

Freedom

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MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

Socialist Party Politics at Zurich.

THE International Workers' Congress assembled at Zurich, August 6, to 12, is likely to have a lively time; for it is not altogether in the spirit of brotherly confidence that delegates are hastening thither from all parts of Europe.

Besides their ostensible and most useful object of discussing social questions interesting to the workers, these International Congresses have been a battle-ground for contending socialist parties.

As our readers are pretty well aware, that able and devoted revolutionist, Karl Marx, left behind him a clique of personal adherents, who during his declining years and after his death summed up his economic ideas into a sort of dogmatic creed, the which if any man ventures to dispute, he is an outcast from the orthodox church of Socialism. Morally incapable of reproducing what was great in their master, the Marxists have accentuated all that was least, and become notorious as unscrupulous wire-pullers and schemers for power. Having constituted themselves the priesthood of orthodox Socialism, their aim is to place themselves at the head of the Labor Movement throughout Europe and control its destinies.

In England they are only an insignificant handful, and their tactics have been remarkably unsuccessful. They lost first the S.D.F. and then the Socialist League; they have an imperfect hold on Hamer-smith, and their recent attempts to collar the Independent Labor Party, Scottish Federation, and Trades Unions, have not hitherto done much for them.

In France one or two of them are "Labor Members" in the Assembly, but their direct following is practically non-existent. There is much Authoritarian Socialism in the country but most of its adherents kick against the Marxian rule—as they do also in Holland and Belgium.

In Poland, Bulgaria, and Roumania, the Workmen's Party is unhappily inclined to be submissive. We have not heard of any healthy revolts there as yet.

The stronghold of the Marxist clique is, however, in Germany, where Bebel, Liebknecht and Co. are already leaders of the organised Labor Movement. Their power has as yet been only seriously threatened by Volkmar and his party, and with them they have patched up a peace.

With regard to Austria we want further information; but Italy and Spain are wholly rebellious, and mostly organise on Anarchist lines.

It is scarcely unkind to assume that it was with a view of strengthening their position as international labor leaders that the Marxist clique bestirred themselves to promote the first International Labour Congress at Paris in 1889.

From their point of view, however, it was a dismal failure. The majority of delegates, English included, declined to accept their domination, and withdrew to hold a separate congress in another hall. This opposition congress was so much the most representative that the Marxists found it impossible to carry out their plan to hold another congress in 1891, at Zurich. They were obliged to give in to the arrangements made by the rebel congress* to hold the next gathering at Brussels. But of course they resolved to see what they could do at Brussels by wire-pulling. "The astute gentlemen who run Marxism in England," says "Trades Unionist," writing to the *Daily Chronicle*, July 24, "so managed matters that all representative English Trade Unionists were kept away from Brussels, and they (the Marxists) were able to pose as the real representatives of English Labor. The same game has been tried this year, but, fortunately, the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress has woke up to the fact that the English Labor movement has never yet been represented fairly on the Continent, and they are sending four representatives to Zurich."

Apparently it is not only the Parliamentary Committee but various English Socialist and other bodies who have woke up. Some are sending delegates expressly instructed to oppose the Marxist domination, and they will be backed up by rebels from Holland, Belgium, France, the German Independent Socialists, Austria, Spain, and Italy.

To defend their position, the Marxists have managed that the organising committee shall send out the following resolution as to the admission of delegates:—

"All delegates of Working Class Trades Unions, Societies, and Clubs to be admitted; also all Socialistic Societies and Organisations which acknowledge the necessity of the organisation of the workers, and the necessity of political action." The italics are ours.

The object of the setting up a credo as an admission test to what professes to be a congress of workers as workers, not merely a gather-

ing of Constitutional Social Democrats, is, of course, to keep out the most resolute opponents of Marxist domination, Anarchists of all nations, German Independents, Dutch Revolutionaries, and, in general, the revolutionary element in European Socialism. A considerable number of rebels are, however, likely to come as delegates from Labor societies, and, once in the Congress, they will make common cause, more or less, with the Social Democrats, who, whilst of unimpeachable political orthodoxy in theory, object to have the Marxists for their rulers.

If the result is the defeat of the Marxist clique, the Zurich Congress may perhaps be of some use in bringing about a common understanding between the workers. In any case, it will be a valuable object lesson on the fact that Socialist and non-Socialist politicians are much of a muchness, and the workers will be fools if they trust to such men and such methods for their emancipation.

TO TRADE UNIONS.

The following circular, signed by 93 comrades, members of the *Alliance Cabinet Makers' Association, United Shop Assistants' Union, National Litho Artists' and Designers' Society, Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers and Confectioners, London Society of Compositors, Amalgamated Society of Tailors, London Tailors' Federation, Rope and Twine Spinners' and Hemp Dressers' Union, Lithographers' Union, Boiler Makers' and Iron Ship Builders' Society, Scottish National Federation of House and Ship Painters, National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, Operative Masons' and Stonecutters' Society, Saddlers' and Harness Makers' Trade Union, Amalgamated Hosiery Union, and the Amalgamated Society of House Painters and Decorators*, has been sent to all British Trade Societies:—

FELLOW WORKERS,—In view of the coming International Workmen's Congress, to be held at Zurich, during August 1893, we, the undersigned *bonâ fide* Members of British Trade and Labour Unions, urgently appeal to you to give your attention and consideration to the following.

In the years 1889 and 1891 International Congresses were held in Paris and Brussels respectively. At the former, which was known as the "Marxist," (for owing to personal jealousy among the Social Democratic leaders, there were held at the same time two rival Congresses, the other known by the name of "Possibilist") Anarchist Delegates were admitted at first, but were *violently and brutally ejected* the moment they attempted to express their opinion on matters before the Congress. It was evident then that the clique of middle class wire-pullers and politicians, known by the name of "Marxist," who arrogated to themselves the bossing of that Congress, were determined to stick at nothing to have their own way. After having *deliberately suppressed* a resolution from the English Socialists, handed in through William Morris,—declaring the necessity of the land and means of production being held in common as an imperative condition for the well-being of all,—they actually resorted to brutal violence and forcibly turned out the Italian Labour Delegate Dr. Merlino, when he demanded the right to put his resolution, which embodied Morris's and also pointed out that legal reforms can do but little for the workers under the present system of monopoly and exploitation. By this they so disgusted the English delegates that the whole of them—with the exception of Cunninghame Grahame, Keir Hardie, and one or two others, closely related to Karl Marx, who cared for politics more than anything else—left in a body as a protest; as did several Italian, Spanish, Dutch and other delegates.

But however revolting this may appear to every fair-minded man, it dwindles almost into insignificance when compared with the outrageous and treacherous action of this clique of *New Pretenders* during the last Congress, held in 1891 at Brussels. There these few French and German State-Socialists entered from the first into a tacit conspiracy and decided to select the delegates and to expel any and every one holding Anarchist opinions. By means of calumny and lies about Anarchy and Anarchists, they succeeded in hoodwinking all the other delegates, the English section among them. Consequently many *bonâ fide* delegates from Labor organisations in Belgium, Spain and other countries were refused admittance *merely on account of their opinions*. And this in spite of the fact that some of them (the Spanish Anarchist delegate, for instance) brought authorisations from a larger number of Trade Societies than most of the other delegates present.

With regard to the coming Congress at Zurich, we see that the same clique of wire-pullers, whose aim is to get the whole Labor movement under their thumb, have already met in conclave and begun to concoct schemes to exclude all Labor delegates, however well accredited, who are likely to oppose their policy and dispute their authority. Not only

* Called Possibilist from the section of French Socialists who headed the revolt.

Anarchists of all Nationalities are threatened with exclusion, but also German Independent Socialists, some sections of French Socialists, the Dutch Socialists who at their recent Congress have declared against parliamentary action, and have also at different times expressed their disgust at the jingo speeches of Bebel and Co. in the German Reichstag. In fact, no delegate is to be admitted who does not accept political action as a necessary step for the workers in their struggle for emancipation.

Now, as far as concerns Anarchists, it certainly is true that they do not endorse political action as a right and proper action to be adopted by the workers; nay, they even point out the danger and harm the Labor movement may suffer from parliamentary action. Believing as they do in the principles of self-reliance and collective effort, they do their best to awaken the workers to the consciousness of their position, and persuade them to the idea of depending on their own activity and energy.

But is this sufficient reason why they should be denied the right of admission to any International Congress of workers? Is it not a fact that the bulk of the workers to-day do not believe in political action—much less in the parliamentary program of the State-Socialist Marxist? And if Anarchists do not care to co-operate with Social Democrats in electioneering, there are other and far more important matters in which they are working, and are ready to work, heart and soul with existing Labor organisations—such as strikes, unemployed agitations, First-May demonstrations, in fact, every direct attempt to better the condition of Labor. Parliamentary action is not the only question to be discussed at Zurich, though the Social Democratic politicians would like to have it so.

Considering that the chief objects of all International Congresses of workers is and should be to bring about a *common understanding and feeling of solidarity and brotherhood among the workers of all countries*, is it not sheer stupidity, and even a crime and an outrage, to impede this object by imposing a qualification with regard to opinions, and more especially when the confession of faith demanded is not even the settled conviction of the mass of the workers?

In some countries—Spain and Italy for example—Anarchists form the bulk of Labor organisations, so that to exclude Anarchists from an International Congress simply destroys the international character of the meeting and imposes a serious bar to common understanding amongst the workers of various countries.

