

Freedom

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THE WRITING ON THE WALL.

In this month's *Freedom* we give a detailed account of Vaillant's trial and death, together with his own explanation of his action in full, taking the facts, without comment of our own, from the best information in the daily press. Why?

Because we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the revolutionary movement, *i.e.*, the break up of the present system of social organisation throughout Europe, has reached a phase in which such deeds as Vaillant's may be expected in any place where some special bitterness of class, national, or personal experience is goading individuals to despair—despair, not for themselves, but for their class, or for the suffering masses. Society has arrived at a state in which a number of persons are being more cruelly pressed by the surrounding misery than their brains and nerves can endure. The meek in such a plight are killing themselves, the rebellious trying to rouse the public conscience by killing other people. In the article reproduced below, Rochfort suggests some of the conditions which have gone to bring about so desperate a state of feeling in Paris. But these phenomena are not merely French, but European, and what wonder? As that most fit representative of the ancient order, the Pope, said to his cardinals on his eighty-fourth birthday, "all the old conceptions of honesty, justice, authority, liberty, social rights and social duties have been overthrown." We are living amidst a world falling into ruins, a world where the oppression of old social institutions and habits has become intolerable to flesh and spirit and yet where these ancient methods of social organisation are being maintained by sheer force against the desires of the mass of mankind. Is it in such conditions a matter of surprise if isolated acts of violent revolt break forth as a prelude to vaster insurrectionary movements? The thing is inevitable: how shall it be met?

This is a moment when tremendous issues hang in the balance. The movement which is convulsing civilised society can only ultimately end in a universal uprising of the poor against the rule of the rich,—the poor with long ages of bitter wrong to infuriate them, and in their hands the frightful weapons which science has put, and rapidly continues to put, within reach of the poorest.

Individual acts such as Vaillant's are the warnings of the coming tempest. Woe to mankind if it fail to recognise them. Let such deeds be understood in their terrible significance by the men and women who feel and think, and the unbearable pressure which is their cause may yet be slackened, and the awful baptism of blood, with which the ushering in of the new social order is so imminently threatened, may yet be averted.

No madder attempt was ever made than the effort which the continental governments are now making to crush out the social revolt by a vexatious persecution of ideas, supplemented by a violent revenge upon individuals who do desperate deeds. The inevitable results of such inhuman folly are too horrible to anticipate. We, at least, do what little lies in our power—alas that it is so little!—to open the eyes of our fellow countrymen ere it be too late.

The Sons of the Slain.

(Translated from L'INTRANSIGEANT of February 17th, 1894.)

We have said and repeat that Anarchy was born of the butcheries of Bloody Week. We have even told in these columns how the first groups of the new sect styled themselves "The Sons of the Slain" (literally, "those shot down"). Reared in the midst of tales of those unforgettable massacres, they grew up having always before their eyes the wedding night of Tony Moilin, guilty of having distributed vouchers for bread to the starving, and who condemned to death by a court-martial of a kind—for in those days they set themselves up as a court-martial just as one would as a tinker—was married to his companion, who was with child, at night, and was shot down at day-break.

These children have often recalled in their dreams the guns of Gallifet blowing the federal prisoners, three hundred at a time, into the trenches dug for them beforehand.

They have lived with the recollection of the three Billiorays, the four

Cluserets and the five Vallés executed without trial, to whom the shooting party did not even leave time to cry out: "But I am not Vallés! I am not called Cluseret! I do not even know Billioray!" and of whom the journals of order and blood said next day that they died "like cowards."

As a consequence, during an International conference, our representative, M. de Chaudordy, drew upon himself, apropos of some remark he made, this retort from a Turkish diplomat: "Sir, when one belongs to a government that has taken an active part in the frightful repression of the Commune one has lost the right to speak in the name of civilisation."

