Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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TO OUR READERS.—Owing to want of funds, we have not been able to publish FREEDOM *till the middle of January, and therefore issue the present number for January and February together. All comrades whose accounts are unpaid are urgently requested to settle them at once.*

THE OUTLOOK.

"THE attitude of the ruling classes to the laborers is that of a man who has felled his adversary to the earth and holds him down, not so much because he wants to hold him down, as because he knows that if he let him go, even for a second, he would himself be stabbed, for his adversary is infuriated and has a knife in his hands." (Count Lyov Tolstoi, "The Kingdom of God within us") "Woe unto those who remain deaf to the cries of those who are dying from hunger! Woe unto those who, thinking themselves of finer stuff, believe in the right of trampling in the dust and of exploiting those below them! For there comes a time when the people do not reason. They rise like a tornado and overwhelm all like a torrent. Then are seen bloody heads at the end of pikes." (Defence of Vaillant.)

So speaks the Anarchist who believes that evil ought never to be resisted by force, and the Anarchist who felt in his despair, "I must not delay to make my revolution myself," and took his bomb to the Chamber. In such awful agreement are the wealthy Russian noble, who is one of the greatest writers this century has produced, and the poor French workman hunted from pillar to post all the days of his hard and bitter life.

What have others, besides Anarchists, what have Englishmen awake to the situation to say on the subject? That lifelong worker among the poor of London, Canon Samuel Barnett, frankly admits that the result of recent philanthropic and official efforts to cope with the unemployed difficulty "has been not only failure, but estrangement," the distinct increase of class antagonism, of an angry sense of injustice. "The danger which is most dangerous is the antagonism of classes." "The poverty of the poor is obviously the first cause of such antagonism, but to prevent such poverty many changes are necessary. The unemployed is only a symptom of a disease which must have radical treatment." (*Fortnighly Review*, Dec. '93.)

Another London clergyman, the Rev. Stopford Brooke, denouncing the selfishness of the well-to-do classes, who subscribe millions "for a folly on the frontiers of India" or "to kill a number of poor folks in Egypt," but do not propose even an additional penny to the income tax when they see "the mightiest foes of the human race declare war against the masses of our population—when disease and dirt and cold and starvation and drink and bad living are sent by our final enemy, Death, against us, and wound and slay and torture thousands on thousands every year, till, could we see it, England is like a hideous battlefield." (Sermon on the duty of the State to the poor.) And again, in another discourse, addressing the rich, he says, "I am told that we are not responsible for these things. I say that we are. . . . I have said it for 20 years and shall not cease saying it as long as I preach. You will be judged not only as persons, but as members of a State, and it will be asked: What have you done for your fellow citizens? It will not do then to fall back on the theories you have made into laws to suit your greed and laziness." And again, in his recent New Year's address, speaking of his recollections of half a century, "I scarcely remember," he says, "a year with so much vague trouble in it [as 1893]; so much to make us think of the instability of our society. . . . The mass of the comfortable people of England appear to be ignorant of the new elements that are moving in society. They are asleep or wearied out. They are like people who are ill and do not know what is the matter with them, and *are afraid to know*."

Speaking in the House of Commons, Dec. 12, 1893, Sir John Gorst said, "There were some people—a majority, he feared, of the well-to-do people—who looked upon the misery and wretchedness of the unemployed class as inevitable. They quoted the scripture text, 'The poor we have always with us,' and on the strength of that reconciled themselves to the idea that our civilisation and commercial success were necessarily to be accompanied by the existence of a class to be numbered by hundreds of thousands who must live in a state of chronic destitution. If that view was correct it was a great drawback to civilisation. (Cheers.) There was another view, which he confessed he shared, that this continued existence of an unemployed class was a kind of cancer eating into the social institutions of the country. The fact that there were so many men in a state of chronic hunger, dying of starvation, or committing suicide from fear of it, was a distinct danger. (Hear, hear.) If the Government and Parliament of this country did not address themselves to this disease, which seemed to be peculiar to modern Western civilisation, their supineness might be revenged upon them by the spread of the disease until it became fatal to the continued existence of the civilisation of which they boasted." (Cheers.)

It is hard to see whereat the honorable members cheered, howls of despair would seem more appropriate for a body who imagine themselves capable of ruling their fellow countrymen, and a mighty empire besides, and yet have absolutely no remedy to propose in face of so fearful a threatened social catastrophe as this.

In the course of the same debate, Mr. Keir Hardie, speaking of Vaillant's bomb-throwing, asked his hearers if "they were not manufacturing soil [for deeds] of that kind, by leaving people destitute and miserable, and then telling them that nothing could be done"; and Mr. Hardie proceeded to advise certain relief measures which, as doubtless he himself would admit, would merely feebly palliate the evil, even if there were any probability that the clumsy machinery of legislation and government administration could speedily be so adjusted as to carry them out.

John Burns, in his New Year's oration to his constituents, amid all the cheerfulness of the rising politician, in recounting legislative and administrative reforms, feels himself constrained to remark that "strikes in 1893 have effected larger numbers of men, have been more bitterly fought, and the consequences to men, masters, and the country have been more disastrous than at any other period of our industrial history"; and who that recalls the details of the great cotton operatives', Hull dockers' and miners' strikes can question this opinion?

Space fails us to multiply such quotations. Pages might be filled with facts pointing in the same direction, and with warning utterances, which show that earnest and thoughtful men all over the civilised world, men of the most diverse opinions and in the most various spheres of activity, recognise these facts as signifying the swift and swifter oncoming of that awful shape,—

> "Vague as the night, draped interminably, head, front and form, in scarlet folds,
> Whose face and eyes none may see,
> Out of its robes only this, the red robes lifted by the arm,
> One finger crook'd pointed high over the top, like the head of a snake,"

the ghastly spectre of social strife.

In vain do the organs of middle-class opinion quote statistics to prove that there is no greater distress now than in the past; nay, that in England prisons and workhouses are less crowded and the average of wages higher. In vain does *The Times* call upon Society to treat the unemployed "scientifically" as an economic problem. The starving man in a rich society does not look upon himself as a problem, but as a human being wronged. The worker, employed or unemployed, has lost all faith in the capitalist system, and the more intelligent portion of the middle class share his incredulity.

Time was when most radicals and social reformers honestly believed that when the modern industrial system got into working order, with free trade and universal competition and the rest of its program fully realised, it would bring universal prosperity. Who now believes anything of the sort? Like the faith in a Personal Deity, who will make things right in another world if not in this, the active faith in capitalism has died out, and with the old faith the old patience and hope. The proportional number of distressed to non-distressed members of the community may be no greater—or even less—than formerly, but if poverty and uncertainty of employment remain approximately fixed quantities, the patience to put up with them does not.

Moreover, if old hopes have died out, new hopes are beginning to gleam in the distance. If experience and critical investigation have revealed capitalism and commercialism to be nothing but a system of class robbery, capitalism and commercialism are now seen to be but human institutions. And what man has made man can destroy. If the progress and spread of knowledge has taken from us the comfort of our ancient faith, it has opened out before us boundless possibilities of earthly improvement, of which knowledge the first fruit is a universal sense of discontent. When the underfed, downtrodden poor discover themselves to be the victims of human injustice, not of some divine ordering of the world, or some temporary social disorganisation, which the ruling classes will presently set right, what wonder that their first feeling is one of hatred, and in many a desire for revenge on the men and classes who wrong them and profit by the wrong? Horrible! exclaim the comfortable people. Yes, horrible and stupid too, but natural as the upward splash of water in a cup when you press your finger upon it.

The crisis is apparent; its causes are obvious to everyone who dares to look for them; the question confronts every honest man: What is to be done? Surely it is a moment when every man who has a thoughtful suggestion to offer has no right to hold his tongue.

We, Socialist Anarchists, have a definite idea of what social relations might be. We have a decided opinion as to which moral, intellectual, economic and political tendencies now working in humanity make for a satisfactory state of society, and which do not. Therefore, as was unanimously decided by the English Anarchists at the recent London Conference, our work is educational. We believe that revenge is sterile. Revenge is for the despairing and the weak; for the strong men of heart and hope there is Revolution. And, if the workers would only lift up their crushed heads and see it, they are strong. Strong in numbers, strong in the justice of their cause, strong in the fact that, whatever weapons government may hold in its grasp, the food supplies are in the hands of the producers. A general strike, merely a strike of the great organised labor societies even, and the people would be masters of the situation, and, if they knew how to use their opportunities, could lay the foundation of a free and equal social life.

To aid in waking the workers to a realisation of their tremendous strength; to develop into active, conscious convictions those vague yearnings for a social life on a new moral, economic and political basis which are now so obviously forming themselves in men's minds; to root out the idea that authority and private property are necessarily factors in social union—this is the work of the Communist Anarchist.

"Into the labor movement" has been the growing tendency of the last year. "Into the labor movement" is our watchword for the year of stress and strain that is now beginning.

THE CONQUEST OF BREAD.

By Peter Kropotkine.

Chapter V.—Food.

II.

We are utopians, that is of course. So utopian are we in fact, we go the length of believing that the Revolution can and ought to assure shelter, food and clothes to all—an idea extremely displeasing to middle-class citizens, whatever their party colour, for they are quite alive to the fact that it is not easy to keep the upper hand of a people whose hunger is satisfied.

All the same, we maintain our contention: bread must be found for the people of the Revolution, and the question of bread must take precedence of all other questions. If it is settled in the interests of the people, the Revolution will be on the right road; for in solving the question of Bread we must accept the principle of equality, which will force itself upon us to the exclusion of every other solution.