Anarchists, not believing in coercion, whether by vote or by open force, there is certainly no fear that the Anarchist delegates, even when they are numerous, should out vote or vote down anybody. Are they to be excluded because they prefer persuasion to coercion in their methods of spreading their views? Surely no fair-minded man will admit such an outrage.

Fellow workmen, we all know that our strength lies in unity. We all know that Trade Unionism is itself a recognition of that fact, and that no British Trade Society ever objected to any worker joining it on the ground of his opinions. At this moment there are many loyal members actively engaged in forming, organising, and strengthening the unions of their trade who hold Anarchist ideas. We therefore, as fellow-unionists, appeal to you not to allow yourselves to be bullied and cajoled by a set of ambitious politicians, whether they call themselves "Socialists" or not, but to insist that *no delegates* shall be even asked for a declaration of opinions as a condition of admittance to the Zurich Congress. We appeal to you in the name of the common interests of Labor to *give definite instructions to your delegates* (whether you send one direct or through your Trade Council or Parliamentary Committee) *not to allow any section of workers, Anarchist or other, to be expelled on account of their opinions; and that all delegates from bona fide Labor associations should get justice and fair play.*

Surely this is not too much to expect from you, and trusting you will give this your immediate consideration, we are, with wishes for the speedy success of the Cause of Labor the world over, yours in the struggle. [Here follow the 93 names.]

THE CONQUEST OF BREAD.

By PETER KROPOTKINE.

CHAPTER III.—ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

II.—(Continued.)

Nevertheless, as soon as we turn from printed books to real life, as soon as we cast our eyes on Society, we are struck by the infinitesimal part which Government plays there. Long ago, Balzac noticed how many millions of peasants live their whole lives knowing nothing of the State, except the heavy taxes which they have to pay to it. Every day countless transactions take place without the interference of Government, and all matters of trade and finance on a large scale—all the transactions of the Stock Exchange—are so managed that the aid of Government cannot be invoked, even if one of the contracting parties has no intention of fulfilling his agreement.

Ask a business man versed in these subjects, and he will tell you that the transactions effected every day among business men would be utterly impossible were they not based on mutual good faith. The habit of keeping his word and the desire not to lose credit amply suffice to maintain the conventional honesty of the business world. Even the quack who would, without the smallest remorse, poison his dupes with adulterated drugs wrapped in bombastic advertisements, even he makes

a point of keeping his business engagements. Surely then, if this relative morality can develop even in the present conditions, where gain is the sole incentive and the sole reward, we cannot doubt that it will progress rapidly as soon as the appropriation of the fruits of others' toil is no longer the basis of Society.

Another striking feature, which is specially characteristic of our generation, supports our theory still more strongly. We refer to the continual growth of enterprise due to private initiative, and the enormous development of free associations of every kind. We will speak of them more at length in the chapters devoted to *Free Contract*. Suffice it to say here that these features are numerous, and so much a matter of course that they form the very essence of the second half of this century, although the writers on Socialism and on Politics ignore them, preferring to hold forth upon the functions of the Government. It is because these numerous free organisations are a product so natural, because they spread so rapidly and combine so readily, because they are a result so necessary of the growing needs of civilised man, and, finally, because they replace Government interference so advantageously, that we are bound to recognise in them a factor of ever increasing importance in the life of Societies.

That they do not already cover all the manifestations of daily life is due to the insurmountable obstacles they meet in the poverty of the worker, in the class distinctions of existing Society, in individual ownership of capital and in the State. Remove these obstacles, and you will see them cover the whole vast field of human activity.

The history of the last fifty years furnishes a living proof that Representative Government is impotent to discharge the functions we have sought to assign to it.

But this impotence is becoming evident to all; the faults of Parliamentaryism, and the inherent vices of the Representative principle are self-evident, and the few thinkers who have made a critical study of them (J. S. Mill and Leverdays) did but give literary form to the popular dissatisfaction. It is not difficult to see the absurdity of naming a few men and saying to them, "Make us laws for the conduct of all our activities, even when not one of you knows anything about them!"

We are beginning to see that government by majorities means abandoning all the affairs of the country to the tide-waiters who make up the majorities in the House, and in election committees: to those, in a word, who have no opinion of their own. But mankind is seeking and already finding new issues.

The International Postal Union, the Railway Unions and the learned societies give us examples of solutions found by free consent in place and stead of law.

Today, when groups that are scattered far and wide wish to organise themselves for some object or other, they no longer elect an International Parliament of *rough and ready* "Representatives." No, where it is not possible to meet directly or come to an agreement by correspondence, delegates versed in the question at issue are sent to treat, with the instructions: "Endeavor to come to an agreement on such or such a question, and then return, not with a law in your pocket, but with a proposition of agreement which we may or may not accept."

Such is the method of the great industrial companies, the learned societies and the associations of every description, which already cover Europe and the United States. And such should be the method of an emancipated society. While bringing about expropriation, society cannot continue to organise itself on the principle of Parliamentary Representation. A society founded on serfdom is in keeping with absolute monarchy; a society based on the wage system and the exploitation of the masses by the capitalists finds its political expression in parliamentaryism. But a free society, regaining possession of the common inheritance, must seek, in free groups and free federation of groups, a new organisation in harmony with the new economic phase of history. Every economic phase has a political phase corresponding to it, and it would be impossible to touch property without finding at the same time a new mode of political life.

Love's Triumph.

I mused on Love, the pure harmonious sense,
Its deeper meanings brightened o'er my soul
And thrilled me with the extasy of Hope,
The harbinger of Light and Joy on earth.
A new life dawned upon my inward eyes;
And men appeared no longer monster-like,
But things of reason, beauty, harmony.
The deadly upas nationality
Was wholly razed from out the human breast,
And envy, spite and rancorous jealousy—
All demons that enthrall the mind of man,
Were swept and scattered by the light of Love.
One chain of kindred feeling linked mankind,
And what the poets dreamt of, came to pass.
I stood upon a lofty pinnacle
And watched the evolution to its goal.
No longer hateful passions shook the breast,
For Love was throned and wore the diadem.

By the late J. M. BROWN.

** Comrades will be glad to hear that a selection of J. M. Brown's hitherto unpublished poems, with some biographical notes (including an article by Glasier which appeared in *Freedom* for May), has been issued at the Labor Literature Depot, 105, London-street, Glasgow; price 6d.

Observations on the Russian Commune (Mir).

III.

THIS method of organising popular life has created quite an original cast of thought. In the opinion of the Russian people no one has a right to appropriate to himself anything but the product of his own labor. In a peasant's household the woman has the right of disposing of all that she has herself produced according to her own wish. Usually all the produce of the fields and the cattle belong to the man, whilst the produce of the garden, the poultry and the various spinning industries belong to the housewife. And it is the same in the case of chance profits. If you go to a peasant's house for a meal or a drink or a night's lodging and you wish to pay something, you must always speak to the woman, the man will never take your money.

I attribute to this popular custom the fact that the Russian code recognises the division of property between the husband and wife, and it is that which has created for the Russian woman, an economic and consequently a social position far superior in most respects to that enjoyed by woman in Western Europe.

Owing to this thoroughly humane and just idea that private property can only exist in those things which are the produce of one's own labor, the Russian people obstinately refuse to consider fishing, hunting, or the use of forests for *personal requirements* as a crime. "The forests and the water are God's," they naively say, "and each has the right to make use of them, according to his needs." "But it is a theft to cut down wood in the estate of Lord N.," said Yakoushin, one of the best observers of popular life, to some peasants who were openly going in carts to a private estate to cut down wood. "What do you say, little father," answered the peasants astonished, "if someone were to take wood that you had already cut or corn that you had already sown—that would certainly be a theft—but anyone has a right to cut down a tree that God alone has cared for. Do you see, to take what a man has produced would be to steal. But the forests, the game, the fish are created for all—yes, for all." The peasants displayed yet more energy in developing the same idea to the civil engineer Garin (*Russian Thought*, 1892).

It must not be thought that these are a few exceptional facts. No, everywhere and always the people act in accordance with these ideas of justice. The majority of "crimes" committed by peasants are always against private or state property in forests. For the Russian peasant there exists only one moral authority which possesses the right of temporarily forbidding the use of such and such a piece of common property—it is his Mir, the full assembly of his commune. Sometimes, in order to preserve the forests or fish, the Mir will proclaim such and such a place "sacred" (*zapovednia*) for so many years, and the Mir knows perfectly well that no Russian will touch the least straw in a "sacred" forest. The *zapovednia* forests are well known in Russia, and it is also known how the people respect the decisions of the Mir. A whole series of popular proverbs exist, which prove to what a degree the Russians esteem, revere, their Mir.

"No one goes against the Mir."

"Even the woods bend before the decision of the Mir."

"It is a glorious thing to die for the Mir." And other such. And the Mir makes its decisions respected only by its practice of solidarity and equality, whilst the all-powerful government of the Tsar cannot get the peasants to obey its laws concerning private and State property.

But there is nothing astonishing in the fact that the efforts of the government are fruitless: the people has long been accustomed to look upon the administration and the government as its worst enemies. "Moscow is as full of bad government officials as a forest is of branches," says an old popular proverb. The people has always tried to fly from the central government and its corrupt and despotic officials. W. T.

(To be continued.)

"An Enemy of the People."

