterbury. At 8 in the Pioneer Hall, addresses were delivered on the Commune of Paris, to an enthusiastic though small audience, by comrades, Henry, Wess, Leggett, Shallard and Hobart, who pointed out the usefulness of the Paris insurrection, and at the same time explained its errors. Good sale of literature at the meetings; we have also distributed thousands of

Anarchist leaflets, old 'Weals, Freedom, etc. Shall be glad of help from comrades who can speak in the open-air; meetings every Sunday on the Triangle, Rye Lane, at 8 o'clock. Peckham comrades are requested to note that the Group meets on the first Wed. in every month, at the Socialist Club, 40a Peckham Rye.—Several of our comrades attend and take part in the discussion classes, held every Thurs., by the local S.D.F. Branch, the discussion generally turning on the question of Government and Anarchy. Thurs. March 9th, comrade Banham addressed the members on "Objections to Anarchism answered"; the most serious objection coming from a Social Democrat who wanted to know, what we proposed to do if, in a State of Anarchy, there existed a difference of opinion as to the best kind of light!!! Verily, Anarchism has not much to contend against when such as this is a good sample of the kind of opposition we get—and from the intelligent Social Democrats too! On Thurs. March 23rd, comrade Hopkins read a very able paper on "the Impossibility of Private property under Socialism," several other comrades taking part.—We shall be glad of bundles of old "Freedom," "Commonweal" etc., for free distribution, which should be sent, carriage paid, to W. Banham, 40a Peckham Rye, or by dropping a postcard, one of our comrades will call for them, if in London district. Occasionally we pay a moonlight visit to the outlying districts of Dulwich and Camberwell, and have done good work with the aid of our invaluable friend, the paste pot. On Mon. April 10th, eight comrades have to take their trial before the local Branch of the S.D.F. for the crime of being Anarchists, and to show cause why they should not be expelled. "Thus the Cause goes marching on!"—On March 26th, we had a splendid open-air meeting, comrades Banham, Presberg and Samuels speaking to an enormous crowd. Slight opposition from a Mr. Cray, a Social Democrat, who stood at the last County Council Election along with one of the most bitter enemies of Socialism, in the *Progressive interest*! Speaking of the composition of the House of Parliament, he stated that these men merely went there to rob and plunder our class, and says he, "if you sent me there I would do the same!" I cannot resist saying a word in commendation of the ability, shown by our young comrade, Banham, who, considering his age—only 17 or 18 years—dealt with the subject very ably indeed, and also replied suitably to some opposition; in fact, he was complimented, after the lecture, by several strangers in the audience.

PROVINCES—

Dundee.—Comrade Agnes Henry lectured for us on Wednesday, 1st March, in Victoria Hall, on "The Rational Basis of Anarchist Communism." The weather was bad, but there was a very fair audience, who listened very attentively, and a good discussion followed. We intend to have her here again, and we would recommend groups who have not heard her to endeavour to do so, as she is a splendid lecturer, and very able in replying to questions. We intend to start open-air meetings shortly. On the second Sunday of the year a debate on Bakunine's, "God and the State" was opened, which was carried on for seven nights, the discussion being very lively. We meet in the Operative Mason's Hall, and on the sixth night of the debate two of the "Unco' guid" called on the Mason's Committee and complained about such subjects being discussed. A deputation from the Masons paid us a visit, and the week afterwards a shilling was added to our rent. Such is the elevating influence of Christianity. We have several new members, and hope to carry on a good propaganda here this year.

Dublin.—Weekly Socialist meetings are now being held every Tuesday evening in this city under the auspices of the Fabian Society. Jan. 31st Adolphus Shields lectured on the "Difficulties and Tendencies of Trades-Unionism." Although the lecturer indicated his belief in the struggles of labour being materially aided by Parliament, he stressed in a later part of his paper the importance of the woman question, and declared that if women did not enter into the ranks of the Socialists on equal terms with the men, the Social Revolution would never be an accomplished fact. He advocated the formation of Labour Leagues all over Ireland, which leagues, he believed would accomplish such educational work among the labourers and artisans as would reduce to a minimum the evils of the present disastrous competition between the workers in the country, and those in the great centres of industry. There were many other points of interest touched upon, but these two were sufficient to show that even in Ireland, the land of born politicians, there is sprouting up something more than a blind belief in the omnipotence of Parliament. Feb. 7th Comrade Fitzpatrick delivered an address on "Liberty v. Authority"; a fair exposition of the principles of Anarchism. In the discussion afterwards the collectivist position was maintained by King, Duncan, Varian, Mrs. Duncan and others. O'Gorman supporting the lecturers; a very interesting debate taking place. The Dublin Socialists held a meeting in honour of the Establishment of the Commune, on Saturday, March 18th, at 64, Dame Street, at which addresses were delivered by Shields, Fitzpatrick and O'Gorman. The attendance was much smaller than on former occasions.