It is certain that the coming Revolution—like in that respect to the Revolution of 1848—will burst upon us in the middle of a great industrial crisis. Things have been seething for more than a dozen years now, and can only go from bad to worse. Everything tends that way; new nations entering the lists of international trade and fighting for possession of the world's markets, wars, taxes ever increasing. National Debts, the insecurity of the morrow, and huge commercial undertakings in every quarter of the globe.

There are millions of unemployed workers in Europe at this moment. It will be still worse when Revolution has burst upon us and spread like fire laid to a train of gunpowder. The number of the out-of-works will be doubled as soon as the barricades are erected in Europe and the United States. What is to be done to provide these multitudes with bread?

We do not know whether the folk who call themselves "practical people" have ever asked themselves this question in all its nakedness. But we do know that they wish to maintain the wage system, and we must therefore expect to have "national workshops" and "public works" vaunted as a means of giving food to the unemployed.

Because national workshops were opened in 1789 and in 1793; because the same means were resorted to in 1848; because Napoleon III. succeeded in contenting the Parisian proletariat for eighteen years by giving them public works—which cost Paris to-day its debt of £80,000,000—and its municipal tax of three or four pounds a head;* because this excellent method of "taming the beast" was customary in Rome, and even in Egypt four thousand years ago; and lastly because despots, kings and emperors have always employed the ruse of throwing a scrap of food to the people, to gain time to snatch up the whip,—it is natural that "practical" men should extol this method of perpetuating the wage system. What need to rack our brains when we have the time-honored method of the Pharaohs at our disposal!

Well, should the Revolution be so misguided as to start on this path, all would be lost.

In 1848, when the national workshops were opened on the 27th of February, the unemployed of Paris numbered only 8,000, a fortnight later they had already increased to 49,000. They would soon have been 100,000, without counting those who crowded in from the provinces.

Yet at that time trade and manufactures in France only employed half as many hands as to-day. And we know that in time of Revolution exchange and industry suffer most from the general upheaval.

To realise this we have only to think for a moment of the number of workmen whose labor depends directly or indirectly upon export trade, or of the number of hands employed in producing luxuries whose consumers are the middle-class minority.

A Revolution in Europe means the immediate stoppage of at least half the factories and workshops. It means millions of workers and their families thrown on the streets.

And your "practical men" would seek to avert this truly terrible situation by means of national relief works, that is to say, by means of new industries created on the spot to give work to the unemployed!

It is evident, as Proudhon has already pointed out, that the smallest attack upon property will bring in its train the complete disorganisation of the system based upon private enterprise and wage labor. Society itself will be forced to take production in hand, in its entirety, and to reorganise it to meet the needs of the whole people. But this cannot be accomplished in a day or a month; it must take a certain time thus to reorganise the system of production, and during this time millions of men will be deprived of the means of subsistance—what then is to be done?

There is only one really *practical* solution of the problem—boldly to face the great task which awaits us, and instead of trying to patch up a situation which we ourselves have made untenable, to proceed to reorganise production on a new basis.

Thus the really practical course of action, in our view, would be that the people should take immediate possession of all the food of the insurgent districts, keeping strict account of it all, that none might be wasted and that by the aid of these accumulated resources every one might be able to tide over the crisis. During that time an agreement would have to be made with the factory workers, the necessary raw material given them and the means of subsistence assured to them while they worked to supply the needs of the agricultural population. For we must not forget that while France weaves silks and satins to deck the wives of German financiers, the Empress of Russia and the Queen of the Sandwich Islands, and while Paris fashions wonderful trinkets and playthings for rich folk all the world over, two-thirds of the French peasantry have not proper lamps to give them light, or the implements necessary for modern agriculture. Lastly, unproductive land, of which there is plenty, would have to be turned to the best advantage, poor soils enriched, and rich soils, which yet, under the present system, do not yield a quarter, no, nor a tenth of what they might produce, submitted to intensive culture and tilled with as much care as a market garden or a flower plot. It is impossible to imagine any other practical solution of the problem, and, whether we like it or not, sheer force of circumstances will bring it to pass.

* "Sa dette de deux mille millions et son impôt municipal de 90 francs par tête."

A Happy New Year!

Old Year is dying: Friends, let it die;
New Year is waiting outside the door;
Out with the coffin of Ninety-Three!
Bring in the cradle of Ninety-Four!

Out with the coffins of "You," and "Me"!
Every house have a death this year;
Every man who hath eyes to see,
Bury the dead of Despair and Fear!

Every heart have a glorious birth
Of Hope and Joy in the year to be;
For chains are breaking throughout the Earth,
By Might, in the Light, of Anarchy!

Fauset Macdonald.

December 31, 1893.

The Chicago Conference.

Last month we printed a letter from the Secretary of the Conference Committee, giving a general description of the Anarchist Conference at Chicago, and referred our readers to the next issue of *Solidarity* for full particulars. Unfortunately, *Solidarity* has not been able to appear—the old story, want of funds—and now our American comrades request us to give all the space we can afford to a report of the proceedings, which, interesting as they are to all Anarchists, have never yet been made public.

The Conference was opened on Saturday, Sept. 30, by a short speech of welcome to the delegates from one of the organising committee, a resident in Chicago. Letters of sympathy were read from groups in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen (Scotland); from Paris (including valuable suggestions from A. Haman and Bernard Lazare); from the Editors of *Freedom*, *Solidarity*, *Commonweal*, *The Populist Voice* (Portland, Oregon), *The Alarm* (Dallas, Texas); from Domela Nieuwenhuis (Amsterdam); from Comrades Merlino, Malato, Victor Drury, W. C. Owen, C. L. James, G. C. Clemens, Louise Michel, Lois Waisbroker, A. S. Huling and others; also an interesting statement of the condition of the working classes and the Anarchist movement in Spain.

Sunday's meeting was occupied in discussing the suggestions made in this correspondence, and in reading the draft drawn up by an American comrade of the proposed declaration of Anarchist principles. Monday and Tuesday were occupied in discussing and amending this manifesto.

In the debate three theoretical points of view emerged into distinct divergence:—that of the Anarchist Communists, represented by the Spanish, Russian, Polish, and German delegates, who contended for the abolition of private property as a means of bringing about the destruction of authority, private property and not law being the chief cause of our ills; that of the Communist Anarchists, English, American and Irish delegates, who looked upon the abolition of authority as a means

of bringing about Communism, holding that with authority and "invasive government" private property in nearly all forms of wealth would disappear; and, finally, that of the straight-individualists, who contended for the "law of equal freedom" and the continued existence of private property under Anarchy. Two American comrades proposed to omit all matters over which there was divergence of opinion. This was rejected, and Tuesday was spent in attempting "the impossible feat of fitting the manifesto to the requirements of the different schools, without success." Finally, the amended American draft, as below, was agreed to by most of those present. We give the text in full.

A MANIFESTO.

The time has come when those who profess the doctrines of Anarchy must no longer leave the statement of those doctrines to their enemies, whose ignorance and malice lead them to misrepresent them. In proclaiming ourselves Anarchists, we claim the right to define what we mean by Anarchy, a right which no fair-minded person will deny.

When the government of the United States was first established, it was currently believed that the form adopted would secure to all the People the enjoyment of the natural rights proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence.* After a fair trial, under the most favorable circumstances, it has failed to justify the expectations formed for it. We (Americans) boast of our equality before the law, while every principle of equality is violated in the laws relating to land tenure, to patented inventions, to the money of commerce, to public franchises, to public and private co-operations, the collection of debts, the enforcement of contracts and all other laws relating to property by which a rich and privileged class has been built upon the poverty and wretchedness of the poor, as certainly as if its members had been granted titles of nobility by the act of a king.

We have seen, within a few years, a vast continent, immeasurably rich in all natural resources, and capable of sustaining in comfort the whole population of the world, pass, by the operation of those laws, into the hands of this rich and privileged class, so that it practically owns it directly in fee or indirectly by mortgage.

We have seen every avenue of self-employment closed, one by one, against the People, resulting in a degrading system of wage-slavery and dependence.

We have seen all the great inventions of the ages, all the machinery and all other means for the production of wealth monopolised by this same class, and used for the still greater enslavement of the producers. Even the medium of exchange of the Country, by which wealth is enabled to pass from hand to hand, has been legislated into the control of this class, and used to levy ruinous charges upon production, as interest.

We have seen vast corporate, municipal, State and national debts permanently fixed upon the People, to furnish means with which to foment and prosecute strife and wars between peoples and sections which had not the slightest interest in those wars. Even the means thus raised in this pretended free Country have been squandered in wasteful expenditures on war-naval outfits wholly inconsistent with the requirements of a free people, on pretended public improvements, which were unnecessary, and on hordes of public officials whose chief functions have been to meddle injuriously in the affairs of other men. Every act of this government has been tainted with the foulest corruption and favoritism.

We have seen the whole power of the laws put forth to support these privileges and to sustain the arbitrary and despotic exactions of this propertied class. The police have suppressed free speech when raised in protest against these injustices. They have invaded and dispersed peaceable meetings, have purposely provoked collisions in order to furnish an excuse for their own violence, and have manufactured evidence on which to rob our comrades of life and liberty. Hireling bands of assassins in the pay of private corporations have been brought into service, with the consent of the authorities, to suppress resistance to the mandates of these masters. The militia and the regular soldiers have been freely used for the same purpose, and never for any other.

The courts, by reason of the costs, delays, and uncertainties of litigation, are practically closed against the poor, while they are a most efficient engine of oppression in the hands of the rich. Organised ostensibly to promote justice, in their actual working they necessarily and purposely promote injustice. Legal remedies are inadequate to furnish relief to those who most need relief, except in the most trifling and insignificant cases. Criminals of high degree are raised to posts of power and profit, while homeless and friendless violators of the law are visited with swift and merciless punishment.