BEERBOHM TREE, the fashionable actor, has now given seven representations of Ibsen's most Anarchistic play, "An Enemy of the People," in the Haymarket Theatre. For the benefit of our readers who do not know the play we here give a brief statement of it. The scene is laid in a town on the south coast of Norway; the hero is Dr. Thomas Stockmann, medical officer to the Baths there, which are the chief source of prosperity to the town. The Doctor has been the original suggestor of the Baths, but his elder brother Peter, who in his person unites several offices, burgomaster, chief of police, etc., has been a prominent man in putting the scheme "on a practical footing," and has succeeded in getting himself appointed Chairman of the Bath Committee. Like all things run for a purely practical purpose, *i.e.*, for the purpose of gathering coin, the Bath scheme has been bungled. The Doctor had wanted the Committee to build the Baths higher up the coast, but he was not listened to, and the pipes are laid below a tannery belonging to Dr. Stockmann's father-in-law, from which there oozes noxious filth that taints the water in the feed pipes of the Baths. Several cases of typhoid and gastric attacks among the visitors to the Baths put the Doctor on the alert, and he subjects the water to a searching analysis, which proves it to be swarming with infusoria, and injurious to health whether taken internally or externally.

Having satisfied himself that this is the fact, Dr. Stockmann hastens to tell his fellow-citizens of the discovery. First he tells it to a few very advanced thinkers at his own house and they hail his dis-

covery with joy, and him as a remarkable man of science, the editor of a revolutionary paper regarding it as most important "copy," and as something that will help him in his work "of emancipating the down-trodden masses." Next day the printer of this paper, a leader of the small middle-class men, as president of the Householders' Association, offers the Doctor the support of "a compact majority" in carrying out the necessary reforms at the Bath. But the Burgomaster, when he hears of his brother's discovery, hastens to put a stop to what he considers nothing but lunacy. He points out to the Doctor that his discovery, if made public, means ruin for the town, as the pipes would have to be re-laid at great cost, the Baths closed for at least two years, and all the visitors, who brought money to the town, would be scared away, perhaps for ever. The Doctor, however, maintains it would be better to be ruined than to go on fattening on lies and filth. The Burgomaster thereupon resolves to crush and silence his brother by his power as a high official, and by threats of dismissal from the post of medical officer to the Baths.

The Doctor, strong in his rectitude, and furthermore believing himself backed by an influential paper and a compact majority, defies his brother to conceal the truth; but the Editor of the "People's Messenger" and his sub. go over to the Burgomaster when they find Stockmann's is not the paying side, and the printer slinks off when he is told that the cost of relaying the pipes would have to come out of his and his fellow-ratepayers' pockets.

Stockmann then resolves to appeal to the people, but cannot get a public hall lent him, in which to hold a meeting. A friendly sea-captain offers him a large room in his house for the purpose. The people assemble to hear him read a paper on the condition of the Baths, but they have already taken the cue from the "People's Messenger" which has declared the Doctor to be wrong. The Burgomaster proposes that the meeting should decline to hear the lecture, the popular editor seconds this, and the audience agreeing, the Doctor then tears up his paper and says he will say nothing about the filth at the Baths that evening, he will instead tell them something quite different. He then speaks straight, though with many adverse interruptions, and tells his audience that they have rid him of many illusions, that his eyes have been opened wide, and the first thing he saw was the "extraordinary stupidity of the authorities;" but the greatest of his discoveries was when he found out that "the most dangerous foe to truth and freedom" is "the compact majority—the confounded, compact liberal majority!" A tremendous disturbance follows this declaration, and the Doctor is requested to withdraw these expressions. He refuses, and sticks to it that the minority are always right; that "majority-truths are like last year's salt pork—producing all the moral scurvy that devastates society." He then tells his audience that the masses are not the true pith of the people, as the "Messenger" and such papers would fain have them believe; "the masses are nothing but the raw material that must be fashioned into the People;" they have to be cultivated just like any other animals. His hearers wax more and more furious as he proceeds and, finally they with one voice declare that he hates his country, that he is an enemy of the people. The crowd threaten Stockmann with violence, but he pushes his way defiantly through to the door. The people follow him home, hooting, and finally smash all his windows.

In the last act Stockmann gathers up all the stones, "only two decent-sized lumps in the whole heap," to keep as heirlooms. Again the Burgomaster tries by threats of utter ruin to make his brother retract his statements about the Baths. His father-in-law, who at first rejoiced over the prospect of a nice little row in the town, but later enraged by the declaration that all the poisonous filth had come down from his tannery, invests all the money he meant to leave Mrs. Stockmann and her children in Shares in the Baths, in the vain hope of compelling Stockmann to find another source for the "millions of infusoria." The curtain falls on the Doctor ruined financially and in reputation, with no adherents in his native town but his wife, daughter, —a charming specimen of girlhood—two sons of tender years, and the friendly sea-captain, who has been dismissed from command of his ship by the merchant-owner, who *dares* not employ a friend of so unpopular a man as the Doctor. But Stockmann has found out his own strength, he is able to stand alone if need be, for he has not feared truth.

Judging from the way in which the audience cheered at the first performance, they either assumed that they all belonged to the minority who is always right, or they supposed that Beerbohm Tree was saying a good word for the British aristocracy, for we cannot believe that they were *all* Anarchists there. We hope that Mr. Tree will be able to give a special performance, paid for out of the rates, for all County Councillors, Board School officials, Members of Parliament, and other popular representatives, and meantime let us remember, as Dr. Stockmann says: "One should never put on his best trousers to go out to battle for freedom and truth."

The play is published in the Camelot series, along with "Pillars of Society" and "Ghosts," price 1s., or 9d. cash. It is wrongly called in this edition "An Enemy of Society," for the author makes a nice distinction between an enemy of society and an enemy of the people, and shows that Dr. Thomas Stockmann is something more than a fighter of mere class distinction, he is, as the Editor of "The People's Messenger" tauntingly calls him, "a Revolutionist."

Special Notice to London Comrades.—As Agnes Henry will be on a lecture tour in the north during August, we hope some speakers will be able to take her place on Sunday evenings at Clerkenwell Green, at which station Comrade Merlino will be in need of English help.

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NOTES.

OUR FRIENDS THE POLICE.

Comrades Cantwell and Young were arrested while on duty on Thursday night, 29th June. They were posting the following bills:—

"Royal Wedding: The London Anarchists will hold an indignation meeting Sunday, July 2nd, in Hyde Park, at half-past-three, to protest against the waste of wealth upon these Royal Vermin, while the workers are dying of hunger and overwork. Fellow workers, prepare for the Revolution. Remember—He who would be free himself must strike the blow. Down with Flunkysm!"

It seems likely that the arrest was made as an excuse to break into the *Commonweal* offices, for when, after remand, our comrades were brought again before the magistrate, to the general astonishment, the police confessed they had no case themselves; although of course they tried to disguise the fact by bragging of what they might do. They had, however, whilst our comrades were in prison, rummaged the *Weal* office and also Cantwell's private letters and papers, taking away his keys for the purpose. Cantwell and Young were dismissed; but were thereupon summoned by the owners of the hoarding upon which one of the bills was affixed, and fined £2 2s. each.

As usual, the meddling of the police has been useful to the cause. Ever since, Anarchist meetings have flourished abundantly; many extra quires of *Commonweals* are sold, and big collections made; our orators are stimulated to their utmost, and new speakers are appearing.

ANOTHER FAILURE.

Not an Australian bank this time, nor a building society; nothing to cause any astonishment: quite an every day occurrence. There need be no surprise whatever in the failure of a thing which has never been known to succeed—an Act of Parliament. The enquiry "into the present operation of the laws with regard to total and to partial exemption from school attendance, and to child labor generally" is a report which, as the *Star* says, cannot be read "without some sickness of heart." "Children are being employed in England and Wales without any legal restriction as to the number of hours, at the ages of twelve, eleven, or even ten." The law, the *Star* continues, "is in an almost hopeless state of chaos. Not fewer than three existing Acts—one in 1870, one in 1876, and the third in 1880—have to account for the present state of things." Quite so; and the same may be said of every corner of social life into which legislation intrudes its mischievous head. Now we are perfectly well aware that our Fabian and Social Democratic friends are coming into this business to do wonders. They think they possess a magic wand which will transform this mixture of blundering and low cunning into a means of reorganising our social system. Well, the days of magic wands are passed, and we are really sorry for the delusions of these "practical" people. To accomplish anything, they would have to destroy the power of the capitalist, and that would mean a revolution. But practical people dread revolutions and that is why they will never accomplish anything for humanity.

FROM PRISON.

We have received a letter from C. C. Davis, dated Birmingham Prison, July 21st. He writes in fairly good spirits, "still full of courage," only suffering from the depression natural to a strong man in captivity. He sends best wishes to all comrades, and special greetings to his fellow-prisoners, the Walsall men and D. J. Nicoll. Comrade E. C. Chapman has received permission to visit him.

An American correspondent writes:—"Our imprisoned friends [Bauer and Nold] are well in health and spirits, and keep up good courage. They send their greetings to all the comrades in England."

ALTGELD'S CRIME AGAINST AMERICANISM.

