

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

VOL. VII.—No. 82.

NOVEMBER, 1893.

MONTHLY ; ONE PENNY.

CHICAGO MARTYRS.

In commemoration of the above,

A PUBLIC MEETING

WILL BE HELD ON

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 10th, 1893,

AT 3 P.M., AT

SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE

(Close to Broad-street and Moorgate-street Stations.)

Speakers :

C. W. Mowbray, Agnes Henry, J. Turner,
J. Tochatti, P. Kropotkine, D. J. Nicoll,
Louise Michel, S. Merlino, H. Samuels,
S. Yanovsky.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 12th, AT 3 P.M.

DEMONSTRATION in TRAFALGAR SQUARE.

For particulars about processions, speakers, &c., see bills.

Local meetings will be held as follows :

Wednesday, Nov. 8th, at 8 p.m., PECKHAM ANARCHIST GROUP, at the

PECKHAM & DULWICH RADICAL CLUB, 188 Rye-lane, S.E.

Saturday, Nov. 11th, at 8 p.m., at the

GRAFTON HALL, 55 Grafton-street, Tottenham-court-road, W.

Sunday, Nov. 12th, at 8 p.m., at the

AUTONOMIE CLUB 6 Windmill-street, Tottenham-court-road, W.

THE ROOT OF THE UNEMPLOYED PROBLEM.

THE great bulk of existing wealth, soil included, is in the hands of comparatively few private owners : how do they use it? Do they employ that, it for their own rational and healthy satisfaction? Do they remember though they have the disposal of it, it has been made productive or produced by the mass of workers, and therefore should be used to give them also all they need? Do they realise that the larger the amount of existing wealth used in producing really useful and beautiful human necessities, the more steady will be employment (since such things are always and universally required), and the more comfortable will everybody be? Do they—but why go on enquiring if our landlords and capitalists look upon the wealth they dispose of as a social trust, to be utilised for the public good? We know very well that most of them do nothing of the sort, and the few that have such ideas are hopelessly hampered by the general system, and cannot carry their good intentions into effect.

No, the landowner lets the land he calls his go out of cultivation, sooner than give it over to free laborers, who might make a living for themselves on it, but can pay him no rent. And so, when foreign competition eats up the farmer's profits, the laborer is driven off the land.

The rich man continually wastes the wealth at his disposal in mere display and "pleasures" which bring him neither health nor happiness, nor any sort of satisfaction worthy of a human being. And the wealth thus squandered has been diverted from other uses, such as the production of useful and beautiful things and the payment of those who make them.

The capitalist, with the one object of profit before his eyes, uses the capital under his control to produce a variety of shoddies for the poor, and of hideous, flimsy, meaningless "luxuries" for the idle rich and stupid middle class; which shoddies and luxuries must be perpetually varied to tempt buyers. He is always ready to sink his capital in labor-saving machinery if he can make a larger profit thereby. Moreover, he himself is only a pawn on the chessboard of the great financiers, who play with credit, and promote business here and curtail it there, as it suits their game. And so while part of the too-small available supply of capital in the community is being wasted in speculation, or by being misused for foolish or harmful production, numbers of workers, at the mercy of speculators and capitalists, are being continually driven from the trade they know to seek employment in some other, and often for a very long time not to find it; while from the inventions that might make their work easier and pleasanter they reap no benefit whatever.

Add to this that the monopoly of land and capital give the monopolists the power to employ only as many workers as they may find convenient for profit making, and at wages largely regulated by competition amongst men who have nothing to live on but what they can thus earn, and you have a state of things which must perpetually swell the stream

of the unemployed from at least three sources :

Firstly, the workers thrown out of their own trades by fluctuations in the markets, or by the introduction of machinery under the care of boys and girls.

Secondly, the workers driven off the soil.

Thirdly, the ever increasing multitude who lose all heart and capacity to work efficiently under such miserable conditions of uncertainty and hardship, or are born of starving, unhealthy parents, and brought up in so wretched a manner that they have neither the energy to exert themselves continuously nor the knowledge how to do so to any purpose.

For all this we know only one remedy, and it is one no government can apply. That remedy is to destroy the monopoly of private property. When the workers themselves seize upon the land and other necessary means of working; when they insist that every man willing and able to work shall share in the use of these; and when they are determined that those who do the work shall dispose of the produce, then the unemployed problem can be solved : till then, never.

Two Historic Dates.

(APROPOS OF THE ZÜRICH CONGRESS.)

THE Socialist world has been much surprised by the attitude of the legalist majority at the recent so-called International Congress. But no one has raised a question, which it would be interesting to have answered : Was the action of the majority simply a blunder committed by the delegates, or was it a logical result of what has been preached for some years under the name of "scientific socialism"—a startling confirmation of the policy of legal tactics, of paltry reforms and of purely parliamentary combination? Luckily for us, Mr. Engels himself has given us the answer.

"It is just fifty years," said he at the last sitting of the Congress, "since Marx and I first took up arms. It was in Paris, in 1843, in a review entitled the *Franco-German Annals* (*Annales franco-allemandes*). Socialism at that time was represented only by small sects. . . . This year marks yet another anniversary; that of the socialist congress held twenty years ago *whereat we agreed upon the plan of campaign pursued up to the present without change and without swerving*. It was in 1873. . . . We met together, we agreed upon a line of conduct, and you see where we are to-day. . . . Let us remain firmly united in our general line of conduct, and victory will be ours."*

This is very clear, is it not? It is evident that the Socialist world was surprised solely owing to its ignorance concerning the line of conduct, and that the chief of "scientific socialism" glorifies himself precisely upon this position, foreseen fifty years ago and adhered to for thirty. Let us now see what new thing Marx and Engels introduced into the concept of Socialism, and what the character of the 1873 congress was.

First of all, I am indeed anxious to maintain that Marx, revolutionist and defender of the proletariat; Marx, founder of the International and matchless master of polemics, who has put all economic science at the service of the people—stands out as a very great figure in the history of the development of modern Socialism. It is not to belittle the services done by him towards the emancipation of the workers that I wish to give a very brief sketch of his Socialist ideas in 1843. No, I merely wish to see if the monstrous pretensions of Mr. Engels have any foundations in the past, and what the outline of the Socialist doctrine was at the time mentioned.

We know, from history, that in France at this time—from 1839 to 1848—a wide revolutionary movement with a very Socialistic tendency was in existence. Socialist publications flooded the country. P. Leroux, V. Considerant, Proudhon, G. Sand, Auguste Comte, Lamennais, Barbès and Blanqui, but especially Louis Blanc, preached Socialist doctrines, of various kinds, which have been well absorbed by the working masses. Louis Blanc's was the most popular. It was on account of his scheme for the *Organisation of Labor* that the people carried him in triumph as member of the Provisional Government, February 24th, '48. In his newspaper, *Revue du Progrès* (Review of Progress), started in '39, Blanc began to publish his system of State-Socialism, a perfectly new doctrine at this period. He said that the social problem would be solved only by a democratic State: That the people should, above all, grasp the political power, and take legislative authority into their own hands; *but that the political struggle should be subordinated to the economic and social emancipation of the people: the latter is the end, the former a simple means to it*. Once the State is captured, all privileges will be abolished, as well

* Quoted from the *Journal des Economistes*, No. 9, p. 328, 1893.

as all capitalistic social organisation; which will be replaced by an organisation of national workshops, and by free loans to autonomous associations. Organised workshops, "loans to the poor" being set on foot, the State had no further right to meddle with the autonomous life of the associations, which should organise themselves upon the Communist basis having for its motto: *From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs.* This is in a few words the doctrine of Louis Blanc. It is seen that the Social Democracy of to-day—but let Mr. Engels himself tell us what they preached at the same time as Blanc.

Just a few months before the revolution of February 24th, '48, the German Communist League published the famous "Communist Manifesto," drawn up by Marx and Engels. The practical methods recommended to the people were formulated as follows* :—

1. The expropriation of the land, and employment of rent for the expenses of the State.
2. A progressive and very heavy tax on incomes.
3. The abolition of the right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the wealth of emigrants and rebels.
5. Confiscation of credit in the hands of Government by means of a State bank and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralisation of the means of transport in the hands of the State.
7. Augmentation of the number of State factories and of the instruments of production; cultivation and improvement of the land according to a general plan (provision).
8. Work compulsory for all; the organisation of a labor army, for agriculture especially.

With this Marx and Engels began their socialistic and revolutionary propaganda. Let impartial persons judge by whom the wider humanitarian and social ideas were conceived, by Louis Blanc with his motto "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs," with autonomous groups, or by Marx and Engels with their "exclusive monopoly," "the cultivation of the land according to a general scheme," "the organisation of a labor army, for agriculture especially"? And what has Mr. Engels to brag of? Why should humanity glorify an occasion of reaction? I can understand celebrating the anniversary of the publication of Robert Owen's manifesto in 1813, since he proclaimed Socialist ideas humanitarian and broad in many ways. But to celebrate the date of the appearance of Mr. Engels on the political horizon with his reactionary ideas and his too often unlucky tactics . . . So often productive of evil, if I may be pardoned for saying so.

Let us look at the other glorious date, 1873, when a plan of action was resolved upon which ended at Zürich in declarations in support of the present system of government, based upon capitalist exploitation and a militarism unknown in times past.