Edinburgh.—On March 4th, Agnes Henry lectured for the Fabians in Trades Hall, High-street, on "Some Objections to Anarchist-Communism"; the lecture seemed to take the wind completely out of the Fabians' sails, judging from the rather poor nature of the questions and discussion that followed. Here is a specimen: a reverend gentleman said that, as humanity could be seen in the cradle and studied there, and had to be ruled and governed there, so would humanity always have to be ruled and governed. Com. Henry in reply asked him at what age humanity became adult, and who are the adults in humanity, and how were we to know them? But what the questions and discussion lacked in quality, they certainly made up in quantity. Com. Henry had no difficulty in disposing of their objections, and this they did not seem to relish very much.

Aberdeen.—Our open-air meetings continue to be fairly successful, whilst our indoor lectures are still largely attended. In the Oldfellows' Large Hall on Sunday Feb. 5th, Comrade Duncan lectured on the "Unemployed Question." Feb. 12th, Dow on the "Coming Change." Feb. 19th, Duncan on "Revolutionary Poetry." Feb. 26th, and 27th, Comrade Agnes Henry (London) lectured in the Sunday Forenoon on "Anarchist Communism, founded on Science and fact." In the evening on "the Criminal and the Idler, and How to treat them," and on Monday evening on "the Independent Labor Party and State Socialists." Despite very stormy weather large audiences turned up, to hear Comrade Henry who was met with some very feeble Social Democratic opposition, but smashed it. March 5th, Comrade Duncan lectured on "Communism." 12th, we held a very successful Commune Celebration, Comrades Dow, Duncan, Horne and Shepherd speaking, whilst our musical and elocutionary Comrades added greatly to the success of the night's propaganda. 19th, a debate "Should Working Men support the Labor Party?" Wm. Clark, Mitchell and J. Innes Mundis supported the L.P. whilst Duncan and Horne attacked it.—Our season of indoor work closes Sunday March 26, when Comrade Dow lectures on "the Evolution of Socialism," and we are now in a position to say that we have conducted the most successful series of Socialist and Anarchist lectures, ever held in Aberdeen. Having almost concluded indoor work, we are beginning to make preparations for an attack on the country districts.

(Summary of Reports held over from last month.)

Glasgow.—The comrades have been changing their name and setting their house in order, for the members of the Glasgow Socialist League are with few excep-

tions all avowed Anarchists. They make it their business to attend the meetings of the Labor Army and the S.D.F., to help them in their discussions. Joe Burgoyne has been doing good work among the thousand men who have been out on strike against threatened reductions by Clyde shipbuilders. Bruce Glasier is pegging away with unflagging energy, lecturing S.D.F.'s, Irish Nationalists, Spiritualists—making headway among them all.—On Feb. 14th an Anarchist group was formed in the East End of Glasgow, consisting of twelve energetic comrades. A program for future meetings has been arranged. Two leaflets are to be printed for free distribution, viz., "What is Anarchy," from *Commonweal*, and "The Parliamentarian," from *Freedom*. This group is perfectly international in character, consisting as it does of English, Scotch, French and German. Meetings are to be held, every Tuesday night, at 46, Mechanics Hall, Canning-street, Calton. Another group is being formed in the South side of Glasgow.

Sheffield.—The weather has been against us for outdoor propaganda, but we have held several splendid meetings, followed by good discussions, soldiers actually coming forward to defend their principles, usefulness to "Queen and Country," but their arguments were knocked to pieces by the comrades present. There is much misery and extreme poverty in Sheffield just now, and it seems likely to continue. Processions of the unemployed go about with their begging boxes and dray, which the men draw with ropes, but they do not seem to get much. They will have to adopt something different to begging before the well-to-do people will open their eyes.