The American journalists have been raining the nine parts of speech for forty days and nights in abusive combinations on the subject of Governor Altgeld's setting free Fielden, Neebe and Schwab. The thing that strikes the old-world readers in their condemnations of a pardon being granted to innocent men is the utter lack of a humane spirit in their articles. Never has the American press so thoroughly displayed

its meanness, pettiness, cowardliness as over this affair. Altgeld, says the *Chicago Tribune*, "has not a drop of true American blood in his veins." "He does not reason like an American, nor feel like one, nor behave like one." And yet the *Tribune*, like all the other bourgeois papers, will have it that he has done the most American thing under the sun—sold Justice for a Vote. It would be impossible to quote from all the papers that rail at "the self-disgraced Governor" of Illinois, and call his act the mere keeping of a political promise made to secure his election. With Benjamin Tucker we say that is all Bosh! for if it were so Altgeld would not have written the elaborate and careful defence of his action, pointing out that *justice*, not *mercy*, was his motor: his well-grounded assertion that the trial of the Chicago Anarchists was unfair, that the judge was partisan, the jury packed, the sentence bloody—this is the red flag that maddened the brute beast capitalistic journalism. "Unquestionably," says the *New York Evening Post*, "if the four other Anarchists had not been hanged they would have been pardoned with their associates now"—a supposition almost too fearful for the *Evening Post* to contemplate. No, we cannot bring back the dead to life. We can only inscribe, as *Liberty* suggests, upon the memorial marble raised to Spies, Parsons, Engel, Fischer and Lingg "Not Murderers, but Murdered," and remember, let the wolves howl as they may, that the Chicago Men have contributed their share, and a glorious one, to the evolution of mankind.

TUCKER PLEASED.

In *Liberty*, May 27th, Benj. R. Tucker comments on the fag end of our report of William Morris's lecture on Communism, published in *May Freedom*. He rejoices over our supposed indignation at hearing Morris speak his mind concerning Anarchism according to Tucker, but we cannot for the life of us see why we should be supposed indignant at that. It was not the first time we heard Morris declare that Tucker's Anarchism, being the negation of all society, is a state of things quite inconceivable to him (Morris), and that he thinks the English Anarchists are in reality Communists. Sometimes we are tempted to exclaim, apropos of both, Tucker and Morris, that there are none so blind as he who will not see! To us there is no Communism worth striving for that is not voluntary, and no possibility of Anarchy unless men are living in brotherhood, holding all necessities of life in common and being, like the Trinity, "neither afore nor after" each other. Tucker complains that he was misrepresented when Morris said he wanted the dissolution of all society, but for all that he himself misrepresents Morris, a sentence or two higher up, when he says that Morris, "being determined there shall be no property, abandons freedom." Of course Morris has done no such thing. At present he is in the atmosphere of Fabianism and S.D.F.-ism, and is almost persuaded that there will always be a strong minority wanting to maintain some of the present day evils, or something equally foolish, which will necessitate somebody or another's undertaking to keep everybody else in order. Furthermore, Tucker must have read the report of the lecture in haste, and muddled his brains in so doing; otherwise how could he interpret Morris's saying that "many folks in the Socialist League were mere disturbandists" as meaning that the Freedom Group, who invited Morris to lecture, "are simple disturbers of the peace." The mere disturbandist, however, wherever he be, is a useful man at present; for a good deal of what exists must be disturbed, and uprooted, before there is room for newer and better growths.

A SINCERE REGRET.

We are indeed sorry to learn from the 1st July No. of *Liberty* that its able editor is, from personal reverses, compelled to curtail the issue. *Liberty* will henceforth, until further notice, be published monthly instead of weekly, and even this can only be done by Tucker's setting the whole of the type himself, thus reducing the cost to outlay for paper, presswork and postage. The privileges of subscribers will remain unchanged. We hope that *Liberty* will later on reappear in the old form. There are not so many fighters against the old state of things that we can afford to miss out Benjamin Tucker's weekly blows for individual freedom, even though they are not dealt after our method.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC TYRANNY IN AMERICA.

The New York Central Labor Federation of the American Socialist Labor Party have announced that all members of unions belonging to it who do not "vote the straight party ticket" are to be considered "Scabs," and treated as such! The organ of the German Social Democrats in New York, the *Volkszeitung*, has ventured to doubt the wisdom of trying to force members to vote as the party leaders direct, but the said leaders, and *The People*, the English organ of the party, soundly rate the German paper, saying that if they are not to be allowed to treat non-voters as "Scabs," the Socialist Labor Party may as well disband. The unions at large seem altogether shaky as regards the principle involved, some thinking one way and some another. It is about time some Anarchists struck into the controversy and pointed out that tyranny in the name of Socialism only differs from other sorts by being a shade more pernicious; for if Socialism means anything real at all, it means the freeing of the Workers, not handing them over in bonds of red tape from one set of elected rulers to another just as arbitrary.

ITALY.

We have a new Anarchist paper in Naples, writes a correspondent. Comrade Schinhi, who shot in self-defence at a policeman, has been sentenced at Viterbo to 11 years penal servitude. His behaviour in the trial and after the sentence has been splendid. Above all, we have

a splendid efflorescence of Socialist trade unions in Sicily, thousands of workmen in a few months having run to enlist themselves. Quite a new thing in Sicily.

The Situation in Spain.

A BOURGEOIS paper in Madrid, *L'Epoca*, sums up the situation in the following manner: "Galicia is almost in a state of insurrection throughout the province; Navarre is disgusted and ready to rise; from Catalonia telegrams are received, announcing meetings of commercial and industrial proprietors who intend to oppose the payment of the taxes; in Andalusia the bad feeling and discontent are constant. Every one laments and protests; even the lawyers strike; in several provinces justice is administered in the courtyards of the inns; the industrial population are cancelled in the lists of tax-contributors; commercial men prepare a demonstration by a general closing of shops; and everywhere the situation is such as cannot last."

This picture presented by the Madrid paper is far from being exaggerated. Bourgeois society is already bankrupt; after having reduced the operatives and peasantry to extreme misery, and after having used every means, from flattery to massacre, to prevent the people from vindicating their rights, today it is itself the victim of the present absurd social organisation. Suffering and discontented, it now wavers between the desire to free itself from the oppression of the central government and the domination of the great bankers, and a fear of the people, who certainly this time will not rebel to serve the interests of their masters, but, on the contrary, to obtain their own emancipation.

There is a commercial and industrial crisis in Spain, and yet the government has to provide for the luxury of the court, for the greed of its adherents, and for the expenses of the police—always on the increase owing to the growth of popular discontent. Therefore it raises the taxes to a degree entirely disproportionate to the means of the country. The populace and the middle class resist, and thus continual conflicts arise, which render the situation more and more strained.

The employing classes protest by closing factories and shops, as in Grenada, Saragazza, Valencia, Calatayud, Tarragona etc. etc. Or they form "Committees of Resistance," to oppose the taxes and pledge themselves not to accept any office connected with the government, as in Galicia. In Coruna, the capital of this province, it has been impossible to appoint a municipal council, because no bourgeois will accept the office of councillor!

The people for their part also protest, but in a more violent manner, warring against both the government and their employers. This makes the middle classes, and particularly the republican section of them, very indignant. They would be glad enough if the workmen would help them to drive away the present government, but do not wish to hear anything about Socialism. Indeed, they would rather retain the monarchy than run the risk of losing the privileges of their class—an important fact which explains how it is that monarchy still holds out in Spain.

At the present moment a whole series of small popular revolts are taking place. There are revolts against the town-dues, revolts against the capitation-tax, revolts against imposed passports, *i.e.*, the obligation for every individual to have a certificate of identity, which certificates are supplied for payment by the authorities.

Almost all these tumults, numbered by hundreds in every province, present much the same features. The tax-collectors come and seize some one's property; the public watch the house, and begin to gather in groups; the girls and women raise a clamor; a shower of stones rains down upon the tax-collectors, who promptly run away. Then come the gendarmes, and the fight grows serious. The mayor appears with the other authorities, who interfere, put a stop to the seizure of the property and pretend to give satisfaction to the public. Later on re-inforcements arrive, and the disturbance is suppressed, more or less violently. The final result of the whole business is the smashing of many windows, the wounding of several individuals on both sides, a panic among the tax-collectors, and some arrests. And no sooner is one such affair over than another begins.

Sometimes, however, disturbances take larger proportions. At Madrid, for example, the street sweepers on strike have carried on a veritable battle.

And the government imagines it will remedy all this by persecuting the Anarchists! The Liberal ministry, which is now in power, seems to have set itself to show that Anarchists are right when they say that one government is about the same as another. The Liberals are even more tyrannical than the Conservatives have been. They prohibit meetings and demonstrations, saying that the Anarchist party is outside the law, *e.g.*, in Madrid on May-day. When granting permission for a republican meeting, "to consider social questions," the minister gave notice that the assembly would be dissolved instantly if Anarchy were mentioned, "that question being illegal."

Arbitrary imprisonment and outrageous sentences upon Anarchists are everywhere the order of the day. The last decision of the Council of War relative to the disturbance at Xeres, after remarking "although there are no proofs against the accused, logic makes us suppose that they had part in these events," goes on to condemn nine people to imprisonment for life, two to twenty years, one to fifteen years, and four to twelve years!

At Madrid, on July 2, a bomb exploded before the house of the ex-president of the Council, Sgr. Cánovas, killing Francisco Ruiz, who it is supposed was the author of the attempt. Ruiz was a printer by trade and had a large family. He had been an active propagandist of An-

archist ideas since the early days of the International. It seems that no comrade knew of an intention on his part to cause the explosion to which he has fallen a victim. But the Spanish Anarchists have been lately engaged in spreading their ideas among the Republicans, and it may have been hoped to rouse the Republican party by a startling act and thus urge on the revolutionary outbreak which is daily expected. The government have, of course, profited by the occasion to arrest as many Anarchists as possible.