In my own I am rather surprised at the choice of the last Congress of the International. The real glory of Marx lies in the establishing and drawing up of the preamble and general statutes of the great Association, that is to say, from 1864 to 1869, up to the Congress of Bâle—the moment of Marx's highers power. As far as I know, the Congress of 1873 left bitter memories with Marx, who saw plainly that it meant a death sentence against his centralised-state party. As a matter of fact, from that moment the party of Marx in the International had no further existence, and up to 1881 the congresses were held only by the federalist followers of Bakounine, known as Anarchists. But if Marx was not pleased with the result of the congress of 1873, Engels on the contrary was triumphant, for he had intended for a long time back to provoke a division in the International. Steeped in the reactionary ideas we have quoted above, Engels took a vow of implacable hatred against the Bakouninists, especially the members of the *Socialistic International Alliance*. The Federalists were supreme in the International in Switzerland, Belgium, Spain and Italy. Engels, as a member of the General Council of the International and as correspondent for Spain, wrote on July 25, 1872, to the Federal Council in Spain a monstrous letter in which he demanded "a list of all members of the Alliance," and concluded with these words: "Failing to receive a categorical and satisfactory answer by return of post, the General Council will feel itself compelled to denounce you publicly," etc. (*Mémoire de la fédération Juraissienne*, p. 250). Mr. Engels wrote this letter without asking the opinion of the other members of the Council. When Jung and Marx heard of this ridiculous threat, the Council took no further notice of this famous letter.

I have not room to give the details of the intrigues carried on by Engels, Lafargue, Outine, and so many others against the Federalists, and especially against Bakounine and James Guillaume. Suffice it to say that these intrigues brought about the schism in the International at the Congress of 1873, of evil memory. Little is generally known as to the method of summoning this Congress. But we know that Marx and Engels ordered Sorge, the delegate of the German section in New York, to bring as many blank credentials as possible. Sorge, in fact, brought a large number. They were distributed right and left to the partisans of Marx and Engels. But the crowning sham was that these gentlemen brought with them, as members of the Council General of the International, men who had no part whatever in any section, and even Maltman Barry, of the *Standard*, well known as the intimate friend of Engels. With a majority thus composed they banished Bakounine, Guillaume, and with them the Federations of Jura, Spain, Italy, Belgium and England. Only the Germans and a few isolated groups from different countries remained with Marx, Engels and Barry. All the active and revolutionary elements rallied round the Federalist followers of Bakounine, and it was they who up to 1881 continued to

summon the Congress of the International.

What glorious occasions does the name of Mr. Engels call up! What wonder that the majority of "Legalists" sprung from so noble an origin, made at Zürich compacts with the governments, assaulted the Independents, and proclaimed war.

Another time I will try to analyse Mr. Engels' other titles to fame, especially the ominous influence exercised by the unscrupulous use (and abuse) of the Dialectic method and of metaphysics introduced by certain Germans into sociology in general and socialistic enquiries in particular.

W. TCHERKESOV.

No Hope within the Wage-System.

BY ONE OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

DURING the past eight or nine weeks I have seen on the placards of the capitalist press quite a fuss about the Coal War,—“The Great Lock-out in the North,” “Starving Women and Children,” “Acute Distress,” and so on. Why all this unusual fuss? Is it an extraordinary thing for a few hundred thousands of workmen to be locked out, causing privation for themselves and their families? Why do not the papers mention the great lock-out in London and other large towns, where for months past there have been more people locked out, and more people starving than there are in the colliery districts?

The fact is that the capitalist, by means of his reptile press (which resembles a tout at a Cheap Jack Show to gull the people), wants to advertise the coal strike in order to get a license from the people to raise the price of coal; not that he may pay the miners better wages, but that he may fill his own pocket. On the other hand, he wishes to keep those who are locked out in the towns through over-production quietly on the shelf, to be taken down and used when those already in use shall fail, or become restive. He does not want much stress to be laid on the fact that there are hundreds of thousands—nay, millions—in the United Kingdom who are out of employment, locked out. I doubt very much whether anything at all would be heard about them were it not for a very few men stigmatised by the capitalistic touts as illiterate agitators.

But despite the pretence of indifference, the capitalist classes are beginning to show their uneasiness as winter approaches; and are already, earlier than usual, begging through these same loathsome, sneaking touts of the press, who will print and endorse anything for pay; and are bringing out their quack “soothing syrups.”

But we have had some! Let me see. We took some called the Royal Commission on Sweating. It did not lessen the facilities of those who sweat. It increased them. Consequently sweating goes on worse than ever. Again, we took some of the Royal Commission on Labor. Consequently we have worked hard ever since at looking for a job. Moreover, the consequence of this dose was the labor bureau, which enabled that bully of the capitalist, the government, to feel the pulse of labor, so as to know exactly how far they might be able to proceed in the operation of blood-sucking. Now this winter another vile decoction is being prepared to dose the unwary worker, or the would-be worker, and to lull him to sleep till the spring. It is proposed—so says the tout to the workers who are unemployed—to make an embankment along the south side of the Thames which will give employment to thousands of men. Good bait, this. Yet hardly good enough for those who have swallowed some of the former syrups. Of course you who want to work will have to wait while the engineers, surveyors, etc., devise a plan or scheme of operations. This will in turn have to be submitted to Parliament. Then, of course, more important business will be in the way of the passing of bills merely to make work for people who are starving for want of it. For example, they may have a bill for dealing with poaching or game preserves,—anyway something “more important” than the trivial question of starving mobs, as they call them. By the time all these important questions are settled, the winter will be over, and the labor question shelved for another year. Unless indeed the people become restive and have a few riots, in which case there may be a few debates on the bill, till the people quiet down again. But if the riots assume a threatening aspect and a few “highly respectables” get sent to “kingdom come,” the bill will be passed in double quick time, and the men will get the work.

What will happen next? Why, at the next election the political dodgers will say this:—“We are the friends of the working man. We found him work in the winter of 1893.”

This is what will happen if the masses do not first see through the little game, and tell government before the time comes that their services are no longer required.

Now, I want to ask any one who has a grain of sense, if there is any chance that the governing powers will start works on any scale large enough to ameliorate in a perceptible degree the condition of the unemployed? It is pretty well understood that the unemployed as a class have got nothing. On the other hand, the tax-payers have got amongst them everything. Suppose you were to pick from the unemployed a new government and substitute them for the present government. How do you think they would act? Would it be in the interests of those who own no property, and who consequently have nothing to pay towards carrying on the government? Or would they not naturally act in the interest of those who had the necessary means at their disposal? If they acted in the interests of the propertyless, and the property-owners submitted, the consequence would, as the system stands to-day, be this; that for every unemployed workmen who should be set to work at what is called fair wages, another man would be thrown out of employment.

* I quote from the text of the first edition, 1847.

How do I make this out? Well, it is a known fact that to-day there are in every city in the country thousands of rate-payers upon whom the rates fall heavily—who can indeed only just manage to meet them year by year. Consequently, if large public works be undertaken by the authorities, these men are pressed out, being no longer able to meet their rents, rates, etc. It may be argued that by giving work to the unemployed trade is created. This is true so long as he is employed upon productive work, but it must be remembered that if the work is in the hands of a contractor, that contractor makes a profit, which, unlike the money paid to the workman (who has to spend all he gets in order to live), accumulates in his hands. It does not get back to the small traders or tax-payers who have supplied it. Again, when public works are undertaken, money is always borrowed at interest, the plain consequence being that while the workman takes back to the small trader *all* that he receives, the profit-monger and usurer only take back *a portion* of what they get. Thus it happens that those who only hold on by a thread to their small businesses are constantly ruined through the undertaking of fresh public expense. G. L.

THE CONQUEST OF BREAD.

By PETER KROPOTKINE.

CHAPTER IV.—EXPROPRIATION.

III.

THE ideas of Anarchism in general and of Expropriation in particular find much more sympathy than we are apt to imagine among men of independent character, and those for whom idleness is not the supreme ideal. "Still," our friends often warn us, "take care you do not go too far! Humanity cannot be changed in a day, so do not be in too great a hurry with your schemes of Expropriation and Anarchy, or you will be in danger of achieving no permanent result."

Now, what we fear with regard to Expropriation is exactly the contrary. We are afraid of not going far enough, of carrying out Expropriation on too small a scale to be lasting. We would not have the revolutionary impulse arrested in mid-career, to exhaust itself in half-measures, which would content no one, and which, while producing a tremendous upheaval of society, and stopping its customary activities, would have no power of life in themselves, and would merely spread general discontent and inevitably prepare the way for the triumph of reaction.

There are, in fact, in a modern state established relations which it is practically impossible to modify if one attacks them only in detail. There are wheels within wheels in our economic organisation—the machinery is so complex and interdependent that no one part can be modified without disturbing the whole. This becomes clear as soon as an attempt is made to expropriate anything.

Let us suppose that in a certain country a limited form of Expropriation is effected; for example, that, as recently suggested by Henry George, only the property of the great land-lords is confiscated, whilst the factories are left untouched; or that, in a certain city, house property is taken over by the commune, but merchandise is left in private ownership; or that, in some manufacturing centre, the factories are communalised, but the land is not interfered with.

The same result would follow in each case—a terrible shattering of the industrial system, without the means of reorganising it on new lines. Industry and finance would be at a dead-lock, yet a return to the first principles of justice would not have been achieved, and society would find itself powerless to construct a harmonious whole.

If agriculture could free itself from great landowners, while industry still remained the bond slave of the capitalist, the merchant and the banker, nothing would be accomplished. The peasant suffers to-day not only in having to pay rent to the land-lord, he is oppressed on all hands by existing conditions. He is exploited by the tradesman, who makes him pay half-a-crown for a spade which, measured by the labor spent on it, is not worth more than sixpence. He is taxed by the State, which cannot do without its formidable hierarchy of officials, and finds it necessary to maintain an expensive army, because the traders of all nations are perpetually fighting for the markets, and any day a little quarrel arising from the exploitation of some part of Asia or Africa may result in war.