These accumulated oppressions have reduced the poor to a most deplorable condition, and it is steadily growing worse. Individual liberty is denied, personal security is destroyed, and poverty, crime and insanity are alarmingly on the increase.

All this proves that a Republic is just as impotent to protect the poor against the rapacity of the rich, to preserve equality of rights and to guarantee free speech, as the most absolute Monarchy. It proves that the despotism of government belongs to no particular form of government, but inheres in the very principle of government itself—in the rule of some men over others. Rulership, in every form, means advantage, and advantage is always used for the gain of those possessing the advantage and to the injury of others.

In order to ward off these accumulating difficulties, the People have tried greater industry and diligence in business, in the hope of earning enough to leave them a surplus above the cost of living; only to find that surplus go to swell the fortunes of the rich through higher rents and greater exploitation of labor. They have tried greater economy; only to find that they have lessened the general consumption of wealth, and therefore its production, and so reduced the demand for their own labor, and consequently lowered their own wages. They have tried labor combinations and strikes in order to keep up the price of labor; only to find that the places left vacant have been filled by others who have been driven by destitution to sell their labor at any price to keep themselves and their families from starvation; while they, the strikers, have been confronted by the police, by the Pinkertons, by the militia and, finally, by the courts, to compel submission to the mandates of the capitalists. All the powers of government have been used against the workers. Even admitting that these combinations have been beneficial, their benefits have been in promoting a spirit of resistance and a better knowledge of their own powers. As a remedy they have been utterly inadequate.

The People have tried the ordinary political method of voting for men who have promised to legislate and to administer the law with fairness; only to find that when elected these men have been powerless to aid them, that they have become lukewarm, or that they have become the open tools of their oppressors. They have found that such laws as, they believed, were enacted with a view to affording relief could not be enforced, have been set aside by the courts as unconstitutional, or have produced totally different results from what was intended, except in cases of repeal.

Is it not plain from all this that no man, or class of men, can be trusted with the government of other men; that government always means the slavery of the governed; and that relief from the evils of government must be sought in lessening its powers and functions, *i.e.*, in abolishing it? Therefore we believe that all government of man by man must cease, and that men must be left to work out their own destiny without interference.

We believe that all the sources of wealth and the means for its production should be open to all mankind equally, and that every species of privilege should be abolished.

We believe that such a condition of Freedom will be followed by such renewal of prosperity as will bring ease and comfort to all, and elevate and develop mankind to the extent of generally abolishing crime and all stimulous to the commission of crime.

We believe that with such prosperity, under conditions of Freedom, wealth will naturally distribute itself with practical equality. We believe that the main thing which prevents the speedy realisation of all this is that arbitrary man-made law which places all the sources of wealth and all its accumulations in the hands of a specially privileged class, while it brutalises and degrades the others.

Therefore Anarchy is neither riot, confusion nor disorder, nor does it lead to these. It seeks to remove from Society those causes which produce these things. It would promote order based upon justice, *i.e.*, upon the equality of rights of all the members of Society. It signifies the absence of the authority of man over man; in other words, Liberty.

As to wealth, we hold that the only title to wealth is labor; that labor is the law of life; and that, inasmuch as labor produces all wealth, all wealth belongs of right to those who produce it, and and no man-made laws can alienate the title, or be allowed to stand between the producer and the fruit of his toil, whenever he shall see fit to retake it.

As to Society, we hold that the true basis of human association is that of perfectly free aud voluntary co-operation, and that men, when free from the arbitrary interference of one with another, will freely combine, associate and co-operate together. We hold that the principle of Solidarity is deeply implanted in man, that it only requires Freedom for its realisation, and that this principle will form the basis of the coming Society.

For the present, those things from which we most suffer being rent, interest, dividends and profits to idlers, arising from monopoly, taxas and exploitation of labor, we insist that all these things be abolished, that occupancy and use shall be the only title to land, that no man shall be enabled to reap a return without labor, that production and exchange be freed from every limitation or interference; and we demand the abolition of all laws which discriminate against any person whatever on account of condition, race, color or sex.

(To be concluded.)

* Amongst these "inalienable rights" are "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"; Jefferson did not specify the rest.—ED.

CORRESPONDENCE.

JOHN BURNS ON ANARCHY.

To the Editor of FREEDOM.

Dear Comrade,—In his address on "The Old Year and the New" at Battersea, Jan. 7th, John Burns said, "No review of the Labor movement would be complete unless I as a representative man had something to say upon a movement which is unjustly connected with Labor. The votaries of anarchy among the educated classes do not see life as we workmen do, and its disciples among the workers are either the mentally dwarfed, the physically weak, or the morally deficient. Anarchy will do more harm to Labor than to its enemies, and it is because I feel this that to palliate the evils of Labor it is practically useless with its indiscriminating weapons, which the biggest fool or coward can use." We respect Mr. Burns as an honest man, who means what he says, but his opinion on the matter of Anarchy, were he twice as honest, is after all but the opinion of an individual judging a very serious matter from a superficial knowledge of it. The educated Anarchists may not see life as workmen do, no two men can see life from exactly the same point of view, but have not the educated Anarchists at least as great a right as the (Social Democratic) workman, if not as John Burns, to utter their opinions on life as they see it and as they desire it to be? The summing-up of the working-class disciples of Anarchy is smart and epigramatic, but unless John Burns means that the description fits the majority of England's workers he can scarcely prove its truth. The cramping life which most men are forced to lead, no doubt, tends to dwarf, weaken, and render them in many ways defective. If it were not so why should John Burns and other Labor representatives have to toil so desperately to bring about reforms in their behalf? I have no fear, however, that the Anarchist workers, if compared man by man with their democratic fellows, would lose by the comparison. The allusion to the use of bombs is, to say the least of it, most disingenuous. Anarchy has other weapons besides those of indiscriminating violence, as John Burns well knows. The few Anarchists who have resorted to violence are men who have grasped only the first half of our ideal; they have attained this much knowledge that no one has a right to dominate them, the other half that they have no right to dominate others is knowledge that requires a kindlier atmosphere to develop in than men like Ravachol, Pallas, Franch, and Vaillant have had the good luck to inhale. John Burns, John Burns, "Be not righteous overmuch."

"A PUBLICAN AND SINNER."

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Special Notices.

P. KROPOTKINE will deliver, for the benefit of FREEDOM, *a quite new lecture on "Work as it might be," on Sunday, Feb. 11, 5 P.M., at Grafton Hall, Grafton-street, Tottenham-court-road, W. Tickets of admission, 6d. Reserved seats, 1s. Tickets may be obtained at this office, 61, St. Augustine's-road, Camden-town, N.W.; of Dr. Fauset Macdonald, 255, Edgware-road, W.; of Mrs. Dryhurst, 11, Downshire-hill, Hampstead, N.W.; or of any London Anarchist Group.*

IT IS PROPOSED shortly to have A SOCIAL EVENING *and* "RUMMAGE SALE" *for the* FREEDOM *Publication Fund. All articles, old and new, clothing, books, ornaments, &c., which are clean and in good condition enough to be useful to any one, will be gratefully received for the sale by Mrs. Marsh, 3, Alpha Villas, Archway-rd., London N.*

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IN THE PRESS: "AN ANARCHIST MANIFESTO, BEING A REPLY TO THE MANIFESTO OF THE JOINT SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE."

NOTES.

EXPLOSION IN THE FRENCH CHAMBER.

On the afternoon of Saturday, Dec. 9th, Auguste Vaillant threw a bomb from one of the public galleries of the Paris Chamber, which, exploding in mid-air, wounded more or less severely about sixty persons, including deputies, ushers and visitors. The following day Vaillant, as he lay in the Hôtel Dieu hospital, where he had been taken for a severe wound in the leg to be dressed, admitted himself to be the author of the outrage. The indecent haste of the daily papers to set forth every iota in Vaillant's life that would tell against him in the eyes of the world has surpassed all that they had ever hitherto done in their trade of providing highly spiced "copy" for the palates of the unthinking. And in this haste the English journalists have far outstripped their French brethren. One would have thought that the fact of Vaillant's declaring that he had manufactured and thrown the bomb, and that he was an Anarchist, would be quite sufficient to draw upon him a punishment severe enough to please any pious gentleman of the press. But not so; they raked up all the garbage of gossip about Vaillant that they could possibly collect and printed it day after day, harping on the lowest strings in the human mind and pandering to the passions of those who feign to weep over the shedding of blood by Vaillant whilst thirsting for his. With characteristic volatility the French jounalists having thus described Vaillant for days as thief, seducer and deserter of women, unatural parent etc., began then to admit stories of quite another kind (for "copy" is their only joy), which depict him as something hardly less than a saint. In short, if all that has been said of Vaillant were true, he would indeed be a remarkable man, one who has managed during his thirty-three years to run through the whole gamut of human virtues and vices. The Avelings (of course) declare him an emissary of the police, and another well-known Marxist suggests that he was in the pay of the French president, who hired him and his bomb "just to set up a little healthy recreation after the Panama exposure."

VAILLANT'S EXPERIENCE OF LIFE.

The story of Vaillant's life, and especially of his childhood, should furnish all thoughtful men and women with a key to his action. *L'Eclair* says, "Auguste Vaillant was born Dec. 27, '61, at Carignan, the son of a discharged zouave and a young servant girl, whom he had seduced. He grew up under the care of his mother; *his childhood was bitter, without indulgence, and joyless.* He wandered haphazard, having no means of earning a livelihood, he only made an attempt at the shoemaking trade, and from his ealiest days, insubordinate, rebellious, he committed illegal acts—*such as breaking his fast without money*—which at Charleville led to his imprisonment. Up to twenty years of age he committed misdeeds of this kind. . . . Then he became a soldier."