The labor movement continues to develop. Strike follows strike. New societies for the resistance to capitalistic oppression are being organised, and those already in existence are federating among themselves.

It is noteworthy and encouraging that the agitation is spreading among agricultural laborers. A recent congress of delegates from a peasant association united with the Spanish Operatives' Organisation. In Catalonia, the farmers, who hold land on condition of yielding to the owners a fixed portion of the produce, have decided to cultivate only half of the land and to retain all the produce, inviting the masters to come and cultivate the other half themselves, if they want half of what the farm yields.

The peasants round about Barcelona are in revolt.

Until lately, except in Andalusia, where, for several years, Socialist and Anarchist ideas have penetrated among the agricultural laborers, in Spain, as in other countries, the labor movement has been restricted generally to operatives. Now it is largely making its way into country places, and this is perhaps the most hopeful feature in the whole situation.

Mr. Auberon Herbert's "Voluntary State."

(Continued.)

Next comes:—*The Working of the Voluntary State.*

(1.) "*Taxation.* Public days would be fixed for the collection of Voluntary Contributions. These days would probably become national holidays, meetings being held and performances of many different kinds being organised by those citizens who would undertake to act in this matter to assist the raising of contributions. It would be attempted to enlist everywhere the energy and goodwill of all leading citizens. Hospital Saturday and Sunday offer on a minute scale an example of what would be done."

You see! No real voluntaryism after all. Public days are to be fixed (we presume by the State,) on which days the wills of the not interested are to be inveigled by means devised by the wills of the keenly interested; the wills of "leading citizens" to be quite specially angled for, of course. No honest nailing up in public of a permanent 'propertyist's alms-box' with the inscription—"Whosoever of his own accord really desires to pay money for some one else to carry a bludgeon or employ dynamite or build ironclads in defence of his own or any one else's purse or person, please pay here. Amount voluntary." That would be voluntary taxation; and of course it would be a sheer human impossibility to buy bludgeoners or dynamiters enough—or even the ten million pounds' worth of them that Mr. Herbert presently hints at,—to protect all the propertyists, national and private, out of such sums as people at large would be willing to pay for that definite purpose. No one *likes* to buy anything at his own felt expense (even for his master!) dearer than he need. Our unjustly mistrusted mother, Nature, has ordered it so, and has actually made the dislike nowhere more intense than in the bosoms of the well-fed of the children of Albion. And at the present social and ethical time of day, when to a large and daily increasing intelligent minority the buying and hiring of people to do what *we* want and *they* don't care about is beginning to appear a somewhat questionable and foolish process, it seems a little farcical to propose measures for rendering the protection of the property-owner by the propertyless a voluntary business at all. Possibly our Anarchist time-pieces are a little prone to gaining where practical ethics are concerned; but I think there can be no doubt that that of Mr. Herbert is, in this particular case, behind time. Or may we read between the lines or among the corollaries of his proposal any willingness that property *shall* dissolve through the natural liberated action of volitional cause and effect, and the people become truly free, although by a more unconscious, random, and circuitous route than that of direct intelligent revolt? I trow not. For *Free Life* "resolutely defends private property." It must be that the absolute and helpless dependence of this institution on coercive Government is not yet apparent to Mr. Herbert.

And then, I for one have an objection to the *method* of this madness. Lo! legal and official coercion of the tax-paying will being once abolished, that more shifty and demoralising form of will-coercion is contemplated which already brings silver threepenny bits in such myriads to the coffers of Hospitals, etc. The threepenny bit represents mammonised Respectability's compromise between the "I don't want to pay," on one hand, and the "I don't want Mrs. Grundy to know I don't want to pay," on the other. The threepenny bit is the only voluntary coin to be expected from the well-clad portion of the public; if larger sums are needed they will have to be bought or bribed for, by means of "performances of many kinds"—concerts, theatricals, bazaars, what not? And then, think of the "cadging" that will go on on part of "leading citizens" among the (always more generously-disposed) poor. Think of how the "black police" and their petticoated subalterns will "work" the villages, the schools, the

slums; every nook and corner where ignorance and innocence renders minds and wills defenceless against policy and influence. I do not think the picture of Mr. Herbert's national tax-collecting holidays a pretty picture at all. Of the two methods I had rather that the State wrenched open my fingers and seized the tax, in spite of me, than have it wheedled out of me while the "Voluntary" is being played on the church organ.

- (2.) "A State Contribution paper would be circulated stating the various needs of the Government, and the amount required under the various heads. Each contributor would fill in his contributions under such heads as he chose. Whenever the amount fell short for an important purpose, the Government would issue a supplementary notice pointing out the amount which was deficient. It would then rest with the country to supply or not to supply the deficiency. Those who gave contributions for any special purpose would mark their paper if they chose to indicate that when a certain sum had been obtained, say £10,000,000, for national defence, their contributions should be transferred to other purposes."

Think of the army of salaried officials even this distantly future Government would still be obliged to employ! Inducement to corruption must remain so long as salaried officialism remains; no incorruptible officials can be hoped for so long as the officiating is done mainly for a living, or for promotion, and only secondarily or not at all for sake of anything else. And imagine if you can the posture of mind which contentedly looks along an evolutionary vista, and sees at the end of it nothing better than Government agents busily carrying round the hat in the name of that anachronism "the Country." National defence!—when Internationalism is already the ingrained sentiment of millions,—when the proletariat of the whole planet, exactly in proportion to its rapidly advancing enlightenment, is sick of the farce of nationality, the cant of patriotism, the barbaric pretence of empire; false ideals which have brought to the peoples nothing but servitude and woe. Why, it seems to me, that long before any propertyist gets even the smallest current of popular feeling to set in anywhere towards his goal, events will have tided us all on to a social *terra firma* where there will be no more nations to hate, and compete against, and attack;—no more nations to bluster about, and murderously defend.

- (3.) "Debt. In order to get rid of all existing debt, central and local, the greatest efforts would be made; funds opened, gifts and legacies invited, some public property sold A crusade would be preached in every part of the country to get rid of our existing evil and humiliating burdens."

It is of course only financial debt that is here meant. The deeper debt that has accumulated for centuries—the debt which the Appropriator, national or private, everywhere owes to the Producer of property,—this remains out of count. The "humiliating burden" spoken of is not the burden of living and enjoying at the sole cost (in life and enjoyment) of the overworked man who fills your purse, or that other man whose sad life you penalise, and whose enjoyment you utterly forbid, only because you cannot employ him to enrich you further. And what a waste of crusading energy would be that proposed preachment against national financial debt, while the causes, one and all, that drive nations into debt remain untouched.

- (4.) "The Vote. "A payment of 5s. per annum would give the vote; but it might be found convenient to put matters dealt with by the State on the voluntary principle under separate Boards which would be elected only by those contributing to each matter so dealt with. These Boards would be independent of the Government though they might, if convenient, report their proceedings to the Government."

Every man (and we presume every woman), then, who in the days of Voluntary Statism shall feel in need of governing or who wants to get other people governed, will merely have to inherit, work for, beg, borrow, or steal five shillings, as a year's qualification for the privilege of saying what representative stranger shall perform the operation for them. The majority, then, of those folk who care to buy this five shillings worth of indirect and risky dominating power will decide matters for the rest—as at present. There will be legal penalty in some shape for evasion or defiance (however conscientious) of the voters'-representatives' regulations. No provision whatever is made for the people who don't want to be represented at all, or governed at all. Anarchists and "Abstentionists" will have to remain either the subjects of the more numerous of the competing parties of 5-shillingers, or else the discredited *re'els* that they are to-day. As to the separate little elected boards for this and that, with their reports to Government and their Government-audited accounts, their two salient features loom so large in my anarchic vision that I cannot care about any of their minor and comparative advantages and disadvantages. Being worked by money and for money, money will, as now, come first, and man second, in their every provision; and the officialism necessitated, with that inevitable concomitant of officialism—corruption, will continue to cause waste of power and abuse of trust all round.

(To be continued.)

TO COMRADES.

From the general drift of the suggestions received, it appears that the Manifesto might be greatly improved by a second part explaining the general principles of Anarchist Communism. We therefore propose to publish this next month, finally reprinting the whole as a penny pamphlet.

Apologies to the many contributors whose articles we are forced to hold over for lack of space this month.

"Why Government at all?"*

This book by Mr. Van Ornum is an addition to Anarchist literature. The writer has done his work in his own way, as every Anarchist should, and although there may be some disadvantage in discussing so many problems in so small a space, all will be impressed by the sincerity of tone with which the various subjects are handled. The pernicious effects of government in all matters in which it concerns itself are brought clearly to the reader's mind, and after such an arraignment not only is he convinced that it has not a leg left to stand on, but he is taught to look hopefully forward to its early demise.