Then again the peasant suffers from the depopulation of country places: the young people are attracted to the large manufacturing towns by the bait of high wages paid temporarily by the producers of articles of luxury, or by the attractions of a more stirring life. The artificial protection of industry, the industrial exploitation of foreign countries, the prevalence of stock-jobbing, the difficulty of improving the soil and the machinery of production—these are some of the things which work together against agriculture, which indeed is burdened not only by rent, but by the whole complex of conditions in a society based on exploitation. Thus, even if the expropriation of land were accomplished, and every one were free to till the soil and cultivate it to the best advantage, without paying rent, agriculture, even though it should enjoy—which can by no means be taken for granted—a momentary prosperity, would soon fall back into the slough in which it finds itself to-day. The whole thing would have to be begun over again, with increased difficulties.

The same holds true of industry. Take the converse case; instead of turning the agricultural laborers into peasant-proprietors, make over the factories to those who work in them. Abolish the master-manu-

facturers, but leave the land-lord his land, the banker his money, the merchant his Exchange, maintain still the swarm of idlers who live on the toil of the workmen, the thousand and one middlemen, the State with its numberless officials, and industry would come to a stand-still. Finding no purchasers in the mass of peasants still as poor as ever, without the raw material, and unable to export its products, embarrassed by the stoppage of trade, and still more seriously affected by the decentralisation of manufactures, industry could only struggle on feebly, and thousands of workers would be thrown upon the streets. These starving crowds would be ready and willing to submit to the first schemer who came to exploit them, they would even consent to return to the old slavery, if only under promise of work.

Or, finally, suppose you oust the land-owners, and hand over the mills and factories to the worker, without interfering with the swarm of middlemen who drain the product of our manufacturers, and speculate in corn and flour, meat and groceries in our great centres of commerce. Well, when exchange is arrested and products cease to circulate, when Paris is without bread, and Lyons finds no buyers for her silks, a terrible counter-revolution will take place,—a counter-revolution treading upon the slain, sweeping the towns and villages with shot and shell; there would be proscriptions, panic, flight, and all the terrors of the Guillotine, as in France in 1815, 1848, and 1871.

All is interdependent in a civilised society; it is impossible to reform any one thing without altering the whole. On that day when we strike at private property, under any one of its forms, territorial or industrial, we shall be obliged to attack all its manifestations. The very success of the Revolution will demand it.

Besides, we could not if we would confine ourselves to a partial expropriation. Once the principle of the "Divine Right of Property" is shaken, no amount of theorising will prevent its overthrow, here by the slaves of the soil, there by the slaves of the machine.

If a great town, Paris for example, were to confine itself to taking possession of the houses or the factories, it would still be forced to deny the right of the bankers to levy upon the Commune a tax amounting to £2,000,000, in the form of interest for former loans. The great city would be obliged to put itself in touch with the rural districts, and its influence would inevitably urge the peasants to free themselves from the land-owner. It would be necessary to communalise the railways that the citizens might get food and work, and lastly, to prevent the waste of supplies, and to guard against the chicanery of corn-speculators, like those to whom the Commune of 1793 fell a prey, it would place in the hands of the citizens the work of stocking their warehouses with commodities, and apportioning the produce.

Nevertheless, some Socialists still seek to establish a distinction. "Of course," they say, "the soil, the mines, the mills and manufactures must be expropriated, these are the instruments of production, and it is right we should consider them public property. But articles of consumption, food, clothes and dwellings, should remain private property."

Popular common-sense has got the better of this subtle distinction. We are not savages who can live in the woods, without other shelter than the branches. The civilised man needs a roof-tree and a hearth, a bed-chamber and a bed. It is true that the bed, the room and the house of the non-producer are only part of the paraphernalia of idleness. But for the worker a room, properly heated and lighted, is as much an instrument of production as the tool or the machine. It is the place where the nerves and sinews gather strength for the work of the morrow. The rest of the workman is the daily repairing of the machine.

The same argument applies even more obviously to food. The so-called economists of whom we speak would hardly deny that the coal burnt in a machine is as necessary to production as the raw material itself. How then can food, without which the human machine could do no work, be excluded from the list of things indispensable to the producer? Such hair-splitting is worthy of the metaphysic of the schoolmen. The rich man's feast is indeed a matter of luxury, but the food of the worker is just as much a part of production as the fuel burnt by the steam engine.

The same with clothing: if the economists who draw this distinction between articles of production and of consumption dressed themselves in the fashion of New Guinea we could understand their objection. But men who could not write a word without a shirt on their back are not in a position to draw such a hard and fast line between their shirt and their pen. And though the dainty gowns of their dames must certainly rank as objects of luxury, there is nevertheless a certain quantity of linen, cotton and woollen stuff which is a necessity of life to the producer. The shirt and shoes in which he goes to his work, his cap and the jacket he slips on after the day's toil is over, these are as necessary to him as the hammer to the anvil.

Whether we like it or not, that is what the people mean by a revolution. As soon as they have made a clean sweep of the Government, they will seek first of all to insure to themselves decent dwellings and sufficient food and clothes—free of rent and taxes.

And the people will be right. The methods of the people will be much more in accordance with science than those of the economists who draw so many distinctions between instruments of production and articles of consumption. The people understand that this is just the point where the Revolution ought to begin; and they will lay the foundations of the only economic science worthy the name—a science which might be called: "*The Study of the Needs of Humanity, and of the Economic Means to satisfy them.*"

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NOTES.

RECENT COLLISIONS WITH LAW AND ORDER.

Our report columns furnish from month to month details of what Anarchists are doing. It would be well perhaps to devote a note or two regularly to what is being done to a few of them. Anarchist-hunting is in full season, and some big bags are reported from abroad. In New York Claus Timmerman, editor of *Die Brandfackel*, a recently started monthly journal, was arrested for taking part in a meeting of unemployed and charged, Sept. 8th, on the evidence of two policemen, with inciting his audience to violence. Timmermann admitted a portion of the evidence to be correct, but denied having incited the crowd. He was, however, sentenced to six months' imprisonment, after a trial lasting only one hour. A few days later, Emma Goldman was arrested on a similar charge at Philadelphia, and was extradited to New York, although, according to law, extradition is only granted in cases of felony. She has been sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. In Spain numerous arrests have been made since the explosion in Barcelona. Thirty Anarchists are said to have been in the cells of Montjuich fortress when Pallas was shot without its walls. The Spanish police are straining all their wits to discover the editing staff of "El Productor," the most noted among the Spanish Anarchist papers. In Austria arrests have been very numerous. While in Manchester five comrades have been mauled by the police and charged with creating obstruction, for which they were heavily fined. Harry Conway, who smashed the Oxford-street jeweller's window, in September, and tried to carry off diamonds valued at £420, on the ground that they were wealth that ought to be put in circulation among those who wanted it, was tried at the London County Sessions, October 25th, and sentenced to 18 months' hard labor, and is now enjoying the only form of hospitality the nation willingly bestows upon its unemployed workers.

STIR AMONG THE NEAPOLITANS.

From Italy we have news of riots in Naples, not without their significance. The cause was a strike of cabmen. The police having interfered, the people took sides with the cabmen and attacked the police. Handfights took place here and there. Trams were attacked and shortly all traffic was stopped. There were skirmishes between bands of rioters and the police. A police barrack was assaulted; the police fired from the windows on the crowds which stood firm.

Another day a boy having been shot dead by a gendarme, the people took the corpse to the Prefect (the leading political authority of the province) shouting, "Death to the Police"! Finally the people sacked an armoury shop, and overpowered the police and the local troops. The state of siege was proclaimed, 25,000 more troops were let into the town, and the civil authority abdicated into the hands of a general. The local M.P.'s (among them two Socialists) issued a manifesto to calm the people and promise them "justice against the police." Even the demands of the cabmen were granted. But as soon as "order was restored" arrests and persecutions began.

Socialism in Sicily.

ONE of the most remarkable developments of the Labor Movement is now taking place in Sicily. It is but a few months past that a strong Workingmen's Socialist Association began to be formed in this island. No less than 300,000 peasants and workmen have joined the local Branches (Fasci) of the Association. In towns, villages and hamlets the movement has spread, and thousands are organised from day to day. Although many of the leaders profess to be Marxist, the character of the movement is thoroughly revolutionary. The peasants, who form the bulk of the population, expect a revolution, in which they will take possession of the land. It is said that they even cause their children to be enlisted, that they also "may get their plot of land."

It is a striking feature that the women are most enthusiastically taking part in the movement. They are forming Branches of their own,

or joining the men's, and saying: "We used to go to church, now we go to the 'Fasci'" (Branch). At the latest conference of delegates from the local Branches, which took place in Palermo, there were some women, and they are said to have proved themselves first-class speakers, though quite uncultivated.

The organisers of the Branches do not bring the people together merely to preach Socialism to them, but form classes for their instruction, and organise games, dances and theatrical performances, inviting all the members to take active part as performers, authors, actors, etc. In fact, everything is done to attract the weary laborers, while propagating the ideas of Socialism among them, and making Socialists of them almost unconsciously to themselves.

Their program is purely Socialist, although some of the leaders aspire to municipal or parliamentary honors. But the Branches comprise all elements, including many Anarchists, and the rank and file is certainly for immediate revolution.

The situation of the peasants is awful: they actually starve the whole year round. And what renders the situation more dangerous for the Government is that the small and middle-class proprietors are also ruined by debts and taxes, and the difficulty of selling their wine which they exported mostly to France. These classes, in so far as they sympathise with the Socialist idea, or on account of the straits they find themselves in, would be glad of a change, do not amalgamate with the Workingmen's Association, but form among themselves Socialist leagues, as in Palermo. The Association therefore is entirely confined to the wage-earning exploited masses.