Rage has thus permeated the hearts of the "Sons of the Slain"; it took entire possession of them bit by bit; and this is how one of these unfortunates, hypnotised by the terrible images that have no doubt haunted him from his birth, strives to avenge upon the middle class of to-day the denunciations and ferocities of the middle class in 1871.

Sons, not of one slain but of one condemned to death, Emile Henry and his brother, who is now at Clairvaux for propaganda by word, have evidently vowed to hate, as Hannibal did the Romans, the society that set their feet in the ways of exile and misery. And now the women and students who enter peacefully into a café to listen to music and sip a cup of coffee feel in their limbs the effects of this accumulated rancour.

When Thiers, from the tribune in the Assembly at Versailles, speaking of the Communards, cried: "The ground is strewn with their corpses!" he sincerely believed that all was finished, on the strength of the fallacious adage, "Dead men do not bite!" But the wolves had whelps that, in their turn having become wolves, suddenly come forth from the woods where they have prowled for twenty years, awaiting their opportunity.

We can imagine the rage which must have grown steadily out of that pyramid of 35,000 corpses. For we cannot, as in the case of Ravachol, see a common-law criminal in this youth, who has never been convicted of anything, and who was not even forced into an act of despair by material anxieties, like his predecessor, Vaillant.

No, surely he has gone on since his earliest years in a dream of vengeance, maybe unconsciously, and when he has felt himself strong enough to realise it, has said to himself: "Now is the hour!"

This concentration of the mind upon attacking, not public authorities, but peaceable bystanders, in itself indicates that it was not this one or that, but existing society in the whole that he had devoted to execration.

There is atavism in such a state of mind. When one thinks of the formidable number of children of those shot or condemned to death who have retained in both heart and ear the rattle of the balls that made them orphans, it is natural to feel alarm for the future of the bourgeoisie, who in 1871 went to the executions at Satory as they would to a play.

The bloody tracks are always recurring. Saint Bartholomew has been the cause of the guillotining of many priests in 1793, and the German generals, after our defeat in 1870 rejoiced at having at last avenged "Conrad von Hohenstauffen, beheaded in 1269 by order of Charles of Anjou, brother of Saint Louis."

The outrage in the Café Terminus is so much the more criminal that it can lead to nothing, if not to consolidating the reaction, the purpose of which it answers. It is none the less true, however, that the son of a man condemned to death, in his turn condemning to death, evokes strange reflections.

HENRI ROCHEFORT.

By "Anarchy" the writer evidently means the violent acts of revolt recently done in Paris, not the Anarchy of Anarchists. *L'Intransigeant* is a leading Radical French journal. The editor, Henri Rochefort, has been through the Commune, and probably knows more about it than most people. In connection with this article, it is worthy of remark that poor Villisse, as well as the father of Emile Henry, was a Communard. Further (strange freak of poetic justice), Henry is a relative of De Gallifet, the General who commanded the Versailles troops during the massacre.

Vaillant.

THE TRIAL.

On January 10, Vaillant was tried before the Seine Assize Court. The indictment, after describing the offence which he was said to have committed, charged him with attempted homicide and destruction of the Chamber of Deputies.

SIX WITNESSES TO CHARACTER

were called by Vaillant. They spoke to his being sober and industrious. Vaillant remarked that he might have called 40 others, but they were

Anarchists, and, as Anarchism was now a crime, he had not wished to attract attention to them. After the withdrawal of the witnesses, the

PRESIDENT, MR. CAZE, BEGAN HIS EXAMINATION

of the prisoner. Vaillant, in replying to questions, said that all his previous condemnations were the result of the social organisation.

The President: "You have explained your visit to America in a fashion flattering to your vanity, but on returning you took Marchal's wife from him and you sold his furniture."

Vaillant: "It is quite false."

"From philosophical speculation you passed to action, but for this you required money."—"Mme. Paul Reclus gave me 20f., thinking it was for my household, and I received 100f. from a man who knew it was for a revolutionary work, but did not know what."

"When you threw the bomb, a person near you spoiled your aim, and it struck the parapet of the senators' gallery, injuring chiefly people in the galleries."