VAILLANT TRIED AND SENTENCED.

Vaillant was tried before the Tribunal of the Seine on Jan. 10, found guilty by the jury, and, in spite of the fact that no one has been killed by him, condemned to death by the judge, according to a special law passed since the deeds of Ravachol. In his defence Vaillant explained his action on precisely the grounds which we, knowing at that time nothing of his individual circumstances, suggested in our last month's article as the general causes of such deeds: he was a poor, half starved, hard driven workman, handicapped by cruel social conditions from his birth, awakened to the wrongs and bitterly conscious of the sufferings of his class, with the vision of what a true society might be floating before his eyes. He tried to work at "the establishment of libraries to prepare brains for the revolution," but a course of semi-starvation for his wife and child, as well as himself, drove him to despair, and from that despair came his desperate deed of revolt against men he held amongst those most responsible for the universal misery.

MORE GOVERNMENT PRESCRIPTIONS FOR THE SOCIAL MALADY.

Vaillant's attempt has furnished the French Government with the handle they have been longing to grasp. France has been blustering in Siam, slobbering over her Russian visitors, shooting British soldiers in mistake for African tribesmen, now she is enjoying the violent delights of Anarchist hunting. This last excitement at home will help to send the Panama scandal to kind oblivion, and with it, at least for a time, the mining brawls, and other internal squabbles which have made things so *triste* for the bourgeoisie recently. Two days after Vaillant's bomb the laws for the repression of Anarchists and Anarchism were rushed through the Chamber, despite the protest of the Socialist and Radical deputies, who wisely foresaw the dangers in which they involved the rights of free speech. These laws empower the police to search the persons and houses of all suspected even of sympathy with Anarchism; to seize and suppress all papers advocating the doctrines of Anarchism however remotely; to expel all foreigners that may be obnoxious to the Government; to harass the poor and friendless at all moments of the day and night. *Père Peinard* was suppressed Jan. 1st, and since then, we regret to say, that the editor of *La Révolte*, our Comrade Grave, has been arrested. Elie Réclus has been arrested and detained some hours simply because the police could not lay hands on his son Paul, who is supposed to have been in correspondence with Vaillant. The appartments of Elisée Reclus have been invaded and searched. During the search he remained seated calmly at his literary work. "I am making a good deal of disorder," says the police agent apologetically. "It is your trade," briefly replies our comrade, continuing to write. No less than 2,000 search warrants have been issued since Jan. 1st, but despite the zeal of the police, stimulated by increased pay, the numerous arrests and ransackings have not resulted in any remarkable discoveries (in Paris only six or eight out of those arrested have been detained) and the "Great Anarchist International Conspiracy" remains as mythical as ever. As usual, the poor and obscure comrades are the greatest sufferers in the hunt. All Paris was disgusted by the insult to Elie Reclus, and the reaction in favor of Vaillant began when the prison officials refused to let him see his wife and child on New Year's Day, but it is only through the vigilance of an Anarchist editor that light is thrown on such cases as that of a Grenoble comrade, Joseph Jourdan, who died after eight days' illness brought on by exposure to the intense cold when dragged from his bed by the police in a midnight raid. In Paris you might obtain the honor of arrest by merely buying an Anarchist paper (there are few to buy now unfortunately), or, if a stranger, you might be expelled the country for having in your possession Anarchist literature, like the young Dutch journalist, Alexander Cohen. No wonder Zola is indignant and wonders why the police do not arrest him, for he too possesses Anarchist literature. Wait, Monsieur Zola, your turn may come! In Germany they have got as far as imprisoning an Anarchist who protested publicly against Vaillant's act.

VAILLANT'S TEACHERS.

The authors mentioned by Vaillant, as having opened his eyes and helped to make him a revolutionist, were Darwin, Herbert Spencer, Büchner, Mirbeau, Ibsen and the Reclus. Of these writers, Ibsen is virtually an Anarchist, but does not call himself so, and though Elisée Reclus openly avows Anarchist opinions, his writings, like those of his brothers, are almost entirely upon purely scientific subjects. Octave Mirbeau is a leading French journalist of Anarchist sympathies. The rest —needless to remark—are not Anarchists at all. Evidently the new exceptional press laws will avail the French Republic little for the suppression of Anarchist ideas, and if she wishes to effectually protect herself she must adopt the censorship policy of her ally, the Tzar, and try to shut out modern thought altogether.

A DEADLY EPIDEMIC.

It is curious to note how the use of bombs by revolutionists has coincided with a remarkable increase in the appalling sacrifices of human life through government and capitalist explosives. The papers have literally teemed for months past with accounts of disasters on board ships, in government powder mills and dockyards; not to mention the long and sickening details of the slaughter in South Africa by the Maxim guns of "A Chartered Company." In Spain it may be remembered that the whole town of Santander was destroyed, last November, by a contraband cargo of dynamite in the harbour, when over 400 men, women and children were killed and maimed through the cupidity of the capitalist, whose captain let the crowds stand round to watch the burning vessel, without warning them of the frightful amount of dynamite that lay concealed in the hold. We maintain, and who will deny the justice of our argument, that the men who profess to respect life as well as property have demoralised all classes of people by placing the claims of

property before that of life, and by their cynical indifference to the numerous cruel deaths among the workers. Even the English Government, which is perhaps the least immoral of existing governments, considers it has done its duty when it grants the widow of a man blown up in one of their powder mills a pension of £10 a year! Perhaps Comrade Harding was not so very far out when he printed on the placard that caused such a sensation at the Members' Entrance, Westminster, last month, "Stop the bomb-making at Woolwich and the Anarchists will stop theirs."

MAKING THE BEST OF AN OPPORTUNITY.

There is a wise old saying that it is easy to fish in troubled waters. As the Russian peasants have it: "Given a swamp, devils will breed in it." The minds of many people just now are very tronbled waters, so there is a chance of a heavy haul for those who fish in them. As for the quaking bog on which so much of our civilisation is built, there is always room in it for many families of promising young monsters. The days when the English people shuddered with the horror of association at the word "Rome" were halcyon days for the gentlemen who lusted after the land of Irish Catholics. Just so the piteous terror which the very name of Anarchism arouses at this moment in many persons all over Europe renders their minds a happy hunting-ground for greedy hangers-on of unscrupulous governments. One intriguer passes hints on to another: Now is the chance to gag the press; now is the time to introduce coercion laws; now is the moment for extradition treaties.

A curious example of this is the violent onslaught which has been made within the last three weeks upon the Russian political refugees in London. Various anonymous benefactors of society have suddenly discovered that this little colony is at the back of all the objectionable things which happen on any part of the earth. The Russian official paper, the *Moscow Gazette*, is just now bringing out a series of articles, vehemently declaring that it is to the "Russian Anarchists" who publish *Free Russia* that we must look for the real explanation of the Paris and Barcelona explosions. Nothing, according to the writer of these articles, will save Europe from dynamite but the extradition of Russian refugees. An article of very violent character, directed against the Russian refugees in London, has just appeared in a Cardiff paper. The January No. of the *New Review* follows suit with a double article entitled "Anarchists: Their Methods and Organisation." The first half, which is signed "Z" and appears to be written by someone in connection with Scotland Yard, calls for the extradition of foreign Anarchists of all nationalities, and for the "summary suppression" of the Anarchist press. The writer carefully points out that the Anarchist who *thinks*, who expresses an idea, is a more dangerous creature even than a dynamiter. It is, however, consoling to learn that English Anarchist literature is "directed and supported for the most part by aliens," and that "by far the worst specimens to be found just now in London are foreigners." Evidently there is still some hope for England; she is very bad, but not quite so bad as her neighbours.

The second half of this interesting production is signed "Ivanoff," and written in somewhat imperfect English. It deals exclusively with the Russian refugees in London. A list of their names is given, a melodramatic "biographical sketch" is introduced to colour the picture, and the English people are pathetically implored to "lift up their voices, with their eyes open" for the extradition of these "criminal agitators who fight against State, religion, science, art, society, family, property and morals." "Who can deny," asks the writer, "that behind every group of Anarchists in London stand some of the Nihilist teachers? An Anarchist always has Nihilism at his elbow." Another odd thing in this curious effusion is the "grave and solemn," but—it would appear to the average mortal—somewhat irrelevant, question: whether the Explosive Substance Act of 1883 does not "contain clauses and provisions which afford the British Government the means of putting a stop to"——Nihilist literature.

"There be three things which are too wonderful for me; yea, four which I know not." If Solomon's proverbs had been written in our day, perhaps a fifth mystery might have been added to the number: the way of a spy with an extradition treaty.

A REMARKABLE ARTICLE.

The most noteworthy of all the comments on Anarchism called forth by recent events in the English press is a leading article in the *Weekly Times & Echo* for Dec. 31, entitled "Social Democracy and Anarchism." It begins, "A good while ago we predicted that the Conservatives and Liberals of the near future would be really Social Democrats and Anarchists," and goes on to suggest that during the past year Anarchism has obviously begun to seriously modify Social Democratic ideas, where it has not actually converted Social Democrats into Anarchists. "It is hardly necessary, we hope," continues the writer, "to explain to the most careless reader that the Anarchy we are discussing has nothing in common with bombs or dynamite, or, indeed, that a true Anarchist cannot have recourse to violence without at once giving away his whole political creed. The 'Anarchist' is simply the man who, disgusted by all past governments of any kind whatever, relies chiefly on individual effort in the future to restrain the class oppression and rapacity of the rich which, he believes, all governments, Republican or Monarchical, are mainly designed to foster and make easy."