The first consequence of this movement has been that peasants' strikes have broken out in different parts of Sicily. The Government which fears both a social revolution on the part of the working classes, and a separatist movement provoked by the middle class, has sent over to Sicily the Chief Director of the Police Department to inquire into the situation. Some of the Branches have already been proclaimed, many members arrested, and a good many more have left their houses and wandered, armed, into the fields. At Corleone, where there is a peasants' strike, the fugitives have sent word to the local landlords that they will take revenge on them for any of their comrades who may be arrested.

Everywhere the greatest solidarity is shown by the members of the Association as regards their imprisoned comrades and their families. Altogether the movement is a very serious and promising one. A.H.

RELEASE OF D. J. NICOLL.

A Public Meeting will be held at Grafton Hall, 55 Grafton-st., W., on Friday, Nov. 3, at 8 p.m., to welcome D. J. Nicoll back after 18 months' imprisonment. Several speakers from the various Anarchist groups will address the meeting. Admission free. Comrades, don't fail to turn up in your numbers.

Paulino Pallas.

SEPTEMBER 24th a dynamite bomb was thrown by the Spanish Anarchist Pallas at Marshal Martinez Campos, who was about to review the troops at Barcelona. The bomb exploded among the staff officers, killing a sergeant of the Civil Guard and injuring a general. The marshal's horse was killed under him, but he escaped with merely a severe contusion. Pallas was at once arrested and admitted his crime. Such is the gist of the ordinary reports of this affair, to which the journalists one and all added the comment "mad," some admitting, however, that Pallas was undeniably "brave."

It will be interesting to seek out the cause of this undeniably brave man's madness. Pallas, it is said, became an Anarchist while in America, where he worked as a lithographer. He was expelled from Brazil for his opinions, and returned to Spain, but finding no work there, went on to Paris. Here was no work to be found either. After a weary waiting in vain hope and having spent the little he had scraped together out of his earnings in America, he went back to Barcelona about two months ago in a state of utmost misery. A wife, four little ones and his mother were depending on him. Unable to find work, helpless to obtain food for himself or for his family, these surely are conditions enough to drive the sanest among us mad.

Out of such impasses Society allows a choice of three ways, by begging, suicide, or quiet starvation, but there is a fourth road, which Society does not sanction, revolt; and this one Pallas took. The diseased condition of Society that produced him, to quote the *Illustrated Church News* on the subject, seemed to need the most severe remedies; for with gangrene there is no hope save in amputation. Campos had presided in the name of Society at the trials of the Xeres Anarchists; he is a staunch defender of monarchy, the thing that feeds no matter who goes hungry. He is the man who holds the Spanish army together, and Pallas no doubt thought that, if he were removed, with him would crumble a strong prop of that condition of things which placed Pallas and so many others on the verge of desperation. If the people were ready, his blow would be the signal for a rising that would sweep away the old order and bring in the new. With nothing to lose, with no hope for himself in this world and no fear of another, he struck his blow, and calmly faced the consequences.

Pallas was tried by court-martial, and had short shrift. Rumours were afloat of a great international Anarchist conspiracy. The attempt on Campos was said to be the first of a series. Arrests were made right and left and great efforts were used to induce Pallas to say something that would implicate others; pardon even being hinted at. The Republican party pleaded that his life at least should be spared, but this was merely because they detested Campos. Death having no terrors for Pallas, with him all such efforts were unavailing: he knew that

his life was forfeit, and was content to leave the justification of his motive to the society of the future.

Sempre Avanti says that when about to be sentenced, Pallas was ordered to kneel before the judge, but this he refused to do unless compelled by force. Priests spent much time trying to make him recant and abjure his Atheistic and Anarchist principles, but he steadily refused all rites and argued with the Jesuits on religious and social points.

The day before his death he bade farewell to his mother, wife and children, and it was then for the first time that he showed signs of emotion. To his children he said: "This is the room of a dying man, your father will sleep here just one night more." Taking the hand of his eldest daughter he added: "Remember your father, my daughter, who every day went forth to bring milk and bread to all his family." Then turning to all his children he said, "When you are big, if you should hear it said that they have shot me as a criminal, tell them it is a lie, and add that I died fighting for bread for my family and for the good of humanity." Later on he had an interview with the Civil Governor whom he recommended to treat the work people better. Indeed from first to last his words were about the welfare of the workers, and he strove to show all those with whom he spoke the uselessness of repressive measures. When the priests again exhorted him to hear mass said in the chapel, he replied: "Do as you will, but I too shall do as I will. If you insist on mass, perhaps it will be best for me to turn my back." How could he believe in a religion whose ministers were on the side of tyranny and oppression! The morning of his death he was waked by the priest and reminded that he had but three hours to live; to which he only answered: "Is that all you waked me for?" His brother asked permission to bid him farewell, but this was refused.

Up the mountain, Montjuch, where the castle-prison stands, great crowds of workmen thronged to see the end. Strong cordons of "sbirri" were posted everywhere to keep them back. At 9 a.m. Pallas was brought out, through a private way, pinioned, but walking with head erect and steady step through the guards formed of soldiers of the regiment in which he had served. When brought to the place of execution he turned and seeing the multitude cried with a loud voice, "The revenge will be terrible." The people displaying some emotion, the civil guard and police charged upon them with drawn sabres. Four soldiers waited the signal; Pallas was placed with his back to them, but as they were about to fire, he turned his head towards them crying: "Long live Anarchy!" A cry immediately followed by the shots which blew his head to atoms.

We have no ground on which to base a grievance for the shooting of Pallas. We know that he who takes another's life must be prepared to give his own in exchange. But when is this warfare to stop? Are not we, who eat and sleep in safety, all guilty of murder, foul and unnatural murder towards our brothers and sisters, who die a thousand times within the bitter coil of penury, which too often slays the soul as well as the body of man. The *Spectator* (Sept. 30th), writing of Pallas, congratulates England that her Anarchists are not so formidable as those of Spain, and says that this is owing to the greater lenity with which we are treated. Yes, the English Anarchists do shrink from such deeds as are done daily in the names of justice, diplomacy and capitalism! Whilst there are among us workers driven to suicide, starving miners, armies ready to slay at the bidding of Government let England not boast of a lenity, which is at best but the indifference of self-complaisance, or the pride of security.

N. F. D.

Mr. Auberon Herbert's "Voluntary State."

(Continued.)

Finally Mr. Herbert gives us a description of the Results which he expects from the working of his "Voluntary State." He claims that these would show themselves in (1) "a great addition to material prosperity"; (2) "a great development of intelligence"; and (3) "a great advance in general happiness and friendliness."

As to the increased material prosperity, Mr. Herbert shows up the actual play of financial cause and effect within the confines of the existing unhealthy economic system clearly enough to make one wish that he would convey his reasoning faculty to a truer point of view, whence that system as a whole should appear to him as a single sorry phenomenon already doomed to inevitable dissipation. Imagine a hollow sphere containing a number of peas, and rolling with its contents down a steep incline with a precipice at the bottom. Mr. Herbert is busy with the hopeless task of securing to a selected number of the fated peas a better time of it inside their sphere, ignoring the accelerating downward run of the whole thing. We Anarchists stand outside the enclosing sphere, which we regard, not as the home, but the prison of the peas. Our idea of saving the peas is to break the sphere and get them out in time. As for the accursed prison, let its wreck roll into the abyss of Nevermore, and let the rescued peas take root on *terra firma*, and shoot and flower and bring forth the natural fruit of fitly-conditioned living things.— Meanwhile, as to the way in which voluntarism is to increase material prosperity—at least for the already prosperous—within the existing property-bound system:—

"Doing away with all custom duties would cheapen taxed articles, would release commerce from delay and vexatious examinations; would lessen adulteration; would save much official labor; would call small ports into importance; would open the import trade, making ports free for import to small men as well as to large houses; would thus les-

sen the chance of corners and monopolies, and lessen the chance of the dockers dictating their own terms to the rest of the nation; (dreadful dockers, so to usurp the privilege of property owners!) would increase the shipping trade, and make this country the commercial *dépôt* of the whole world."

This last clause, appealing to mere John Bullism, reads quaintly enough in the midst of an exposition of a scheme for relieving pain-racked humanity as a whole. As to the above list of probable effects to follow the removal of custom duties, we may say: "That's so." But what of it? Cheapening taxed articles would make wages go a bit further, with the "iron" consequence that wages would be adjusted down to the lowered subsistence mark. Commerce would be released from delay and examinations? So much the better for the merry profit-monger! For the mere lessening of adulteration our thanks are not hearty; we see a way of abolishing that most unnatural of all property-seeking devices, whereby men do themselves out of the means of life for the mere sake of tyrant Mammon. To open the import trade to small merchants is to make it easier to such men to supply their shops with wares, but goes small way towards enabling the needy producers or the starving unemployed to purchase them. While, as to lessening the chance of corners and monopolies, I still fail to see how within the limits of even the most lightly taxed wage-system that supreme monopolist the landlord is to be induced to give up the old game that he is so anxious the hungry useful docker should not play—namely, dictation of his own terms to the rest of the world.

(To be concluded.)

L. S. B.

ANARCHIST REPLY

TO THE
MANIFESTO OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE OF SOCIALIST BODIES (LONDON).

PART II.—(Concluded.)

We are *not* opposed to voluntary organisation. We are *not* "individualists" in the "each for himself" sense attached to the word both by the *laissez-faire* economists and by Social Democrats. On the contrary, we are the ardent advocates of the organisation of labor, skilled and unskilled, productive and distributive. The future society which we are striving to bring about is a voluntary federation of labor associations, supplemented by the voluntary federation of townships and country districts, whose inhabitants have local interests in common, and by that ever-increasing network of voluntary societies already existing for special objects. It is to such voluntary associations we look to supersede the State altogether. We look upon the tendency to form such associations as an essential feature of human nature, and as the natural basis of society. The only organisations we object to are those founded on the principle of the authority of man over man.