We cannot, however, help expressing our disappointment upon reading the chapter on the "Abolition of the Law," in which Mr. Van Ornum propounds his remedy. He says: "All that is necessary is to combine and elect a majority of *one House to do nothing*," referring of course to the United States government. "It is not necessary," we are told, "to repeal a law or to amend a law; simply refuse to pass *any law*." But to succeed in this scheme implies that you must have a majority of Anarchists in the country, or at least a majority of people sufficiently convinced of the evils of government to be willing to overthrow it. And surely by that time the political machine will have been stopped, never to go again. But even should matters turn out as Mr. Van Ornum supposes, there is still this great point to be remembered, that private property so far remains in the hands of the monopolists. No matter how effectually you may have checkmated the politicians, you have still got your enemy in the rear, if you have left the monopolist in possession of his stolen wealth. By cunning and by corruption he will organise again and again to defeat you and maintain his power. To prevent this the workers must hold on to the means of production. In a sense these tools and instruments of production are in their hands now; but, instead of using them for their masters, they must use them for the satisfaction of their own needs. In other words, it is not so much that they need attack private property as that they must refuse to be ejected from the mines and factories and so be prevented from producing for themselves.

In his chapter on "Crime, its nature and cause," Mr. Van Ornum gives a humane and intelligent exposition of the subject, and we sincerely hope it will help readers to form more enlightened views of a matter upon which our rulers are more culpably stupid and debased than the people they delight to torture.

Finally, we are pleased to note that Mr. Van Ornum, in the end, arrives at the conclusions formed by Anarchist Communists.

He says (p. 321), "Property must soon become a common possession, and be employed by all to their fullest capacity for enjoyment. Men will become like guests at a well-filled table, spread with such a wealth of abundance that none will begrudge another any possible enjoyment." Again, "One of the first fruits of liberty will be the extinction of property as an individual possession. . . . as a convenience in order to avoid the labor and the trouble of keeping accounts, of exacting payment, and the care of looking after large personal belongings."

Although these conclusions are reached by what seems to us to be rather a circuitous route, we are none the less glad to welcome them, we trust Mr. Van Ornum's book may be widely read, and so help others to grasp these truths as clearly and firmly as himself.

A. M.

Books, Pamphlets, etc.

We have received during the past months the following books and pamphlets on our cause and kindred subjects.

IN ENGLISH.

The Crimes of Government, by J. Sketchley, 2d. The People's Bookstall, 52, Salthouse-lane, Hull.—An excellent pamphlet, showing the iniquitous principles on which governments are founded, and enumerating some of the crimes committed by the church and the State. Let people read this and then prate about Ravachol and such if they dare.

The Workman's Question: why he is poor, by J. Sketchley, 2d.—An interesting pamphlet showing the enormous sums of the national wealth produced by the workers, which are wasted on the non-producing parasitic classes, and thus showing why the worker is poor in the midst of plenty.

English Land Restoration League Special Report 1891. Among the Suffolk laborers with the red van. Office—8, Duke-street, Adelphi, W.C.

Land Nationalisation Tracts:

No. 32. "The Ethics of Compensation."

No. 33. "Presidential Address delivered by Dr. Wallace."

No. 34. "Program of the Land Nationalisation Society."

No. 35. "Opinions of leading thinkers."

The 10th Annual Report on the work of the Fabian Society for the year ended March 31st 1893. 1d. Office 276, Strand, W.C.

Fabian Tracts (1d. each):

"The New Reform Bill."

"Progress towards Social Democracy."

"Eight hours' bill."

"What the farm laborer wants."

"The workers' political program."

The Relationship between Co-operation and Trade Unionism. By Beatrice Potter (Mrs. Sidney Webb).—A paper read at a conference of trade union officials and co-operators, Aug. 15, 1892.—A thoughtful pamphlet, pointing out that under Social Democracy strong trade unions would be urgently needed to protect the interest of various classes of producers against the "compact majority" of consumers.

Women's Wages. By Isabella O. Ford. The Humanitarian League Publication No. 8. 1893. William Reeves.

Cheap bread for all—if you will on'y organise. A manifesto of the Great Yar-

* "Why Government at all?" by William H. Van Ornum. Published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., 175, Dearborn-street, Chicago, Illinois. Price 50 cents (2/1). U.S.A.

mouth Socialists, calling upon the workers to organise co-operative bakeries to obtain bread at reasonable prices. In Belgium a like movement has not been a success, having tended to reduce the Socialist agitation to a cheap loaf business.

Socialism and the Pope's Encyclical. A series of letters which appeared in the "Glamorgan Free Press" during 1891. By Munullog. Price 3d.—This pamphlet criticises the Pope's "remedies" for present evils such as Teetotalism, eight hours' day, trade unionism, etc., showing how these would never touch the root cause of the evil, it also refutes at length the Pope's objections to Socialism.

The Public v. Publican and Teetotal fanatic: dealing with the Licensing question and Sunday closing, from the standpoint of the Individual. By a Radical. 1d.—This pamphlet is to show that closing the public houses will not diminish intoxication, as can be proved by example, but will merely create a monopoly for a few Publicans and ruin others.

Creating Liberty; Thoughts for the future rulers of Europe, the Masses. By Morrison S. Swift.

Conference of Delegates on questions concerning the Housing of the Poor. 1d. Veale, Chifferell & Co.

The Case for Socialism. By R. B. Kerr. 1d. Edinburgh.—The Socialism explained in this pamphlet seems to be of a very degenerate kind.

WHY GOVERNMENT AT ALL? By William H. Van Ornum. 50 cts. U.S.A.—This able criticism and analysis of government is now running through the American Socialist Anarchist paper *Solidarity*.

INSTEAD OF A BOOK. By "a man too busy to write one." Benj. R. Tucker, Liberty Office, Boston, U.S.A.—The title of this book is explained in the preface by the fact that it consists of extracts from the paper *Liberty*. Of course it is an exponent of Individualist Anarchism, as opposed to Communist Anarchism. There are numbers of points in the book which might be discussed at length, and when one reads on page 55 that Mr. Tucker would institute tribunals, judges and prisons to punish those who attack the property of others, one clearly sees the incompatibility of Anarchism, which means perfect liberty, with private property, which means oppression.

The Redemption of Labor, by Caleb Tilley; 1d. London: Twentieth Century Press, Gray's-inn-road.—This is a pamphlet advocating the adoption of time as the basis of exchange, instead of money. All are to work 10 hours a day and receive labor notes for the time they have worked, which they will be able to exchange for the commodities they require. The author does not seem to recognise that there are different sorts of work and that 5 minutes of one man's time may be worth to the community days of another man's time. It also breathes authoritarianism, inasmuch as the author would compel all sick persons to go to hospitals, all mothers to give up their children when a year old, so that they may be brought up in barracks, etc.

The Humanitarian, Vol. III., Nos. 1 and 2. Price 6d. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Paternoster-square, London, E.C.

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE SOCIALIST MANIFESTO.

To the Editor of FREEDOM.

Sir,—In reply to your request for criticism on the Anarchist reply to this document, I have only to say that if a y thing it is too gently and courteously worded, being a rebuke indeed to the more fashionable party of revolutionaries, who appear to regard Anarchists as unworthy to associate with respectable people.

As a member of the Hammersmith Socialist Society, I repeatedly protested against this ill-natured and illogical reference to another school of reformers, saying that if the governmentals had nothing more fraternal and gracious to say, it would have been in better taste to omit such reference altogether.

It is certainly surprising that Socialists should go out of their way to repudiate the doctrines of Anarchism, thus provoking reprisals, any more than others, which may differ somewhat from theirs; especially as many members of their own bodies sympathise more or less with Anarchist ideas; indeed, Mr. Burrows himself lately admitted that Anarchism was the ideal towards which all reformers should strive.

As to tactics, if the Socialist manifesto means to denounce the violent means some Anarchists advocate, there are also plenty of Socialists who have no faith in anything else, while, on the other hand, many Anarchists consider that peaceful methods for bringing about the revolution are to be preferred.

EVACUSTES A. PHIPSON.

Nationalisation of Labor Society, 65, Barbican, E.C.

"Learner," Rochdale, writes that though he has studied Anarchist literature he is not an Anarchist, and would like to tell us why, "which would probably state the case for hundreds like myself of broad views." We invite him to tell us. If, as he supposes, his objections are common to many, our reply may also be of general interest.—Ed.

ORGANISED LABOR COLUMN.

[We shall be glad to insert under this heading communications and reports from all comrades engaged in the Anarchist propaganda among Trade Unions.]

LONDON TAILORS' FEDERATION.

On Sunday, June 16th, a committee, representing East and West Amalgamated Tailors, Jewish International Tailors' and Pressers', Mantle makers and Independent Jewish Tailors' Unions, met in the Ladies' Tailors' Union Rooms to form a Federation, to fight the masters point by point—from sweating to monopoly—until the workers are strong enough to lock out the employers once for all and work as free men.

Comrade Mowbray pointed out that they must tackle the sweating question right away, but never cease to look further ahead, even while fighting against the threatened new log which will reduce wages 20 to 30 per cent.—Succeeding speakers dwelt strongly on the necessity of united action between English workers and those of other races working side by side with them in London, and the need to keep in touch with provincial workers in the trade.

THE MINERS' LOCK-OUT.

The quarter-million of miners now out, to protest against a 25 per cent. reduction of wages, are really engaged, as the dockers were lately at Hull, in defending their right to organise against an attempt by the combination of coal-owners to break up their organisation. The excuse of small profits given by the coal-owners for the reduction is absurd, whilst they are supplying wealthy gas and railway companies below cost price. They are simply attempting, at a conveniently slack season, to break the back of the Miners' Federation, one of the largest labor associations in the world. And the worst is that even the most powerful workers' associations have wonderfully little chance to defend them-

selves single-handed. It is only a question of time till they are starved into submission, as long as they allow the capitalist rings to take them piece-meal and fight them one by one.