English Social Democracy, in the opinion of the *Weekly Echo*, shows signs of rapidly advancing to this view. "The great central S.D. authority" is slipping out of sight, the stress is now laid on "Municipalisation," and "something so much like Communist Anarchism is boldly advocated with all the zeal of the traditionally unconscious convert that it is hard to distinguish any difference." The Anarchists, on the other hand, are beginning to "take a practical part in every-day politics," strikes, anti-rent agitations, trade-union work. "We shall not be surprised if sensible, but withal practical Anarchism, does not commend itself to a good many workers who are persuaded—unfairly, we quite grant the S.D.—that Socialism, after all, is only one more specimen of the political machinery which always bears heavily on them, and is as capable of being abused against their interests as any other form of government. This time last year, we should have said unhesitatingly that S. Democracy would have, in the more or less distant future, been undoubtedly the first development in the great change that is coming . . . but looking around us we are by no means so sure that the Anarchist is not covering two miles to the Social Democrat's one." And the article concludes by seriously inquiring if the workers are not beginning to think that, as far as their emancipation is concerned, the Anarchist is the practical man, the only social reformer who goes to the root of the matter.

IN GERMANY.

Comrade Landauer, editor of the *Sozialist*, after two months' imprisonment has been condemned again to nine months for an article "*inciting to class hatred!*" On Dec. 1st, three comrades, after a detention of several months—two of them since 19th June last—accused of disturbing the peace, and with minor offences, were acquitted, the jury finding no substantial case against them. Nevertheless, in spite of such paternal vigilance on the part of the government, revolutionary tendencies are manifesting themselves more and more even among the German democrats. At a recent Social Democratic meeting in Cologne several well-known members of Trade Unions declared, to the horror of the socialist "Leaders," that the time has come for discussing seriously whether the struggle of the people is to be economic or political. One Trade Unionist maintained that the trade organisations, by becoming strong fighting organisations, could alone bring about the emancipation the workers.

OUTBURST IN THE ATHENIAN ASSEMBLY.

We see from our Greek exchanges that, in accordance with a resolution of the Socialist Federation, a petition from the workers in Greece was laid before the Assembly early in December. The petition contained three very simple and moderate clauses: (1) the demand for one complete day of rest a week, (2) the eight-hours day for workmen, (3) the support out of the public funds of the victims of work, i.e., the aged and infirm who had become incapable of maintaining themselves and families.

The petition was presented by Stauros Kallerges, editor of the *Socialistes*, and he afterwards went up into the Reporters' Gallery to wait till it should be read. It was thrown aside with silence and contempt. Overcome with indignation, Kallerges shouted from his place in the gallery: "Representatives of the Hellenic people, I implore you to listen to our demands and not to despise them." Instantly there arose a chaotic tumult of howls and hissing in the body of the House, during which Kallerges continued to urge the members to "spend a few moments on behalf of men who toiled the whole day and part of the night in supplying such people as the members with all that they squandered without working for it." At last the President ordered the galleries to be cleared, and Kallerges to be arrested. "Long live Socialism!" he shouted, but the soldiers were already upon him, and he was dragged off with violence and brutal insults to the police station. Next morning he was brought before the magistrate, who asked him what country he belonged to. "The world is my country," he answered, "and all who suffer are my brothers." Without further questions or investigation, the magistrate committed him to prison.

As the *Socialistes* says, this episode is a warning to all who still believe that freedom can be recovered and wrongs righted by constitutional representations of the workmen's demands before Parliaments and other political bodies.

IN A FREE DEMOCRACY.

Comrades Bronk and Feuchtner have been sentenced to 30 days' imprisonment for distibuting a circular and selling tickets for a Chicago Martyrs' Commemoration Meeting at Pitsburgh, Allegheny! The circular, of which we have a copy, is written in the mildest language, simply inviting workmen to the proposed meeting, describing its object and mentioning Governor Altgeld's opinion as to the innocence of the five murdered Anarchists. The police excuse was that the bye laws of the city forbade the distribution of circulars in the streets, "especially those of such a nature." It would be interescing to know how many advertisements of quack medicine and shoddy goods have been distributed in Pittsburgh streets without police interference!

NOVEMBER 11 AT CHICAGO.

In spite of cold, steady rain, over 2,500 persons attended the memorial meeting at the grave of the murdered Anarchists. The chief speakers were the released victims of the Haymarket scare, Schwab and Fielden. Schwab, after describing the lest night in prison, before the murder of our comrades, and the calm courage of the condemned men, dwelt on the armed preparations of the capitalists to crush the eight-hours movement in Chicago five years ago; this it was which led some of those most active in the movement to advise the workers to prepare for armed resistance, which "cannot be called wise under the circumstances, for in the sphere of physical force the capitalists are far superior to the workingmen." Schwab, according to the American papers, believes in arbitration as the most practical mode of settling labor disputes just now.

Fielden, speaking of his dead comrades, said, "The world knows that if these men had lived the interests of the capitalistic class in keeping the working man from his own, and in constant subjection and misery, would have been jeopardised," and he called upon his hearers to do as these men had done, and go home resolved to play their part in righting the wrongs of a society based on privilege.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY IN HOLLAND RENOUNCE POLITICAL ACTION.

At the Congress held, on Dec. 26, at Graninger, the Dutch Revolutionary Socialist party decided, by 47 votes to 40 (with 14 abstentions), "to take no further part in elections under any conditions, not even as a means of propaganda." Of the 40 who voted against this resolution many approved of giving up political agitation, but held that elections could be made useful for spreading Socialist ideas. The Congress also agreed that the resolutions of International Labor Congresses ought not to be held binding upon all countries, but that such Congresses should be considered rather as conferences for the exchange of ideas suggestive and mutually helpful to all. The Dutch Congress resolved to leave palliatives to the middle classes, who, if thorough-going Socialism were pressed upon them, would be ready enough to urge relief measures in the hope of staving off a Social Revolution. This Congress is extremely significant as making an advance on the attitude of Domela Nieuwenhuis and his Dutch comrades at the Zürich International Labor Congress, last August, where they proposed a resolution to the effect that while the workers' struggle was above all else an economic one, and nothing could be expected from parliaments and laws, yet elections, etc., might be useful as a means of agitation. Even at that time, however, the party avowed their desire to find common ground with Communist Anarchists, and their delegates protested vigorously against the scandalous injustice done by the Social Democratic majority to the Anarchist delegates. The greater part of the organised Dutch Socialists seem now to have virtually reached an Anarchist standpoint, and most heartily we hail their comradeship.

THE INSURRECTION IN SICILY.

This island is still in a state of smouldering insurrection, which, in spite of the efforts of soldiers and magistrates, bursts here and there into flame. The reserves (first catagory) have been called out by the Italian Government, and the troops in Sicily now number 40,000; a state of siege has been proclaimed; several members of the Italian praliament, including the Prime Minister, Crispi, have themselves gone to endeavor to sooth the people by promises: the King has expressed his "sympathy" with the sufferings, which even he and his ministers acknowledge have provoked the revolt; the Romans have demonstrated in favor of the Sicilians; but still, in spite of suppression and of sympathy, of soldiers, king and M.P.'s, the open revolt breaks out again and again. Almost daily the capitalist press reports municipal buildings burnt, prisons attacked, prisoners released, obnoxious officials lynched, everywhere active manifestations of discontent and anger on the part of the people. The policy of the government is that of governments generally: crush the masses down in the name of law and order, kill or imprison the active rebels, and promise to redress grievances (as little as possible) when all is quiet again. As to the people, as far as we can gather, thay are, most unhappily, not animated with Communist Anarchist convictions, and have therefore made no organised and direct attempt to possess themselves of the means of production. Their idea seems still the old, unfruitful one of terrorising government and ruling classes into doing something to alleviate the misery of the producers; instead of the producers themselves taking active and practical steps to put a final end to their own unfree and starving condition. It seems as if the energy to rebel were there, but not the energy to rebel with rational purpose and therefore effectually.

Social and Political France in 1891.*

A 2nd edition of M. A. Hamon's comprehensive account of French life, social and political, during the year 1891 has just been issued. It is the second year he has thus reviewed, 1890 having been already treated by him in the same way. In his preface M. Hamon gives his object in writing this book, and it is one worth accomplishing, viz., to give the real and complete history of the country during one year. This history, he says, consists in "an account of the daily life of the people, the enumeration of all social phenomena: trials, suicides, fêtes, the dramas of poverty, strikes, place hunting, the side scenes of journalistic and parliamentary life, congresses, public meetings, parliamentary debates, theatres, literature, statistics, crime, finance, popular movements, etc. History is the brief, but impartial, dry, but not dull, account of these events," and his book is the accomplishment of this truly arduous task.

The book opens with some most instructive pages of social contrasts for the month of January, in which are briefly given accounts of the fearful sufferings of the poor, awful dramas of suffering, wherein starvation and suicide are ever recurring, side by side with accounts of the fêtes of the rich, descriptions extracted from newspapers of their dresses, their balls, their dinings. All this without any comment of the author; the bare facts are left to speak for themselves. These social contrasts are throughout one of the most interesting features of the book. Each month is reviewed in a separate chapter, in which are resumed the important parliamentary debates, the strikes, the financial, political and social scandals, the Anarchist and other Socialists movements, the literature, drama, etc., and the effects they produced on the public as shown in the press.

The chapter on the month of May brings the horrors of the Fourmies massacre, and the disgraceful behaviour of the murderer, Constans, again vividly before one, the parliamentary debates on the subject showing how completely the bourgeoisie really approved of Constans's behaviour, though they scarcely liked to confess it. The description of the Franco-Russian fêtes, which took place in July show to what a length of absurdity French jingoism went in this direction even two years ago. In his account of the increasing feeling against militarism in France, M. Hamon quotes largely from our comrades *La Révolte* and *Le Père Peinard*.