We are opposed to the official administration of a written law, enforced by penalties. We acknowledge the right of the members of the future society to take measures for their own safety, and to guard against idlers or would-be exploiters; but we maintain that this can be done by *free agreement*, without resorting to the dangerous and ruinous expedient of creating a new government and making new laws. We believe that improved social conditions will enormously lessen crime, and that such crime as may exist will be treated as modern science shows it should be treated, *i.e.*, as disease.

The disagreement between ourselves and Social Democrats centres on the estimate which we respectively form of the value of the parliamentary system. Social Democrats maintain that, bad as it is, this system may be made to subserve the interests of the working classes, and may be used as an instrument for reforms, nay, for revolution, and even for the reorganisation of society after the revolution.

We, on the other hand, contend that the parliamentary system, which rose to supreme power with capitalism, must necessarily fall with it, and that it is as absurd to wish to carry the existing parliamentary machinery into a society on a new economic basis as it would be to expect a feudal monarchy to co-exist with modern capitalism; while as a means of bringing about new economic conditions, Parliament seems to us as inadequate as the "thrift" and experiments in co-operation, once believed in as methods of emancipation for the workers.

We contend that not only Parliament (which, after all, is but a part, not even the most important part, of the political machinery) but the whole modern system of government is and must be run in the interests of the propertied classes, and that if the property system were to cease to exist the reason for government would also cease. We contend that, as the very nature of government is that it should protect the interests and privileges of the governors and their friends, who by the very fact of being elected as governors become a privileged class, possessed of physical power to enforce their will, it is therefore impossible to abolish economic and political slavery and to establish freedom and equality by means of government, *i.e.*, privilege. And we consider that the efforts of Social Democrats to "capture" the government will only result in some of their leaders being themselves captured by the government and absorbed into the ruling class.

We have no confidence in the virtue of palliatives; nay, we fear the tendency of electoral campaigns and of the tinkering of laws will be merely to drag the labor movement into the political arena, where it will be inevitably lost. Let us recall to our minds the lesson of the Chartist movement in England, and of the insurrectionary movements of 1848 on the continent of Europe. All those originally social movements failed the moment they degenerated into merely political contests.

Workmen and peasants, who went for substantial economic changes, were disheartened as they saw themselves only called to endless and useless elections, and mere changes of governments.

An even greater lesson comes to us from the republic of old Rome. The agrarian movement, which was preparing a social revolution akin to that we now strive for, was diverted into political channels and ultimately defeated. The proletariat acquired certain political rights; men chosen from its ranks were elevated to the highest offices of the State; the mob, in assemblies, made the law. All this to no purpose, except the exaltation to power of ambitious or rich plebeians and the fostering of corruption.

The present social movement, for which the working classes are already suffering and bleeding, is threatened with a similar fate. Already a number of politicians and labor leaders are in the ranks of the people. Plans are made, not indeed as yet for free distribution of bread and amusements, as in Rome, but for the legal regulation of the hours of labor and, presumably, of wages (and prices?). Were the schemes successful, which have been put forward to patch up the existing breach between capital and labor (including Arbitration, Labor Exchanges, etc.), a state of regulated slavery would be established for a large section of the working classes; and the hopes for a radical change, for the real emancipation of all working men, for an era of liberty, equality and fraternity, would pale and vanish.

We are, therefore, at a very critical juncture. Should the tactics of official Social Democracy prevail, the working classes would have lost the battle beforehand. They would be entangled in a net of laws, inadequate to really better their condition, but strong enough to hold them in bondage to their masters. Happily, revolt against palliatives and parliamentary action is raging in the camp of the Social Democrats themselves; as is shown by the Independent Socialists' movement in Germany; by the anti-parliamentary resolution adopted at a recent Dutch Congress; by a similar resolution presented by a Swiss labor organisation to the Zürich Congress; finally, by the recent split in the Socialist Labor Party of the United States at their congress in Chicago.

The day is not far off when State Socialism, both as a theory and as a policy, will be abandoned by the best of its own followers; and the workmen will reunite on the old principle of the International Working Men's Association, *i.e.*, that the emancipation of the working classes must be effected by the working classes themselves, and as the result of an international uprising, by means of which they will aim at a society where the Free Agreement will replace Law, Communism Capitalism, Equality Privilege, and Freedom Slavery. As a present member of the United States government said a year ago:

"As soon as the people become disgusted with politics, they will make a revolution."

THE PROPAGANDA.

REPORTS.

LONDON—

Comrade Kropotkin lectured at South Place, on Sunday, Oct. 8, on "Justice and Morality." He criticised Huxley's view of Evolution and Ethics, as given in the Romanes Lecture this year at Oxford. Huxley, firm in his belief that struggle for existence is the one principle of animal evolution, holds that man suddenly develops an ethical nature, which is utterly opposed to natural processes, which has, in fact, for its main function a constant fight against natural law. If "nature red in tooth and claw" were the only truth of evolution, Huxley would be right; but Kropotkin shows that this is only a half truth, not even that indeed; for mutual aid among animals, he maintains, plays a more important part in evolution; and that it is from mutual aid ideas that justice and morality have origin. By this view justice and morality are as much a product of evolution, and therefore of natural processes, as the physical man himself: and it follows from this contention that the furtherance of justice and morality is to be looked for by more and more acting in accord with natural processes, rather than by opposing them, as Huxley would have us do. Sparrows consider it wrong to permit stealing from each others nests; and swallows have strong punishment dealt out to offenders who steal nests they have not built; they are shut up in them and left to die. Morality first shows itself among savages by the development of ideas of shame. For instance, it is considered a shame not to help an unfortunate fellow who may be short of food: and being thought a shame not to render assistance it soon becomes a moral obligation to do so. Huxley, reasoning from false premises then, naturally falls upon the horns of a dilemma: either morality originates spontaneously or it comes from somewhere outside; both conclusions are opposed to all modern ideas of science. The error originates from faulty observation of natural facts, and an incomplete conception of the principles of evolution. Considering the array of facts in support of mutual aid among animals presented by our comrade in the *Nineteenth Century*, we find it very hard to excuse Professor Huxley for so momentous a blunder as to suppose that the laws of nature are based upon discord, not upon harmony.—F. M.

On 11th October, Comrade Agnes Henry delivered a lecture at the Hall of Science to the National Secular Society on "The Position of Women under Anarchist Communism." The lecture was well received, and the answers to the questions afterwards put were met by a much warmer response than our comrade had expected. It is becoming every day more evident that a considerable number of the members of the Secularist Society have leanings towards Anarchist Communism. Certain of their local branches co-operate very cordially with our comrades, and we should do well to turn our attention to such a section of the community, consisting as they do mainly of earnest and thoughtful people, who have fought hard for liberty in one direction.

Regent's Park.—This station has been fairly active of late, but the crowds are not of a very stable nature. Conway spoke here the day before his arrest, and made a very telling speech on the question of physical force. He was followed by Presberg and Merlino. This meeting was held under the trees and went off very well.—Samuels, Cantwell, Barker and Reed from Brighton have all helped to waken up the slumbering intelligence of the thick-headed. Sometimes a good discussion takes place.—Last Sunday it was very wet; and there being "no fatter game on the moor," Macdonald commenced a Socratic debate with the

"Greatest of Humanitarian Philosophers," Joachim Kaspary.—Kaspary is a clever old Jewish gentleman who has the honour to have discovered the human soul, to have demonstrated its previous existence, and foretells its future life. Failing to answer a few simple questions the great philosopher bethought himself and went. Macdonald then addressed the crowd, and tried to explain how abstract all philosophy and science must be which had not the economic welfare of the world at heart; that man was a concrete whole, physically, morally and mentally. He promised to speak on Kaspary's pamphlet following Sunday.—M.

Peckham.—During the past month large and attentive audiences have been addressed by Comrades Conway, Banham, Gunderson, Forrester, Presberg, Cantwell, Carter, Atterbury, Quinn and others. Sunday, Sept. 24th, at the North Camberwell Radical Club, Comrade Samuels debated with John Hampden Davis (a local Vestryman) on "Anarchism v. Social Democracy." The hall was packed with workmen, and the hearty applause with which they greeted the remarks of Comrade Samuels showed that they understood and appreciated the Anarchist contention. It was the almost unanimous opinion of those present, including the S.D.F. men, that J. Davis never before received such a licking as he did on this occasion.—In the afternoon, a lecture on "Anarchism" was delivered at Oakley-place Chapel by a local sky-pilot, the Rev. T. Charke. Most of our comrades were unable to be present, owing to more important business, but according to two comrades who were there the Rev. Lecturer, instead of dealing with the principles of Anarchism, dealt solely with the methods advocated and used by individual Anarchists, and led the audience to believe that this was Anarchism. No discussion was allowed, so we have challenged the parson to debate the question, but up to the present he has not accepted.—Comrade Forrester has done good work in addressing meetings of the unemployed in this locality, advising the men not to go begging to a Board of Guardians or a Vestry for work, but to boldly take the food and clothes with which the shops are overstocked. On Saturday, October 7, an enormous placard was found posted on the Board of Guardians office, in Peckham-road, warning the authorities that, unless they at once provided work, they, the unemployed, would "damned quick make some." At the meeting of the Vestry, four days afterwards, it was decided to employ as many men as possible at a living rate of wage!—Friday, Oct. 13, Comrade Hopkins addressed the members of the Deptford Socialist Society on "The Abolition of Private Property," proving conclusively that with its abolition government, property's protector, must also cease. A good discussion followed, and our comrade received a hearty invitation to come again.—Sunday, Oct. 15, in the morning, we amalgamated with the Navvies' Union and had a joint meeting on the Triangle, J. Andrews spoke on behalf of the Navvies and Agnes Henry from our standpoint. We had a large audience. A collection was afterwards taken up for the miners. Andrews's was a splendid speech. He said that although he was there that morning to advocate trade unionism, he would not be satisfied until the present cursed state of society was removed, and replaced by a system of Brotherhood and Anarchism. In the evening, we paid a visit to Deptford Broadway, and held a large crowd for some time. Comrades Carter and Banham were the speakers; sold a quire of papers; no opposition whatever. We intend, if possible, keeping up these meetings, as we consider this a splendid spot for propaganda, the audience being composed entirely of workmen. Comrades willing to help at these meetings are requested to communicate with comrade Carter, 14, Fairthorne-road, Charlton. Don't forget! Deptford Broadway, every Sunday evening, at 7 o'clock.—The local authorities are talking of suppressing the meetings on the Triangle. We shall not object to the advertisement.—Walter C. Hart.