Michael Davitt has precisely hit the nail on the head in telling the miners that their success depends on federation with the transport service. Their work is so bound up with that of railway men, dockers, seamen etc., that any disturbance in the mining interest can't help interfering largely with these trades. But if miners, dockers and railway men made common cause it would be a pity if they could not do something more than just keep up wages and their right to combine. If they could get engineers, iron workers, gas-stokers, etc. to join, they could pretty well paralyse the whole capitalist system, and dictate their own terms. If the united action of these trades did not lead the way to a Social Revolution that would put the workers in possession of the means of production, their own blindness would be the cause.

It is amusing that the Government are bidding for popular favor by a Labor disputes' bill, authorising the Board of Trade to appoint official arbitrators, just when the miners have decided against arbitration at all. The workers are recognising that arbitration on matters of detail is all very well, but not where principles are concerned; and the dispute between Labor and Capital is becoming yearly more and more a matter of principle. Who is to control the means of production and therewith the lives of the workers? is daily more clearly seen to be the question at issue; and how are a few gentlemen from the Board of Trade to settle that?

The arrangements whereby the Miners' Federation have arrived at a general understanding about the strike are very interesting. On being called together by the coal-owners and receiving a proposal for a 25 per cent. reduction of wages the miners' delegates told the owners that they had no authority to accept any reduction of wages and could not deal with the matter at all, but must refer it to all the men. We, said Mr. Pickard, at once, in each district, sent out circulars stating the case . . . we asked the different societies to take an individual ballot at every colliery. . . . We used no arguments for or against, we did not think it right that we should. . . . All miners having been thus consulted and a general agreement reached, the delegates returned with the result of the owners.

Saving the ballot machinery, to which capitalist terrorism drives them under present conditions, this immense body of workers seem to have spontaneously evolved the sort of organisation which we Communist Anarchists are always contending to be the rational one for human beings desiring to take common action.

THE PROPAGANDA. REPORTS.

LONDON—

H. Samuels representing *Anarchism* and Herbert Burrows *Social Democracy*, a lively debate took place before a very large audience at Grafton Hall, July 18. J. Murray Macdonald, M.P., in the chair kept time, if not order; but then this last lies often somewhat beyond the power of the chair. The debate, as was stated by Samuels at the outset, was to be confined to principles; methods were to be excluded. But as the discussion grew warm the duellists dropped the buttons from their foils, and thrust up to hilt into each other's methods, ideas and what not. Samuels described the Anarchist ideal in glowing and accurate terms, and Burrows admitted this to be the very highest ideal ever conceived by man—self-sovereignty of each, working harmoniously with all. And, he told us, some millions of years hence we might hope to approach somewhat near to this ideal. Meanwhile, we could not escape anyway or anyhow from coercion. Burrows asked Samuels riddles, regular posers, which he said no Anarchist had ever yet been able to answer, although he had set them every day for the last six or seven years, and if Samuels could not answer them, then he must admit himself beaten and the cause of Anarchist Communism lost for ever. We all sat trembling, and the three great cruxes were put. The first eludes memory—it was something about Anarchism and the universe. The second was, Did not Anarchism and Communism, like Kilkenny cats, destroy one another when brought into close quarters? The third was, How, under Anarchism, were we going to run railways, post offices and telegraphs without coercion? Great Scott! how relieved we were when they came out. Of course Samuels answered them, and of course Burrows said he didn't, especially the last, which Burrows called a slice of bread and butter politics, although Samuels plaintively reminded his adversary that he was neither a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, nor yet the seventh son of a seventh son, and so could not accurately state what would be done under circumstances totally different to those now existing. Burrows got very hot over an imaginary factory, established in the year 12 of the Social Revolution. The hundred workers in this factory will have some day a very serious dispute, sixty will be against forty, and how would the matter be settled? Burrows thought the forty would have to move out, apparently whether they were in the wrong or the right, even under Anarchist Communism. Samuels asked if there was never such a thing as agreement to be arrived at? This had not struck Burrows before evidently. But then he pressed that the men were such as no agreement could be possible between. Samuels admitted that he had cherished the hope that most men were reasonable creatures, not so Burrows, who thinks that though men may have reason enough to govern each other it will be another million of years before they have wit enough to govern themselves. In replying to Burrows' question as to how we were going to equalise the powers of production without rent, taxes and other Social Democratic planks, Samuels justly remarked we had not thought much on that point; being Communists, we were more concerned about the equalising of distribution.—We regret extremely that Comrade Samuels had to protest against some too exuberant sympathy, which took the form of interrupting Mr. Burrows, and taunting him with his theological belief. Anarchists should be the first to acknowledge and respect a man's right to think and believe as he pleases; to interrupt a debate is a very bad form of argument.

Victoria Park.—Sunday, July 2nd, large meeting addressed here in the morning, no doubt attracted by the recent announcements in all the papers concerning the arrest of Cantwell and Young. Speakers, Leggatt and Quin. Many leaflets distributed. Some opposition from a Christian answered by Leggatt, with whom the opponent wished to debate the truth of Christianity. Leggatt declined, saying it was a waste of time. Quin, however, offered to debate that Anarchy was true Christianity, as far as the social question was concerned, but this was not accepted. The meeting then went against the opposition who moved off. Literature sold fairly well.—Wednesday, July 5th, Indignation meeting on Mile End Waste at 8 p.m. to protest against the Royal Wedding. Speakers, Leggatt, Presberg, Quin and Reid. Meeting fair, lasting till very late.—Saturday evening, July 8th, meeting at Enfield. Speakers, Young and Quin. Meeting large, but rather hostile to our opinions at the end, owing to two opponents, one being drunk.—Sunday, July 9th, Victoria Park, very large meeting addressed by Leggatt for an hour-and-a-half. Much interest. The whole of the literature was sold off in about 5 minutes the people asking for more.—Sunday evening, July 13th, fair meeting at Peckham Park-road, lasting from 8.30 till 10.30, addressed by Bunham, Quin and Buckridge. Opposition answered.—Sunday even-

ing, July 16th, very large meeting in Victoria Park, speakers, Leggatt, Banham and Quin, the last keeping on the platform till he was thrown off by the police at closing time. Audience interested. Literature sold exceedingly well, 76 copies of *Weal and Freedom* being sold during the two hours' address. The S.D.F. station in the vicinity was comparatively deserted. We had no opposition, the audience agreeing to the principles laid down. We appeal to comrades to pay us a visit in the East End. It would not be waste of time to come down this way. —Saturday evening, July 22nd, meeting at Peckham, addressed by Banham and Quin from 8.30 till 10.30. Opposition from a small local employer, who maintained that anybody who by any means came to be without the means of life should starve to death. —Sunday morning, 23rd, Victoria Park, large meeting, addressed by Quin and Mowbray. Meeting held well together till the very end of Mowbray's address. *Weal and Freedom* sold well. There were an extra number of police around the meeting this morning. I counted 5 or 6, ordinarily there are not more than 2. —Large meeting at Hoxton Church, addressed by Turner, assisted by Primmer. Animated discussion took place afterwards. —The people in the East End here seem to sympathise in the objects and methods of Anarchy, especially in Victoria Park, and this being the case I think that perhaps no other part of London would better repay a careful and continued working up than this district. What we want is a fresh supply of speakers. We should be glad of any assistance. —C. T. Q.

Finsbury Park.—The meetings begun in April in this stronghold of suburbanism have been continued every week, with the exception of one very wet Sunday morning; the sale of *Freedom* and pamphlets has been fair. The material side of the movement has but little interest for the tolerably comfortable folk who form the bulk of the audiences, and whose chief concern seems to be to ensure for themselves as easy circumstances in the next world as they have enjoyed in this. Yet, oddly (or naturally?) enough, the philosophy of Anarchism seems to have a most disturbing effect upon both their faith and morals. It is like a child hearing thunder; he does not understand it, but the knowledge that his mother has covered up the looking-glass is sufficient to make him tremble. He cannot help listening for the next peal, any more than these good park frequenters can disguise their enforced interest in our principles. Very valuable help has been rendered by J. Presburg and Agnes Henry. —H. C.

Regent's Park.—For some time past Regent's Park has been a busy place with all sorts and conditions of speakers. The Anarchists have held their own; for morning after morning they turn up, wet or dry, debating, speaking, and selling literature. —Samuels, Turner, Cantwell, Presberg and Reid are the chief speakers from the "Commonweal"; while Wess, Agnes Henry, Hyde and Macdonald represent "Freedom"; and most of all active in selling literature and discussing are to be found the members of the "Torch" group. —These meetings under trees and in the open spots of the great city are beneficial to all concerned: they strengthen weak orators by gentle introductions to the platform, by stimulating a spirit of quiet discussion; this ripens into that of active debate, and soon we see new speakers mounting the chair in the calmest possible manner, proclaiming to all the winds that blow the main principles of Anarchy. —Speakers are not born; but grow petal by petal into full blown orators, and so those open-air meetings are splendid training ground for young enthusiastic Anarchists. —Many of our old chronic enemies have been driven right out of the Park; Teetotalers, advocates of Thrift, Christians and nondescripts are vanishing Sunday by Sunday; and on the open nothing but Anarchists, Fabians and Humanitarians are to be found; but under the trees, well in the shadow, a few pot-hunting Christians can still be found trying to make a noise. —F. M.