The whole impression left by the book is that French social and political life is utterly rotten. In every page one finds fresh proof of this. The parliamentary debates, especially when they turn on labor affairs, are a striking proof of the brutality of the capitalists, and the utter powerlessness of the socialists to improve the condition of the workers by parliamentary means. Their "reforms" show themselves to be useless even whilst under discussion. The corruption of the press is manifest at every turn. The facts given under this head are especially interesting read in the light of the recent Panama revelations. The most revolting accounts are given of police brutalities, magisterial injustice and corruption, and military scandals, and behind it all is the constant misery and poverty of the toiling masses, old men and women suffocating or hanging themselves to escape the pangs of hunger, mothers killing their children rather than see them suffer, others quietly starving, others again stealing to get into prison. The only thing that relieves the gloomy picture is the account of the ever growing influence of Anarchism and Socialism, and the few rare acts of revolt against the present society, which augur well for a brighter future. In fact, M. Hamon dwells most emphatically on the ever increasing struggle between capital and labor, and the inevitableness of a Revolution in the near future.

The entire book is written in that spirit of impartiality necessary in such a work, relieved throughout by a quiet undercurrent of sarcasm. The only way in which the author's own opinions at all transpire is by the fact that where others, through cowardice, interest, or prejudice, would pass important matter over in silence, he speaks.

Perhaps too much space is devoted to parliamentary debates, which, as their net result is nearly always *nil*, lose all interest for the general reader at a very short distance of time. But the book, as a whole, will be as invaluable to the historian as it is interesting and useful to the student of social problems. It is, besides, an excellent handbook for the practical propagandist, as it recalls many events of importance, which, though chronicled by the daily papers, slip the memory after a while, and instantly shows how reforms and improvements, from which miracles were expected at the time, all came to nothing; facts pointing most strongly to the necessity of Revolution.

O. R.

*"La France sociale et politique, année 1891." (Paris: Albert Savine, 12, Rue des Pyramides.

COMMONWEAL GROUP PROTESTS AGAINST MR. ASQUITH'S PROHIBITION.

H. Samuels having failed to obtain leave from Mr. Asquith to explain himself in Trafalgar Square Dec. 3rd, the group resolved to protest against what they considered to be an encroachment on the right of free speech. Accordingly, they printed a special number of leaflets which they took down to the Square on the forbidden Sunday, and distributed until a fair crowd of about 1500 had collected. Then Comrade Quinn attempted to address the meeting from Gordon's steps, but only got as far as "Fellow-workers, we Anarchists are not bomb throwers," when he was thrown down by the police. Nothing daunted he made another attempt, but this time, in addition to being knocked off the steps, he was kicked and thumped until cries of "Shame" made the police desist when they marched Quinn out of the Square, a large crowd following him. By this time about 500 police, "plain and colored," had rolled up and a body of them were drawn up two deep round Nelson's plinth. Suddenly all eyes were directed to the plinth whence our Comrade Lawrence was seen to be addressing the crowd. He had jumped right over the heads of the double cordon. A tremendous shout went up from all present and great excitement prevailed, while the less active constables were struggling to reach Lawrence's "coign of vantage." When at last they seized him they tried to throw him down on his head among the crowd but, prepared for such tactics, he embraced his captors so closely that they had no choice but fall with him or let him drop quietly down. They prefered the latter, contenting themselves by afterwards kicking and pushing Lawrence out of the Square. The aspect of the crowd at this time was very threatening, but we resolved to keep our temper, and so called for "three cheers for Anarchy and groans for Asquith," heartily responded to. A stranger who protested against the police brutality to Lawrence was kicked, hustled, ordered this way and that and finally arrested when entering a passing 'bus, dragged to the station and charged with assaulting the police. The crowd meanwhile groaned the police, which did not tend to sweeten their tempers. Next they arrested Com. Herzog for distributing bills; this the people resented by pushing the police about. At this moment W. Banham got upon a 'bus and began to speak from the top, and a dozen of mounted police came tearing along. The excitement deepened when orders were given to clear the square. This was done with great difficulty in about half an hour. The people then formed outside the lines of police in greater numbers than ever. The mounted police rode furiously up and down, a brick flew through the air towards them, but without taking effect. Then a brief hand to hand fight began in Parliament-street. The Marseillaise was to be heard in all directions, mingled with cheers for the Social Revolution. Six o'clock struck before the square assumed its usual aspect. "Why, it's quite like the old days," said an Inspector on duty to one of his colleagues. Yes, the Anarchists are being treated now as the Social Democrats in the earlier days of their movement.

J. P.

"FREEDOM" RELIEF FUND

IN AID OF THE LOCKED-OUT MINERS.

Received: Collection per H. Cook, 6s.; per A. M.. 2s. 6d.

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The Socialist Movement in Austria.

(From a German correspondent.)
(Continued.)

As to Anarchist or even Social revolutionary ideas, they were completely unknown—if we except some men who were under the influence of Bakounine, as Neumayer of Wiener Neustadt. A great change in this direction took place during the years 1879 and 1881, but chiefly from 1881 to 1883.

After the German anti-Socialist law of October 1878, the bulk of the German party remained at their old peaceful and legalitarian standpoint, and were even ready for all sorts of compromises with the existing state of things; whilst the most earnest men of the party at last saw the absurdity of constitutional sham-fighting with voting papers,and after passing through a period of well-meant but vague and inconsequent Revolutionary Socialism (1879—1881), in 1882 and 1883, frankly adopted Anarchism. In Austria the reverse took place: the masses had not been demoralised by the polluting influence of electioneering politics, having no franchise at all. So when, by means, chiefly, of the London publications—the *Freiheit* of Most, etc.—they at last learned to know the existence of international revolutionary ideas and parties, they enthusiastically, and almost unanimously, adopted these views, and rejected the old methods of petitioning, and passing resolutions in favor of political rights, enfranchisement, etc., to take up the revolutionary means advocated in the *Freiheit* of London and New York, the *Radical* of Budapest (in Austrian terminology the word "radical" means revolutionary, whilst the Social Democrats called themselves "moderated," that is lawabiding), the *Zukunft* of Vienna, the Bohemian *Delnicke Listy* of Vienna, etc.

This was a great movement indeed, and it spread notwithstanding the severest police persecutions, which in their meanness and brutality can only be compared with the downright Knout-regime of Russia. The Social Democrats at that time were reduced to a small society, and a little paper called—to contrast the name with the contents—*Wahrheit* (Truth), usually filled with the foulest slander and denunciations of Anarchists. The most serious drawback of the movement was, however, that it was quite impossible to seriously discuss and propagate the Anarchist principles in the more perfect form in which they had been elaborated in France, Switzerland, Italy, Spain. To these principles the papers and public speakers could only allude, and the underground secret organisation was mostly taken up with practical work, the resistance against the ceaseless persecutions, the publication of clandestine literature, called forth by the events of the day, and by and by, by revolutionary action itself. Only about the latter point more definite views were formed, and were put into practice, witness the robbing of a sweater named Merstallinger, in 1882, by Engel and Pfleger, since both deceased in prison; the execution of police agents by Stellmacher and Kammerer, both hanged; various dynamite explosions; and the continuous work of the secret presses, which issued papers like the *Erste Freie Presse Cisleithaniens* and the *Zukunft* (of 1885) in German, or the *Porusta* and *Svoboda* in Bohemian, etc. Also large popular demonstrations took place, like those at Vienna in the autumn of 1882 (Neubau) and the summer of 1883 (Schattenring).

This movement was finally met by the government with a supreme effort at ruthless, brutal repression, in January 1884. All Socialists of Vienna and the surrounding districts, whom they could lay hands on, were expelled, and hunted about all over the country; the papers were suppressed; meetings proclaimed; societies dissolved, and—the Social Democrats left undisturbed, to win over the weaker minded revolutionists to their harmless, lawabiding views.

The results were some years of ceaseless, heroic fighting of small groups of determined men. The efforts of the expelled or fugitive revolutionists to create new centres of action in Hungary and Switzerland were frustrated by the governments of these countries, and England and America remained almost the only countries open to them. *Under these circumstances the propagation of Anarchist principles was relegated to the background, and all efforts were concentrated strictly on some blow to revenge the fearful persecutions*, and on getting the means to set on foot a larger agitation, means which the empty pockets of handfuls of workingmen evidently could not be expected to find. So a number of plots for assassinations, explosions and fires, and for expropriation by means of stealing, coining, etc., follow (1884-1887). It is quite evident that the police spent an hundredfold the efforts and money in hunting down groups of devoted Anarchists which they would have expended in discovering the secrets of the "moderate" Social Democrats, who simply did nothing at all, except declaim about the suffrage and wash their hands of the wicked deeds of the Anarchists. In many cases the police succeeded in making arrests before anything effective could be done. From this dates the vile Social Democratic argument that all Anarchists are police paid or police victims, in other words, scoundrels or fools. No Social Democratic party has attained higher perfection in throwing mud at revolutionists than that of Germany and Austria. Reinsdorf like Stellmacher, both executed, did not escape their abuse any more than Ravachol and the French Anarchists. This is one of the "*geistige waffen*" (intellectual weapons) which these "scientific socialists" boast of. Of course it is easier to frighten people away from Anarchism by such silly calumnies than to try to refute it by solid arguments. We see that they adopt the same tactics with regard to the recent arrests at Vienna (see the *Workman's Times* of Oct. 7). Evil minded and imprudent individuals, when they have no arguments to reply with, throw mud at their opponents; thus do the authors of these notes in the *Workman's Times*, thus the Berlin *Vorwärts*, etc. etc.; dogs howling at the moon.