Leytonstone.—During a discussion on Oct. 1st, at the Free Methodist Church, Forest Gate, on the Right of Combination, Cdm. Goulding attempted to put some shrewd question to the reverend lecturer, but was suppressed with much indignation by the reverend chairman, and contented himself with going outside and selling literature to the congregation as they walked out, well satisfied with the lecture and themselves. He renewed the attack on the main speakers as they retired along the street.

PROVINCES—

Brighton.—We have had good meetings here, and intend to invite C. Mowbray down for next Sunday. Two Sundays back, the Secularists objected to our Comrade Tom's speaking from their platform, and we three Anarchists left their branch. However, yesterday they told me that they were very sorry, and that there had only been one man who raised the opposition. On Thursday they are to give me a final answer as regards discussing the labor question, that we may know for next Sunday.—S.

Portsmouth.—At last Portsmouth has been awakened by the wave of Anarchy now so gloriously spreading. On Sunday the 8th inst., the newly inaugurated Portsmouth Branch of the (so-called) I.L.P. obtained a speaker (Mr. Godfrey) from Northampton, and held a meeting ostensibly for the benefit of the miners, but really to push the claims of Social Democracy. The speaker advocated the returning of working men to Parliament, the municipalisation of industries and the general program of the I.L.P. Discussion being requested Comrade Feinstein responded. Announcing that the I.L.P. were not responsible for his remarks, he proceeded to instance working men who had been put in power and by contact with the unholy thing had been defiled. He drew a comparison between John Burns at Trafalgar-square in '89 and John Burns at the last County Council election. He also instanced Bebel and the German Social Democrats generally. Then referring to the Coal Strike, he said that if, instead of bargaining with the capitalists for the hire of their bodies they were to use against them the same means as the capitalists had used with such sadly fatal effects against them, the lock-out would soon be at an end, and the monopolists would retire discomfited into their no longer impregnable fortresses. He suggested that another meeting be held on the Common in the afternoon at which he would be pleased to help. A collection of 17s. was made for the miners.—A large meeting was held at 3 o'clock on the Common; but as has been so often observed the better off the audience are the less the amount subscribed, only 10s. was collected. This meeting was conducted by local members of the I.L.P. A short history of the lock-out was given by Mr. Hales, sec. of the branch, and several morals drawn from it. Comrade Feinstein again spoke, the chairman first assuring the audience that he alone was responsible for his extreme remarks. He again advocated force as the only remedy for the present state of things, and pressed forward the views of Anarchists as to the labor crisis now so early in the winter upon us. At the end he made a touching appeal for assistance for the starving women and children. At both meetings we sold *Freedoms*, *Weals*, and pamphlets; sold all we had in fact, and could have sold more if we had had them. We also gave away all the old numbers of *Freeam* we possessed. The people received Feinstein's remarks very enthusiastically, in marked difference to the manner in which the I.L.P. speeches were received; they seem thoroughly sick of these latter. If we only had a few more sympathisers and helpers Portsmouth would be a good field for propaganda.—W. J.

Norwich.—It is some while since there was a report from Norwich; we have not had anything worth reporting, but that has not been altogether our fault. We were a large body once, but as it became more dangerous to be known as Anarchist Socialists owing to persecution, and we lost speakers who were forced to leave us, we gradually diminished to a few. Still there are plenty of Anarchists here; though they do not take a prominent part, they will remember our teachings, and when the day of Revolution comes they will lend a willing hand to overturn this system of capitalism for a system of equality and frater-

nity. During September we have had some active propaganda again. On Sunday 24th, Com. Agnes Henry gave a splendid address upon "Anarchist Communism" to a large meeting of trade unionists. Mowbray gave three good addresses upon the "Belfast and Zürich Congresses," and "Trade Unionism from an Anarchist Standpoint." And 5th October, Comrade Presberg gave three very educational addresses upon "Anarchy" which were well received. Good collections and good sale of literature at all the meetings. Unfortunately, we could not get any opposition, although we invited it in the press. We have two groups at present, and both are doing work for the propaganda. We intend holding a demonstration in November, and hope to have our Com. Nicoll with us. If there are any other comrades who could assist, please communicate with A. Bird, 10, St. Swithen's-terrace, St. Benedicts, Norwich. As we have no premises, and we find we get almost always the same audiences at our meetings we intend during the winter to call together workers of all shades of opinion to discuss the labor question, i.e., poverty and its remedy; we advise all comrades to do likewise. We have no time to waste over personal quarrels or parliamentary action. Events are marching quickly on, and we must hasten to get the truths of Anarchist Socialism instilled into the workers, so that when the time comes we may be certain of victory.—A. B.

Glasgow.—On Sunday evening, October 8th, Comrade Mowbray delivered an address in the Albion Halls, Glasgow, under the auspices of the I.L.P. on "Anarchist Communism." The meeting was one of the largest and most enthusiastic that has been held in these halls for some time past, and speaks well for the Anarchist movement here. Judging from the reception given to our comrade by the audience, who were largely composed of Socialists and Labor men, I think I am quite safe in saying that many of them were on the quick path to Anarchy. Mowbray began by pointing out to them that various sections of the people were bringing forward palliatives, such as Temperance, the Eight Hours' Question, Labor Leaders, &c. none of which, he remarked, were sufficient to remedy the evils that exist. Dealing with the Eight Hours' Question he said, "I contend that just in proportion as you reduce the hours of labor and increase the cost of labor to the capitalist, unless you destroy the capitalist system entirely, you will only reduce the hours of labor and compel him to increase the amount of machinery in the workshops and factories. When human labor is dearer than machine labor he has no other chance."—At the close of the meeting there were several questions put to all of which our comrade gave clear and satisfactory replies.—On Sunday, October 15th, at 2 p.m. Comrade Mowbray lectured for us in the Albion Halls. The meeting was fair, though not quite up to our expectations; but this was more than counterbalanced by the meeting in the evening, when he lectured on "Communism, Free or State?" under the auspices of the I.L.P. The audience, numbering about 1500, gave our comrade a very hearty reception. All through the lecture he was frequently applauded, and at the finish the applause was renewed with great vigour. Comrade Mowbray successfully replied to the little objections raised by labor party men, greatly to the satisfaction of the audience.—Altogether Com. Mowbray's lecture has had a welcome effect on some of the more forward spirits who are becoming disgusted with party tactics and intrigues. Large sale of literature.—Open-air meetings are held every Sunday (W.P.), 11.30 a.m., on Jail-square.—As Jack Robb intends to throw himself into propaganda work the secretaryship has fallen to J. Blair Smith, c/o London, 6 Craigstock-place, Glasgow, to whom communications for Glasgow Group may now be addressed.

Newcastle.—I promised a short time ago to send you an account of the different parties in Newcastle, which might be interesting to the readers of *Freedom*. Undoubtedly, at the next general election, Newcastle will be the centre of the political fight; first, John Morley is Chief Secretary for Ireland, and one of the government's strongest supporters, secondly he is strongly opposed to an "eight hour's bill," therefore if John Morley can be defeated at the next general election it will be a blow both to "Home Rule" for Ireland and the "Laissez faire" section of the liberal party. Therefore it looks as though the "Unionist" and "Independent Labor Party" will unite to return a conservative and a labor member. At the last election great bitterness was shown by the "liberals" towards the Independent Labor Party through a manifesto's being issued by the I.L.P. calling upon the workers to vote for Charles Hammond, a Tory and old opponent of the liberals. The Labor Party has secured a strong candidate in Mr. Fred Hamill, an engineer, who has done a great deal of hard work in organizing trade unions, &c.; that he is a good speaker and hard worker there is little doubt. The chief opposition to Fred Hamill comes from the Radicals and Nationalists, who are led by a local bookseller, Mr. Carleton, who poses as a great puritan; he has organized a boys' "self-help" brigade, in which there seems very little help for the boys. When one has listened to this gentleman for a short time, you cannot help wishing that he had been the first man, for then the first eviction could never have taken place, and there would have been no necessity for Socialism or any other ism; but man having "fallen" and the conditions of society not so good as they might be, we are told that the remedies are, Home Rule for Ireland and a belief in the infallibility of the G.O.M. and the great liberal party. If any of our revolutionary Social Democratic friends would like to see the results of political action they should visit Newcastle. Amongst the I.L.P. Socialism is mentioned with bated breath, whilst the word revolution is never mentioned.—We have also a branch of the Fabians here who say they advocate Socialism, but it is a socialism which no one else but themselves can understand; it seems to be neither fish, flesh, fowl, nor good red herring. The first thing that strikes you is their respectability and their desire to water down Socialism as much as possible, so as to cheat the workers and make the real issue between the two classes as obscure as possible.—Mr. Harding, the "Peaceful Anarchist," opened a discussion before the Fabians here "Can we be free under Socialism?" Harding's criticism was directed against Social Democracy, and was a splendid attack upon the State idea. There were four Fabians afterwards who attempted to answer him, but made a miserable failures. The following week Mr. Keppell answered, or rather professed to answer, Mr. Harding. The whole answer was a series of misrepresentation, abuse and evasion. Mr. Keppell continually talked about cultivated thought, and then showed his cultivated thought by referring to the Anarchists as liars and fools, and their philosophy as what might be termed "gutter logic." Mr. Keppell is a teacher of logic, and his knowledge of logic he uses to misrepresent Anarchist ideas; in order to curry favor with a few well-dressed Fabians. After Mr. Keppell had finished the Fabians showed their sense of fair play. When Mr. Harding lectured he occupied a little over an hour and then three-quarters of an hour was allowed for criticism, but when Keppell lectured in reply he occupied over an hour and a half, and upon Comrade Pearson's rising to criticise him he was informed that he could only have five minutes, and, although Mr. Keppell had interrupted him three times, he was not allowed more the five minutes. Mr. Keppell then said that he was addressing himself to the Fabians, not to the Newcastle Anarchists, which seemed to imply that he knew that anything he said they would be prepared to swallow. The thing that the Fabians here seem afraid of is a debate on the respective merits of Fabianism and of Socialism.—Agnes Henry, during her visit to the North, has lectured twice in Newcastle, the first Sunday, August 13th, we had a splendid meeting. The lecture was listened to very attentively and was well received. There was a good sale of *Freedom* and pamphlets. The second was on Thursday, August 17th. This was a good meeting, Comrade Henry speaking for two hours to an interested audience. Altogether we think the visits of Agnes Henry a great success, and we hope they will stir up the comrades here to fresh efforts.—On Monday, August 14th, Comrade Henry lectured at Chester-le-Street