Warner-street, Clerkenwell.—The Italian propaganda has been very active during the past month. Very attentive audiences have been addressed by Comrades Agresti, Pietraroya, Merlino and Malatesta. Several of the listeners who were at first opposed are now convinced of the truth of Anarchism, and there seems to be promise of effective work by the group which has been formed among them. Henceforth the Italian meetings will be held at 47, Corporation Row, near Clerkenwell, on Sundays between 6 and 7 p.m. —A. H.

Clerkenwell Green.—The meetings here have been carried on steadily every Sunday from about 7 to 10 p.m. They are well attended by a decidedly mixed audience, many of whom attend regularly and seem to be seriously interested in what they hear. Although there has not yet been very much discussion, such as has arisen has been serious and sensible in character. The comrades who have been speaking here, Tochatti, Merlino and A. Henry, would be glad of more assistance. During August particularly it is to be hoped that comrades will make an effort to turn up, as Comrade A. Henry will be out of town and Comrade Tochatti speaks at other meetings as well. It would be a great pity that the propaganda should flag in this very promising quarter.

Hyde Park.—July 2nd, good meeting opened by Comrade Samuels, who gave an account of the arrest of Comrades Cantwell and Young, the proceedings before the magistrate, and the action of the police spies. Cantwell also explained what took place on that occasion, and mentioned the fact that there were plenty of bills posted up without the printer's name and address. Tochatti then addressed the meeting and called attention to these petty prosecutions which were the result of class antipathies. Those who interpret the law took good care that an expression of their hatred should stand instead of administering justice, and referred to the Walsall Anarchists as a case in point, and to the presence of detectives at all our meetings: we had a good supply to-day. Comrade Barker followed, and denounced some pseudo-Anarchists, who seem to turn up for the sole purpose of annoying the speakers, interrupting and breaking up the meetings. As Barker said, it would be far better for them to keep away if they could not support the speakers, who have quite enough to do to keep the meeting together. If any so-called Anarchist has a grievance against another Anarchist it would be far better to postpone his denunciations for some more opportune occasion than a public meeting. Our principles get dragged in the mud quite enough without the help of "friends." Other speakers addressed the meeting. —Sunday, July 9th, good meeting addressed by Barker, Samuels, Tochatti, Gittens. Opposition from a temperance advocate, with the same old tale, also a very good speech from a Social Democrat, but the same old arguments; both were ably replied to by Barker, Samuels, and Tochatti. —Sunday, July 16th, good meeting held by Comrades Barker and Reid. The latter had a debate with an individual who is generally to be seen in the park, mostly making collections, at which game he seems to be an adept. I need hardly say Reid squashed him. Barker was asked a lot of questions to which he replied at length. Speeches were also made by Gittens and Presburg, who spoke for a considerable time. —Sunday, July 23rd, Reid had a large meeting: opposition from ex-navy man which caused some amusement; also from a silk-hatted man, who emphatically declared he (Reid) was preaching discontent; how ever, the crowd did not seem very shocked by this assertion, nor did his respectable appearance seem to have much effect. Another good meeting was opened by a comrade, followed by Atterbury, who used the reduction of 25 per cent. in miners' wages as an illustration, whereupon an individual inquired if he was a miner. Atterbury replied in the negative, he then insisted that he (Atterbury) could not know anything about it. However, Atterbury used another illustration to oblige him. Gittens followed with a good speech, then Barker. He had some opposition from a Quaker, who spoke in a very quiet earnest manner, and said in his opinion the best means that could be used was moral force, that religion was all humbug, and that it was the greatest evil we had to contend with, ten times worse than the drink question; respectability also was a great curse, he thought. Barker replying said that the

best means to be used to alter the present state of things was education, but at the same time could it be justly asserted that we had no right to use force? Force could be used individually as a protective weapon by the victims of society. Tochatti said that the only remedy our friend the Quaker seemed to have was moral force. He called his attention to the fact that the environments of the worker to-day prohibited the use of moral force, and pointed out the impossibility of acting conscientiously. It often happened that any attempt on the part of the worker to do his work honestly, or to speak the truth, had the immediate effect of his swelling the army of unemployed; we were the creatures of circumstances modified by our innate tendencies, and our revolt against the present system was, that with its financial swindling and brutal competition it was grinding out the instincts of liberty and morality. Our friend the Quaker referred to churches as steeple houses which were not in the true sense of the word sacred; Tochatti quite agreed with him, and said he believed with Novalis that the only sacred temple was the human body, not built by hands; but the present system of society trampled and degraded all that was sacred and pure. The rain brought a large and interesting meeting to a close. Good sale of literature and papers.

WILLIAM ENGLISH,
(Carmagnole Group, Hammersmith.)

Peckham.—During the past month we have held regular meetings (with the two exceptions on account of weather) at Peckham Park-road on Thursdays and Sundays. Speakers, Comrades Levings, Sullivan, Atterbury, Quin, Buckridge and Banham, "the boy Anarchist," as he is usually styled. Interesting discussions followed most of the meetings, although at times, at Commercial-road, we have had rather a noisy audience. But somehow "the boy Anarchist" generally manages to tame and quiet the hostile element in the crowd, and even win their sympathies, a feat which more experienced comrades have hitherto failed to accomplish. —Thursday, June 22nd, we had a splendid meeting, the presence of a mounted policeman drawing an enormous crowd together; opposition of the following order: "You must have some sort of government; there always has been government and there always will be." Comrade Banham, in reply, instanced the Russian sect known as "Doukhobovys," mentioned by M. Taskin in his work "La Russie Sectaire," who live as practical Anarchist Communists, without government or masters, and among whom crime and poverty are unknown. —Sunday, July 2nd, at the local S.D.F. meeting, after a comrade had put questions to the lecturer, Comrade Banham opposed, and the chairman put it to the vote as to whether our comrade should oppose the second time; to this we objected, but a full two-thirds majority voted that our comrade be heard again. —Monday, July 3, we held, or attempted to hold, a mass meeting on the Triangle, to protest against the waste of wealth on "Royal Vermin," whilst thousands are being slowly done to death by overwork and underfeeding. It was truly, as the posters had it, "an indignation meeting," only instead of the crowd showing indignation at the extravagant waste on Royalty they vented it on us, and on the writer of this report in particular. Comrades Samuels, Banham, Levings and Alsford (of the Deptford Independent Socialist Society) endeavored to speak, but the mob (which undoubtedly was an organised one, brought there with the object of breaking up the meeting) would not listen to them. They finally broke up the meeting by force, and the writer and Comrade Banham were escorted down Rye-lane by a howling mob of about 700 respectable Royalist rowdies, who varied the performance with shouts of "Down with the Anarchists!" and such like. Finally, the matter ended by Wm. Hart's being taken to the police station, where a charge was preferred against him by a blackleg painter, but as it was not substantiated the Inspector on duty refused to take it. Irritated, no doubt, at not being able to charge our comrade, the Inspector, in a bullying and blackguardly manner, ordered him out of the station, or, as he said, he would "kick him b—— well out of it." He also informed our comrade that they did not give "b—— protection" to Anarchists. Of course not; we never expected as much. We know, and most workmen begin to recognise the fact, that the police exist not for our protection but solely in the interests of the master-class. Managing to avoid the Inspector's boot our comrade got into the street again, to find that the mob had dispersed. Nothing daunted, we are still pegging away, and intend to keep at it, thoroughly convinced that even these bigotted Royalists will yet be brought to see the truths of Anarchism. We have a lot more to report, only are afraid we have already trespassed too much on your space. —W. H.

[** Enfield and provincial reports held over for want of space.]

NOTICES.

LONDON—

Open-air meetings: Sundays, 11.30 a.m., in Hyde and Regent's and Finsbury Parks, and at Mile End Waste, Kensal Green, and Peckham Park-road; 3.40 p.m., Hyde Park; 5 p.m., Clerkenwell Green; 7 p.m., Mile End Waste. Saturdays, 8 p.m., Hyde Park.

The Commonweal Group meets every Tuesday, 8.30 p.m., at Grafton Hall, 55, Grafton-street, Tottenham-court-road, W.

Grafton Hall.—Public meeting, on August 10th, 8 p.m.: Release of the three Chicago Anarchists.

Peckham.—Open-air meetings: Sundays, 11.30 a.m., and Thursdays, 8 p.m., at corner of Peckham Park-road (opposite the Gas Works), Old Kent-road; Saturdays, 8 p.m., corner of Commercial-road (near Old Kent-road Station.)

PROVINCES—

Annual Anarchist Gathering.—We would remind all comrades that the usual August Bank Holiday gathering of Lancashire, Yorkshire and Midland Anarchists will take place this year at Monsal Dale (near Buxton). Trips are run from most towns on the Midland Railway at low fares. All Socialists are invited. Any further information required can be obtained from the Sheffield Anarchist Group, 63, Blonk-street, Sheffield.

Brighton.—Open-air meetings: on the Front, weekday evenings at 7; on the Level, Sunday afternoons, at 3.

Sheffield.—Meetings are held Sundays, at the Monolith, 11.30 a.m.; at West Bar Pump, 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Communist Anarchist literature may be obtained of A. D. Moore, 24, Rose-yard, St. Augustine's, Norwich.

NICOLL FUND.

RECEIVED FROM JULY 1st TO JULY 31st:—

Baker, 2s.; F. Pope list, 3s.; Leicester Comrades, 8s.; M., 2s. 9d.; Gutzkow, 1s.; Sheffield Comrades, 6s.

M. Galbraith,
19, Conderton-road, S.E.

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