The Austrian movement then, in 1884-1886, was more decentralised, scattered, than weakened, and its counter movement, the Social Democratic agitation, remained a perfect failure, as ever since 1881-2. According to information published first in the *Freiheit*, later on (in 1892) in the *Sozialist* of Berlin, and recently in a pamphlet at Graz, Styria (the whole edition of which was confiscated, and the authors, comrades Rissmann and Kertshall, put into prison, awaiting—for months now—their trial for high treason), the Austrian prime minister, Count Taaffe, in 1886, by the intermediary of a certain Socialist of Vienna, gave the Social Democrats to understand that the government would like to see a Social Democratic party reconstructed, which, by the advocacy of social reforms and constitutional means alone, could efficiently paralyse the revolutionary movement, undaunted by all the persecutions, by the hundreds of years of penal servitute, by the countless families thrown into the streets, their breadwinners being incarcerated or exiled. It is asserted that the parties to whom these hints were thrown out did not accept them officially, but nevertheless only a few months afterwards, Dr. Victor Adler, who had first turned up at this critical moment, started a paper, the *Gleichheit*, which wonderfully fitted in with the ideas of Count Taaffe about winning over the revolutionists. For it began by adopting an apparently impartial attitude, and using stronger language than the *bonâ fide* Social Democratic papers had hitherto dared to use; it began to veil the fundamental differences between State Socialists and Anarchists, declaring both to be in the right or in the wrong, and so forth. At the same time it could dispose of money, and besides the indispensable Marxist journalists, the Kautsky, the Zetkin, etc., it paraded the names of De Paepe and others among its contributors. It was something new to many Socialists in Vienna and the provinces, and in the absence of a better paper they endorsed it. The fact that the revolutionary organ, the *Arbeit*, published about the same time (1887) in three different places (Villach, Linz, Vienna) was everywhere suppressed whilst the *Gleichheit* flourished, ought to have opened their eyes. Hand in hand with this publication, the negociations with a section of the revolutionary party were carried on skillfully by Mr. Adler, who at the end of 1888 was able to invite a number of delegates at Hainfeld. They adopted his program and now openly denounced the revolutionary methods and went in for palliative measures. From that time dates the present Austrian Social Democratic party, under the auspices and by the permission of the prime minister, Count Taaffe. Now we see the most odious characters of the "moderate" party, who had kept in the background in order not to discredit the new party in the eyes of their victims, the *bonâ fide* Socialists of no determined views, creep forward again, hand in hand with their former enemies, renegades of the revolutionists; the Gehrke and Leissner hand in hand with the Pokorny and Popp, etc.; the same took place in the Bohemin party; Burian and Hybesh fraternised, and so on. Plenty of well paid sinecures were created at the cost of the workers to accomodate these now vampires; one of the chief centres is the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* of Vienna, with a numerous highpaid staff, all depending, at a moment's notice, upon Mr. Adler himself, to whom the paper and everything belongs. Similar centres of corruption are the provincial papers of Graz, Bruenn, Prague, etc.—*(To be continued.)*

THE PROPAGANDA.

REPORTS.

LONDON—

A Conference of Communist Anarchists, called by the Commonweal Group, was held at the Autonomie Club, on Dec. 26th. Delegates from Norwich, Manchester, Portsmouth, Brighton, Sheffield and other places attended, as well as representatives of all the London groups. Letters were read from provincial and Scotch groups unable to send delegates. The Conference was very successful, and the agenda was well adhered to. A statement of aims and policy was agreed upon. Special emphasis was laid upon the fact that the work of Communist Anarchists is essentially one of *education*, not of violence, but it was declared, as Anarchists, we acknowledge the right of individuals to act as they think best in furthering the spread of their ideas. It was agreed that, realising the immensity of the task that we and all revolutionary propagandists have undertaken, the abolition of classes, privileges and distinctions, and the emancipation of labor throughout the world, we hold that, in a struggle like this, all * means, however desperate, are justifiable. The second part of the Conference was devoted to a consideration of the policy of the *Commonweal*. It was decided to adopt a sympathetic attitude towards Trade Unions and to devote a column regularly to Trade Union matter. Comrade Samuels was asked to remain editor, and literary and financial support was invited from comrades throughout the country. All matter (with the exception of short notes) to be revised by the *Commonweal* Group. Information concerning local affairs of general interest was specially requested.

Regents' Park.—Meetings have been held here every Sunday morning during December. Speakers, Cantwell and Nicoll.

Hoxton.—J. Turner has been pegging away here, and doing excellent work. Meetings have been held at all the other stations, but rather irregularly owing to the weather.

Trafalgar Square.—The meeting at which H. Samuels proposed to explain the "Aims and Principles of Anarchism" was prohibited Sunday, Dec. 3rd, by Mr. Asquith. We publish elsewhere an account by an eyewitness of what took place that day in the Square. Dec. 10th, D. J. Nicoll attempted to hold a meeting there. Despite the wet weather, 4,000 persons assembled. Nicoll was attacked by a gang of roughs, set on, some say, by the police.

Autonomie Club, 6, Windmill-street, W.—The course of lectures arranged by the Commonweal Group was opened Nov. 22nd by Fauset Macdonald on "The English Anarchist Movement." Large audience and interesting discussion.—Nov, 29th, D. J. Nicoll, on "Plan of Campaign." Good audience, several re-

* We should have expressed this somewhat differently; for instance: "that in a struggle like this, even desperate measures may, under certain circumstances, become justifiable."—ED.

porters present ; reports of lecture in daily papers next morning.—Dec. 6th, H. B. Samuels, on "Economics of Anarchism." The largest audience we have yet had here, room packed, mainly strangers ; good discussion followed, in which Herbert Burrows took part.—Dec. 13th, J. Turner, on "Anarchism and Trade Unionism." Good audience, good discussion and plenty of new faces.—Dec. 20, Dr. S. Merlino, on "Anarchism and Individualism." Good audience, good discussion.—Dec. 27, C. W. Mowbray lectured on "Anarchism and the Unemployed Question."

A lecture list has been published by the Commonweal Group containing 16 names of different lecturers and 55 different lectures. These lists have been sent to 140 Liberal, Radical, Social, Democratic and Secular societies.

The following lectures have been delivered at various Liberal and Radical clubs during the past two months. At the Socialist Club, 395, New Cross-road, S.E., Oct. 27th, H. B. Samuels, "Anarchist Economics." Nov. 17th, J. Turner, on "Anarchism and the Labor Movement." Dec. 15th, Dr. Fauset Macdonald, on "Evolution." These lectures are only given to the members of the club, and since they began an active group has sprung into existence in the district.—Sunday, Nov. 19th, at Hatcham Liberal Club, Dr. Fauset Macdonald, on "Evolution, Darwin and Kropotkine." Thie lecture was delivered to a packed audience of over 400, who were attentive and appreciative. The lecture occupied one hour and a half, after which there was an interested discussion.—Sunday, Nov. 19th, Newington Reform Club, H. B. Samuels, "Anarchist Communism." This lecture was listened to with very great interest, but the discussion was diverted from the main issue by a few half intoxicated Radicals insisting upon talking about "bombs."—Sunday, Nov. 19th, Working Men's Hall, Walthamstow, J. Turner, "Anarchist Communism. Good and attentive audience. A very interesting discussion followed.—Thursday, Nov. 23rd, St. Pancras Reform Club, C. T. Quinn, "Government a Fraud. Well attended, a good discussion followed, which turned upon Anarchism and Social Democracy.—Wednesday, Dec. 13th, Albany Hall, Camberwell, S.E., H. B. Samuels, "Anarchist Communism." Fair audience, very much interested, good discussion followed ; the tone of discussion was that with no government we should all be eating one another. Such are our opponents ! These lectures and discussions are signs of the growth of the Anarchist movement in England. A little while ago it was impossible to get either Radical, yea, or even so-called Socialists to acknowledge Anarchism, but now it is an accepted doctrine, it therefore must grow and produce ; its realisation is inevitable in the course of human progress.—J. P.

Dec. 31st, in the morning, A. Henry lectured at the Hall of Science to a sympathetic audience, on "Secular Education, what it implies." And, in the evening of the same day, at the S.D. Club, Bemerton-street, on "Education from an Anarchist Communist's Point of View." Meeting well attended, and discussion very interesting.

Peckham.—The propaganda in this neighborhood dropped on Thursday, Dec. 7th, owing to the cowardice and indifference of our own members, and unless more enthusiastic men come forward the propaganda will cease entirely. During the nine months of our work here we have had nearly 100 meetings, at which we have sold a fair amount of literature, and have distributed a large amount gratis. Taken altogether, we have every reason to feel satisfied with the result of our work. For we have, by showing the true meaning of Anarchism, aroused a desire for enquiry into and a huge amount of sympathy for our ideas.—On Sunday, Nov. 19th, at Oakley-place Chapel, Old Kent-road, a lecture on "Anarchism" was delivered by the Rev. T. Charke, who took as his text a letter received from one of our comrades explaining the question of Anarchism and force. The Rev. lecturer stated his agreement with most points in the Anarchist program, but said he could not agree with "the apeal to force and the profession of atheism." A good discussion followed the lecture. One of the parson's congregation, however, iniormed the Rev. lecturer that he ought to be ashamed, as a minister of the gospel, to endorse anything which fell from she lips of such meu as Anarchists !—On the same day, in the evening, Comrade Samuels gave a good leeture at tho Newington Reform Club, on "Anarchist Communism," and also on Dec. 13th at the North Camberwell Radical Club, on the same subject. The discussion at both lectures drifted mainly on to the subject of the morality of bomb-throwing.—W. H.