on "The Folly of Politics." There was a large audience; great interest seemed to be taken in the various points of the lecture which were repeatedly cheered.—T. P.

SUMMARY OF SEPTEMBER REPORTS.

Peckham.—Meetings and discussions have been held nearly every week at the Triangle, Harder's-road, Peckham Park and other places, the most active speakers being Comrades Atterbury, Carter, Banham, Quinn, and Forrester. Besides the regular meetings, considerable personal propaganda-work has been done among the market-gardeners and laborers of the neighbourhood, whose ignorance even of ordinary politics is extreme. New speakers are wanted to continue the work. Apply to W. Hart, 152, Pomeroy-street, New Cross, S.E.

Hyde Park.—The usual Sunday meetings have continued, and the chief speakers have been Sesinsky, Tochatti, Presberg, Macdonald and Barker. There are generally two or three meetings going on in different parts of the Park at the same time.

Manchester.—The great coal-strike has served the cause of Anarchism, which has been spreading in these parts with great rapidity. Samuels, Leggatt, Macdonald and other comrades from London have addressed large meetings. The police have been acting after their kind in arresting collectors for the miners, and, owing to our protest on one occasion, they made an attempt to forbid our usual meetings at Ardwick Green. The public indignation was so great that they thought better of it, and the Chief Constable actually offered us the use of the police yards—a proposal which we mean to consider. Meetings have also been held at Pendlebury, in spite of violent opposition, and thousands of Anarchist leaflets on the strike have been distributed among the miners.

Sunderland.—Meetings have been held at Gill-bridge-avenue, the Wheat Sheaf and other places, and we were much encouraged by the presence of Comrade Banham and his strong addresses, till he returned to London for the winter, having heard of work there.

Yarmouth.—The cause has been steadily advancing, especially since the Hull Dock Strike. Large meetings have been addressed by Anarchists and Socialists from various parts of England, such as Kitching, Harland and several Norwich Socialists. The canvass of Headley as a Socialist candidate for the School Board has led to much discussion and propaganda in the local papers.

Norwich.—Large meetings, addressed by Comrades Mowbray and Henry, have been held in the Market-place and elsewhere; and in conjunction with the Bricklayers' and Laborers' Union we expressed our sympathy with the miners and made a collection. We are much divided as to our attitude towards trade unions in general.

Leicester.—Meetings have been held on most Sundays as usual, and the Social Democrats decline as our cause rises. Our greatest success recently was the enormous meeting in September, summoned in the Market-place to sympathise with the miners. Comrades Taylor, Glassman, Cores, Frank Kitz, and many more spoke with great effect. The collection in aid of the miners brought in close on £14. Meetings have also been continued at Loughborough, and the coal-fields have been visited by comrades armed with Anarchist literature.

Brighton.—Addresses have been delivered as usual on the beach, and on Sept. 24th Leggatt, of the Commonweal Group, spoke for an hour and a half against the confidence placed in party leaders, and the need of action by the workers themselves.

Edinburgh.—Successful meetings have been held in the Meadows, addressed by Comrades Henry, Donald, and Lebeau, who sang the Marseillaise of the Workers—a composition by his brother who fought in the Paris Commune.

Glasgow.—A large number of discussions held here, and at Greenock and Blantyre, especially during Comrade Henry's visit, in September.

Dundee.—Here our comrades have been very active.

* * * Comrades are requested to send their reports and notices in every month on or before the 21st.

COMRADE A. HENRY'S TOUR IN THE NORTH.

Dear Comrades,—Although almost a matter of ancient history for these hurrying, scurrying modern times, I feel bound, by the promises I made, to give some account of the tour from which I have recently returned.

On 27th July, I left London for Sunderland, my chief object being to get as near as I could to the mining districts of Durham and Northumberland. In Sunderland I found a very few Anarchist comrades, who had only quite recently known of one another's existence in the same town. There had never yet therefore been any associated action among them. Now, however, they have formed a group, and will certainly do all they can, together with a few more comrades in Newcastle-on-Tyne, to push the propaganda both in the colliery districts round about and in the towns among the shipbuilders and others.

Their great difficulty is the want of an able speaker, Comrade Pearson in Newcastle being the only experienced one among them. But, I may add that Comrade Black of Sunderland bids fair to become a good speaker if he would only persist in the attempts he has made.

Unfortunately, for lack of thorough organisation, I was not able to speak among the miners as often as I would have wished, but nevertheless the thin end of the wedge was introduced in places where Anarchistic Socialism had not been heard before. During the three weeks of my stay our meetings were well attended, and elicited intelligent and sometimes enthusiastic interest on the part of the listeners. In short, my experience strengthened me in my opinion that there is no more fertile soil where the seed of Anarchist Communism could be spread than among the miners and the other independent spirited laborers of the North. Meetings were held in various parts of Sunderland and Newcastle, and in the colliery centres of Monkwearmouth, Ryhope, Seaham and Chester-le-Street. Also a fair amount of literature was sold.

Being half way to even the furthest off of our Scottish Groups, and remembering the pleasure I had had early in this year in taking part in the propaganda among those coral bands of zealous comrades, I could not resist the temptation to intimate my readiness to visit them again if they so desired. Accordingly, on August 18th, I proceeded to Aberdeen. The bracing air of this fine northern, smokeless town refreshes the body, while the genial and truly brotherly welcome with which one is received by our Aberdonian comrades, makes a week's propaganda there both an inspiration and a privilege. We held two indoor meetings on Sunday, 20th Aug., and during the week five out-door meetings. It is very evident that the workmen of Aberdeen receive the Anarchist propaganda gladly. They seem here to be as well prepared as anywhere for the hour when they will take their part boldly in working out that Social Revolution which we all so ardently desire. From Aberdeen I went to Dundee, meeting again with a true Scotch welcome. It was a great pleasure to find that the group had increased, in spite of their having but one speaker among them. I was also very glad to make the acquaintance of several comrades I had not met on my previous visit. We had an excellent meeting, audience about 1000, in Barrack Park, on the Sunday. A slight, but not unfriendly opposition was made by a German Democrat. In the evening we had a smaller gathering at an indoor lecture followed by discussion. During the week we held three out-door meetings, all well attended by attentive audiences, and generally followed by discussion. On the Friday I reached Edinburgh, and again I found myself among old friends, and

made acquaintance with new ones. Here we had, Sunday, 3rd Sept., two successful meetings in "The Meadows," attended by large audiences. Several efforts made to find a hall for an indoor meeting during the week failed, and consequently I could only meet with comrades and sympathisers individually before I had to leave on the following Thursday, 7th September, for Glasgow. This too is a lively centre for Anarchist propaganda with a large and active group. It is quite remarkable in Glasgow to find such enthusiastic accord on many points as there seems to be between many of the Democrats, who are thorough revolutionary Socialists, and even between younger members of the I.L.P. and our Anarchistic Brotherhood. Everywhere I spoke the applause from these other Schools of Socialists appeared to be almost as hearty as from the avowed Anarchists. For instance when I attended a lecture given by Com. Kate Conway of the I.L.P. the moment I rose to take part in the discussion I was greeted with a burst of applause which to me was quite amazing. And here, may I add, that at any rate, in the North there are many active workers among the I.L.P.'s who have no living faith in political methods, but who have joined that movement merely because they feel the great necessity of giving the sympathetic but still timid workers a definite object to strive for, a "something for them to do," in the words of Com. Kate Conway herself. But these agitators aim chiefly at spreading Socialistic ideas, increasing the desire for fraternity, equality and liberty among all. As to our propaganda during my fortnight's stay in Glasgow there was certainly not much time wasted. The day after I arrived the usual weekly Group meeting was held, when immediately a program was filled up beyond what had been already arranged for. On the Sunday morning we held a large meeting on the Green, the only opposition coming from a man who, as I learned afterwards, had been sent as a delegate from Edinburgh to the Zürich Congress, with the one and only direction given him by the body he represented—to vote for the exclusion of the Anarchists. In the evening I lectured in the Harmonic Hall, Watson-street to a full meeting. My subject "Anarchist Communism and the Zürich Congress" drew a considerable number of Trades Unionists, I.L.P.'s and Democrats. The discussion was lively and good. The outdoor meetings held in Greenock, Govan and various quarters of Glasgow were six in number, and none of them failures. Besides which we went twice to Blantyre and addressed the colliers there. The second occasion being on Sunday, 17th Sept., when Mr. Small, the miners' agent for Lancashire, gave us a most cordial welcome, besides helping us in getting up the meeting. The assistance of such a good and sympathetic friend is most valuable in such quarters, and I should like to take this opportunity to thank Mr. Small, the more as, though not professedly one of us he takes evidently a sincere interest in our propaganda.