Aberdeen.—Successful open-air meetings during February. Indoor audiences keep up to the covering expenses mark. Comrades rejoice that women begin to take interest in their meetings, and several are regular attendants, as well as many of the older workmen, the true city-fathers.

A TOUR IN SCOTLAND.

ALTHOUGH devoid of that exciting element of "danger hourly braved," which attends the visits of many of our comrades when on some propagandist mission to the lands where a price is set on the head of any well-known Anarchist, nevertheless a tour among our own provincial groups is not without its interests and pleasures; and as others besides the lecturer may feel encouraged and refreshed by hearing something of our comrades and their doings, I will try to give in brief the impressions made on me by my recent visit to the Anarchist Communist groups in Scotland.

My time in Aberdeen was pretty fairly divided between lecturing and social intercourse. On the evening of my arrival, Feb. 25th, a goodly gathering of the largest Anarchist group I have met with anywhere assembled at the usual rendezvous, Comrade Duncan's house.

It would be strange indeed if such an active, united Brotherhood did not make the cause of Anarchy known and felt in Aberdeen. Indeed the very existence of such a group, mostly sprung from the ranks of the Social Democrats, is in itself a proof of the intelligence and earnestness with which our principles have been advocated there. Aberdeen seems to be the stronghold of Anarchy in the North, though indeed Glasgow bids fair to be a rival in influence. In Glasgow, however, the Anarchist Communist comrades are not yet in their club dissociated from the Social Democrats, many of whom are more decidedly and uncompromisingly revolutionary than any of their fraternity I have met elsewhere. The group here is, so to say, in the process of formation into an Anarchist Communist group, and in a month or two will be able to work quite independently of their Democratic comrades. But though not yet numerous, in energy and enthusiasm they seem by no means behind "our boys" in Aberdeen.

The groups of Dundee and Edinburgh are as yet very small, but in each place there are among them men whose earnestness and determination cannot fail to bring forth good fruit. The meeting in Dundee was to me as interesting as any I ever had the pleasure of addressing; and the numbers assembled to hear my lecture were much larger than I had been led to expect, testifying to the activity of those who, in spite of great difficulties, had organised it.

In Edinburgh, where I lectured under the auspices of the Fabian Society, our comrades have evidently so impressed the Socialists there that a deaf ear is no longer turned to the teachings of Anarchist Communism.

On the whole, my impression of the movement in Scotland was that it partakes of the national characteristics, and is progressing by dint of hard logical argument, gripping strongly where once it has taken hold.

In conclusion I must add that this, my first visit to Scotland, apart from the encouragement of meeting with such activity for the cause, will ever remain a source of pleasure to me, in remembering the simple hearty welcome with which I was greeted on every hand.

AGNES HENRY.

NOTICES.

LONDON—

Autonomie Club, 6, Windmill-street, Tottenham-court-road, W.—Lectures are given every Wednesday, at 8 p.m. Admission free; discussion invited.—Comrades are requested to attend Commonweal Group business meeting every Tuesday evening, at 8.30 p.m.

Tailors' Club, 58, Wardour-street, Soho.—The following lectures will be given during the month: April 9th, Mons. Brocher, on "Co-operation in Practice" (with illustrations); 16th, J. Tochetti, on "The Workmen's Question Considered"; 23rd, Agnes Henry (Freedom Group), on "The Woman's Place in the Labor Movement"; 30th, C. W. Mowbray (A.S.T.), on "Quack Remedies for Poverty."

Peckham.—*Freedom* and pamphlets can be obtained at the Socialist Club, 40a, Peckham Rye, S.E.

Donations to FREEDOM Publication Fund—H. G. (Cape Town), 10s.; a Dublin Comrade, 1s.; from paid admission tickets to the lectures by P. Kropotkin and W. Morris at Grafton Hall, on 5th and 10th March, £7 7s., minus £2 7s. 11d. for hire of hall, printing and postage expenses.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR THE "COMMONWEAL" FUND.

Received by J. Presberg:—N., 1s.; Robert Avis, 5s.

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