Brixton.—Comrades residing in this district held a preliminary meeting, at Comrade Brown's house, on Dec. 20th, to consider what could be done for the propagation of Anarchism here ; also if it would be advisable to form a group. As two or three comrades who were invited did not turn up, we resolved to meet again on Jan. 20th. In the meantime we intend to visit any political lectures or meetings that are held in this district and expose the fallacies of politics, and so work in "the thin end of the wedge" of Anarchism. I hope comrades will not neglect to be present at our next meeting. There are plenty to form a group, it only needs the will. Address all communications to M., 3, The Exchange, Upper Tulse Hill, S.W.

PROVINCES—

Aberdeen. — Success continues to attend our propaganda, our open-air meetiugs at the Docks on Sunday afternoons being larger and more attentive than ever, whilst our Sunday evening lectures in the Oddfellow's Large Hall are attended by great number of interested workers who by their warm applause show their symyathy with our movement. On Sunday, Dec. 3rd, Comrade Shepherd lectured on "G. B. Shaw's Impossibilities of Anarchism", Dec. 10th. Comrade Dow on "Social Evolution", Dec. 17th, Comrade Duncan on "Anarchist Outrages" and Dec. 24th, Comrade W. H. Camerou of the Aberdeen Branch of the S. D. F. on "Anarchism and Social Democracy". On Monday 11th, Duncan lectured to the Unitarian Literary Society on "Anarchist Communism", there was a fair audience and some awful bosh of opposition of which Comrades Dow, Shepherd and Duncan made mince-meat. — During the month literature has sold fairly well.—E. S.

Brighton.—Meetings have been held on most Sundays as usual. Various speakers came from London and always drew large and interesting audiences. Our local eomrade Reed has been very active. November 26th we had a visit from D. G. Nicoll, who spoke on the "Labor Problem" at the large room at the Eagle Hotel — kindly lent us by the secularists. The meeting was large and enthusiastic. Mr. Forder offered some opposition which Comrade Nicoll answered well. We have always a good sale of literature. — J. H.

Lately the Brighton Labor Party have been very busy canvassing for the leaders of the now defunct Brighton branch of the S. D. F., in order to secure them a seat amongst Brighton town councillors, which, by the way, is about the only place they are fit for. As an anarchist I felt it my duty to warn the workingmen of Brighton, that the men composing the Brighton L. P. were men seeking their own aggrandisement, rather than the workers good. I therefore repaired to the fountain opposite St, Peter's church and convened a meeting. A large crowd soon congregated to listen amongst whom were many sympathisers. The crowd was at first orderly and very attentive. A little later however, some of the members of the Brighton L. P. put in an appearance, and endeavored to convene another meeting on the opposite side of the fountain, but finding their efforts unavailing they immediately showed their chagrin by endeavoring to drown my voice, and attract the audience to themselves. The crowd, however, seemed in no way disposed to heed th m, and eagerly accepted the Anarchist literature Comrade Simpson distributed amongst them. Mad with rage, an in ividual, named Hugh, demanded the right to address the meeting, which I allowed him to do on condition that he offered opposition to the principles of Anarchism which he promised to do. However, he only indulged in a lot of vituperation and abuse, in the midst of which he said that I and other Anarchists had no right to talk about Socialism, because we were the advocates of the indiscriminate use of dynamite, and utterly incapable of understanding the glorious principles of Socialism. Mr. Hugh went on to show his entire ignorance of the Anarchist movement by saying that the Chicago Anarchists were murderers and hanged for throwing bombs, and eoncluded his attack by inciting the crowd to throw me into the fountain, and also by inviting me to debate the question with him on the Level, on the following Sunday afternoon—should I escape drowning, of course. As Mr. Hugh is a very poor speaker and a still worse logician, he is not a very formidable opponent, and I thought I would let him have me on the string to please his vanity, for I knew that all his stupid talk about Anarchism, of which he and his friends of the Brighton L.P. are densely ignorant, would do more to more to make the people Anarchists than I could after speaking for a week. On Sunday afternoon a large crowd assembled to listen to the debate that was to come off between the redoubtable Hugh and myself, but when the gentlemen put in an appearance he made a number of paltry excuses for not debating, although he publicly challenged me to do so, and the crowd, largely sympathetic with us Anarchists, dudbed him sneak, coward, traitor, etc. etc.—T. Reed.

Glasgow.—On Dec. 2nd, Comrades Robb, Bairn and Smith journeyed out to Hamilton, a little mining town about ten miles from Glasgow, and held a successful meeting for about two hours. As the miners were on strike, we did not attempt to sell any literature, but contented ourselves with distributing the manifestoes to the miners. On Sunday Comrade Levenson held a successful meeting at 12 noon, and at 3 p.m. we had another large meeting on Jail Square, Comrades Robb and Muir speaking. On Saturday, Dec. 16th, we again invaded Hamilton, and we were not long in gathering a crowd, besides attracting the attention of the police, who volunteered the information that we "did not know what we were talking about," because they apparently could not understand themselves. Comrades Levenson, Robb, and Bain did the talking. The audience was very sympathetie. One drunken fellow who persisted in interrupting Robb being quietly but forcibly thrown out. We sold more literature at this meeting than at any other open-air meeting for some time. We shall arrive! On Sunday December 17th, Comrade Levenson held a meeting on Jail-sqare. Besides holding these open-air meetings and, as we have no indoor meetings of our own, we constantly turn up at the Labor Party or the S.D.F.'s lectures where we always make ourselves heard in the discussion. We expect Nicoll with us after the New Year, and a right hearty welcome he will get.—J.B.S.

Norwich.—We were rather unfortunate with our meetings here in celebrating the Chicago Commemoration because of the weather which was the worst we have seen for a long time ; but the meetings were not altogether a failure. One meeting addressed by Nicoll and Presberg, on Sunday Nov. 21st, was very well attended in spite of rain. Saturday and Sunday evenings we met at Comrades Lenneying and Freeman's where we spent a jovial time singing revolutionary songs.—There is a strong determination on the part of the comrades to show a better record in next year's propaganda than we have shown this. If London comrades will keep us well supplied with speakers we will show our masters that Anarchism is not dead in Norwich, nor is it even sleeping. We shall commence soon after Christmas with a lecture by Kropotkine ; we shall be pleased to receive any other comrade that can spare time to come and lecture.—A.B.

Manchester.—The comrades here are still contesting the right of free speech at Ardwick Green. Sunday Nov. 26, James Coates was arrested and the following Monday seutenced to find sureties, himself in £50 and two others of £30 to keep the peace for 6 months, or 1 month's imprisonment ; he has bravely preferred the latter. Dec. 3rd, Henry Burrows was arrestod for the second time after a short speech and, on Caminada's evidence declared guilty of obstruction; sentenced to find sureties, himself in £60 and two others of £30 each, to keep the peace for 6 months, or in default two months *with hard labor*. The capitalist press omitted all mention of the hard labor in reporting the case, and many believe the infliction of it to be entirel illegal. Burrows refused to find the sureties, and is therefore enduring the cruel sentence of magistrates R. Hall and R. A. Armitage. Dec. 10th, P. J. Kelly went through the usual program : a short speech at Ardwick Green to a large attentive audience, cut short by Mr. Caminada, and a visit to the Town Hall, where bail being given Kelly was free to take part in the afternoon meeting at Stevenson Square ; Monday morning, the old charge of obstruction. Our comrade argued his case with the magistrate, having looked up the Act of 1844, which merely mentioned illegality in obstructing the footway, but the only result was choice between a 40s fine or a month in quod. Kelly chose Strangeways gaol, thus making up the number of comrades there to half-a-dozen. Dec. 7th, Wm. Houghton took the field, but after a few moments' speech was marched off to the Town Hall, where of course he was bailed. The crowd that afternoon in Stevenson Square was enormous. A gang of roughs, supposed to be set on by the police, tried to create a disturbance, which would give an excuse for attempting to suppress these afternoon meetings too. Monday morning Houghton appeared before magistrate Headlam and was sentenced to find two sureties of £20 each, or in default one month. He now makes the seventh Anarchist in Strangeways. Dec. 24, no meeting was held, and the police had a nice time waiting in the rain for a few hours. Dec. 31, Morris Mendelsohn attempted to speak, was arrested, and next morning told by the magistrates to find two sureties of £25 each, or go to prison for a month. He too has gone to gaol. The Free Speech Defence Committee consists of the Manchester Anarchist Group, the South Salford S.D.F., the N. Manchester Fabian Society, the Jewish W. M.'s Educational Club and has been formed to resist arbitrary interference of police and authorities with the rights of free speech and public meetings, and to carry on the struggle at Ardwick Green. We wish them all success, for it is the resisting of petty tyranny that leads up to the bigger strife.

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

NOTICES.

LONDON—

The following lectures will be given at the Autonomie Club, 6, Windmill-st., W., on Wednesday evenings, at 8.15 p.m.: Jan. 24th, H. Samuels, "Rebellion and Anarchy" ; Jan. 31st, Dr. Fauset Macdonald, "Evolution and Anarchism" ; Feb. 7th, Morrison Davidson, "Anarchist Communism" ; Feb. 14th, Herbert Burrows, "The foolishness of Anarchism" ; Feb. 21st, W. G. Pearson (S.D.F.), "Anarchists and Anarchy" ; Feb. 28th, Henry Seymour, "Individualism and Communism."

Every Saturday night, at 8 p.m., free concerts will be given at the Autonomie Club, 6, Windmill-street, Tottenham-court-road, W., organised by the Commonweal Group for the club.

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