In the evening of the same Sunday I lectured again in the Harmonic Hall in Glasgow. The subject being "Fallacies of Government," which led again to a lively discussion, carried on by the representatives of various parties. On the following Wednesday I left Glasgow for Hull. This town still bears evidences of the terrible tragedy of the last great dockers' strike. It would be a fruitful field for an active, earnest propaganda. But here alas, as in other places, the cry is, "we have no speakers!" Com. Sketchley for a long time held out alone, but at last, being unsupported, he can take no more active part in holding outdoor meetings. It seems that the attempt to form Anarchist clubs for mere pleasure has done much to damage the more earnest attempts at propaganda, here as elsewhere. I could, unfortunately, only stay to give one lecture in Hull which, being held on a week-day was but poorly attended. Certainly, however, the next time I go North I shall hope to stay for one Sunday at least in this town.

Finally I returned southwards, calling for a Sunday at Norwich on the way, where too I met with a hearty welcome from new and old acquaintances among the comrades. In Norwich our comrades have suffered much privation on account of their opinions as well as of the terribly depressed condition of trade. Still they struggle on with a steady sort of man to man propaganda, when they are not able to hold meetings of their own. With occasional visits from speakers from other parts, they would be able to keep up active work. We had a very fair gathering in the Market Place for our morning meeting, and also an excellent opportunity, owing to a meeting being held in support of the miners, of addressing in the afternoon a gathering mainly of trades unionists, numbering about 1000. So ended my two months' tour, on much of which I shall always look back in happy remembrance of the spirit of comradeship, which I everywhere met with, and which makes one of the great privileges of taking part in such a movement as ours.

Yours fraternally,

AGNES HENRY.

13th October, 1893.

A TOUR IN SCOTLAND.

"Then raise the scarlet standard high!
Within its folds we'll live and die.
Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer,
We'll keep the red flag flying here!"

Such were the words of a song rendered by the comrades of Aberdeen in welcome to our Comrade Mowbray on this his first visit to the Granite City of the North, and great was our comrade's surprise to find that the Aberdonians were so full of enthusiasm and hope. Good results seem to have followed the work of our Comrade Agnes Henry, and it will be pleasing to her to know that she is not like to be forgotten either by friend or foe. Meetings were arranged for the Saturday, Sunday and Monday, at all of which the Aberdonians turned up in large numbers. It was neither desired nor expected that no opposition should be forthcoming, especially as Mowbray attacked the local candidate for parliamentary honors, "Mr." Henry Hyde Champion. One only needs to remember "Mr." Maltman Barry, of Tory sewer pipe fame, and "Mr." John Lincoln Mahon, otherwise McMahon of the Socialist League, Postmen's Union, Gas-workers and general society-breaker's fame, to know how honest Champion's intentions are. By the way, Mahon is Champion's local henchman, and his general denunciation of the miners' action at Pontefract has not increased his paymaster's chance for the M.P.'ship of Aberdeen. In fact, enquiries have been made about a fresh candidate, as many of the local people are afraid of burning their fingers over their support of H. H. C. Another of our opponents and an aspirant for municipal honors is a certain individual named Ronnie, whose opposition was of such a poor kind that Mowbray, "ever generous to an opponent," simply advised his reading a little Anarchist literature as the best means of showing him what a simple Simon he makes of himself, in combating something he knows little or nothing about. Altogether, good work was done, and over £4 taken as the result of the organised meetings. A few comrades and Mowbray held an impromptu meeting of the out-of-work shore workers, on the Quay-side, on Monday afternoon, and gave them the only advice Anarchists can give them, i.e., not to starve, but to help themselves by re-taking part of the stored up wealth wherever they could lay hands on it. The Group are earnest, enthusiastic and hopeful. May they continue so. Aberdeen is safe. And comrades who can spend a holiday and do propaganda will find a hearty welcome in the Granite City.

On Tuesday and Wednesday Mowbray visited Dundee, the City of Smoke and Jute, and found a small but earnest group of comrades, struggling against the greatest possible odds, they having really no speakers, and being compelled to make their propaganda at other meetings, as best they can. The first lecture delivered by Mowbray was in the Gilfillan Memorial Hall, and was poorly attended. The second, however, in the Tailors' Hall, was crowded to excess by a remark-

ably enthusiastic audience. At an impromptu meeting of the unemployed, of whom there are thousands in Dundee, the speech of our comrade—who advised the unemployed not to starve, but to take food wherever and however they could—was, as was to be expected, loudly cheered by the unemployed workers, and just as loudly condemned by the press. Mowbray will not be unknown when he next visits Dundee. We hope soon that this struggling band of Revolutionists will soon be supported by a good speaker. Any comrade wishing to visit Dundee will find a good "auld" Scotch welcome.

On Thursday and Friday Mowbray visited Edinburgh, and here also two lectures had been arranged. The group is small, yet there are a few comrades who we think might speak if they would but try. They are earnest and only want a little pushing on. The lectures were poorly attended both nights, owing no doubt to counter attractions, but we do not despair, for the flag is in sincere hands; and if some speaker would or could only go for a time to aid in carrying on the propaganda, the movement in Edinburgh would soon be on the same level as that of their more northern comrades in Aberdeen.

On Saturday Mowbray journeyed to Glasgow, where he met with a very pleasant surprise. The comrades assembled in one of the large club-rooms of an hotel, in order to welcome him, for his visit had caused a flutter in the ranks of the Political Socialists and the I.L.P. There is, however, a very different feeling existing here between the various schools, there are none of the petty jealousies and stupid accusations, such as police spy etc., which are the cause of such bitter dissensions in other places. Hence in Glasgow the comrades can work pretty well together. The first lecture was under the auspices of the local group in the small Albion Hall, and was fairly attended. The second meeting was in conjunction with other bodies held on Glasgow Green in aid of the miners, and the evening lecture was, in the Large Albion Hall, under the auspices of the I.L.P. It was attended by from 1600 to 2000 people to hear our comrade lecture on Communism, State or Free. The lecturer, contrary to expectation, was heartily received, and on his resuming his seat was again and again cheered. But he was not to be left alone. The political hecklers were soon on their feet, and a list of 37 questions were disposed of, the answers being received amidst a storm of applause. However, the end was not yet, the discussion had to come, and all the political leaders felt they must redeem their lost ground. But theirs was a lamentable struggle against the crushing replies of Mowbray, who advised his hearers to study the literature of the Communist Anarchists, when, if they did so, they would see their duty lay in following principles instead of leaders, in keeping aloof from political parties, and devoting their whole time to emphasising the difference between Political Socialism and Economic Socialism, the preaching of which is left to the Communist Anarchists. Cheer after cheer went up when our comrade had finished, and many were those who pressed forward for a shake of his hand, welcoming him to Glasgow and urging an early visit again to the banks of the Clyde. The tour was, on the whole, a splendid success.

There is abundant evidence that the movement will spread throughout Scotland in such a way that the political adventurers who are struggling to exploit the labor movement for personal gain will have to go to some other happy hunting ground. Kropotkin and Nicol will find ready listeners when they visit the land of Wallace and Burns.—X. X.

NOTICES.

LONDON—

Open-air meetings: Sundays, 11.30 a.m., in Hyde and Regent's and Finsbury and Victoria Parks, and at Hoxton Church; 3.30 p.m., Hyde Park; 5 p.m., Clerkenwell Green; 6.30 p.m., Victoria Park; 7.30 p.m., Edmonton (Angel-lane). Thursdays, 8.30 p.m., Ossulston-street, Euston-road. Saturdays, 8 p.m., Hyde Park.

Peckham.—Sundays, 11.30, Triangle, Peckham Rye; 7 p.m., Deptford, Broadway. Thursday, 8 p.m., Peckham Park-road.

Deptford Socialist Club, 395, New Cross-road, S.E.—Friday, Nov. 17th, 8 p.m. lecture by John Turner, on "Anarchism and the Labor Movement."

Hatcham Liberal Club, New Cross, S.E.—Sunday, Nov. 19th, at 8 p.m., Dr. Fauser Maedonald will lecture on "Evolution, Darwin and Kropotkin."

Newington Reform Club, Clayton House, Manor-place, Walworth, S.E.—Sunday, Nov. 19th, at 8 p.m., lecture by H. B. Samuels, on "Anarchist Communism."

Working Men's Hall, High-street, Walthamstow.—Sunday, Nov. 19th, 7.30 p.m., John Turner, on "Anarchist Communism."

St. Pancras Reform Club, Prince of Wales-rd., N.W.—Thursday, Nov. 23rd, 8 p.m., C. T. Quinn, on "Government a Fraud."

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

PROVINCES—

Comrade Kropotkin will lecture in the provinces during November as follows:—Sunday, 5th Nov., Leeds (at the Sunday Lecture Society); 19th, Manchester (Ancoats S.L.S.); 26th, Leicester (Secular Society). Comrades ought to make a special effort to push literature on these occasions.

Glasgow.—Glasgow comrades, in conjunction with the S.D.F., intend commemorating the martyrdom of the Chicago Anarchists, in the Albion Hall, on Friday, 10th Nov., at 8 p.m.

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: C. Walkden, 4s.; "M," 5s.; Purkiss, 6d. M. Galbraith, 19, Conderton-road, S.E.

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