"It was not my fault."

"You say that you wished to strike the members of the Government, yet you made no distinction among them."—"All are of the same stamp."

"You wished to kill them?"—"No; not to kill them; otherwise I should have taken better precautions. I aimed at the Deputies, for they are primarily responsible for social evils. Acts of propaganda are aimed at the parasites who produce nothing for society."

"You allege that you intended to deliver a speech, yet you were the first to leave the gallery."—"No; not the first, but the last."

"Witnesses say so."—"It is quite false."

"You wanted to escape."—"Not at all."

"You exclaimed in a voice overpowering all others, 'open the doors.'"—"It is false; I was unable to speak a word."

"You even tried to break through a window, and a sentry had to draw his bayonet."—"It is false."

"You said to a lieutenant, 'It was a tall, fair young man; I hope he will not escape.'"—"It is false."

"You eventually confessed, and you wrote to Paul Reclus saying that you were sorry that your aim was spoiled. You also told the magistrate that what you had done was the logical consequence of your philosophy, which was based on the works of Darwin, Büchner, and Herbert Spencer."—"I did not intend to strike the innocent, but unfortunately this happened."

"You told the magistrate that a sword of Damocles hung over his head and over that of every bourgeois, and that another man would have better success."

"Yes; but I did not hit the people whom I meant to hit. If I had made the bomb larger, I could not have entered the Chamber without its being remarked. Bullets would have certainly killed somebody, but I used small projectiles in order to injure as many deputies as possible."

"Injuring more than 50 persons was not a failure?"—"I would rather have injured 200 Deputies than a single innocent person in the gallery."

"It was a mere chance that there were no dead. There were horrible wounds, limbs perforated, a skull fractured."—"The same thing happens to the men sent by the Government to Tonkin."

When the interrogatory was concluded, the President suspended the sitting for ten minutes. On its resumption, Vaillant, immediately rising of his own accord, said, "You, Sir, have the habit of presiding in this court. I am not accustomed to appearing here. You will excuse me if I make one remark. On returning from America I thought that I could be satisfied with the establishment of libraries to prepare brains for the revolution. I thought to make a good living thereby. My master would not give me more than 20 francs a week. I spoke of my wife and child, and he replied, 'What is that to me?' That sum was not enough to keep me and mine from dying of hunger. Then I felt that I must not delay to make my revolution myself, and I took my bomb to the Chamber. In order to expound my theoretical ideas, as I am not an orator, I have written a declaration. May I read it?"

When the President nodded assent, Vaillant unrolled a manuscript, and read to the jury as follows:—

THE DEFENCE.

"Gentlemen, in a few minutes you are going to condemn me, but I shall have at least the satisfaction of having dealt a blow at existing society, this accursed society in which one man may be seen uselessly expending enough to nourish some thousands of families; a hateful society which allows some individuals to lay hold of all the social wealth, while there are a hundred thousand unfortunate people who have not even the bread that is thrown to the dogs, and whole families that commit suicide from lack of simple necessities. Ah! gentlemen, if only those who direct affairs could go down among these unfortunate people! But no, they choose to remain deaf to their appeal. A fatality would seem to be driving them as it did the Royalty of the 18th century into the gulf where they will be buried. 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."

"Among the exploited there are two classes of individuals. The one, not alive to its own power or to what it might come to be, takes life as it comes; believes that it was born to be slaves, and is content with the little which is given it in recompense for its work. But the other class thinks and studies, and, casting a glance around, perceives the social injustices. Is it their fault if they see clearly, and suffer at the sight of others suffering? Then they throw themselves into the fray, and become the exponents of the claims of the people. I am one of the latter class. Wherever I have gone I have seen the unfortunate bowing under the yoke of capital. Everywhere I have seen the same wounds which make one shed tears of blood, even in the uninhabited provinces of South America, where I had reason to believe that he who was tired out by the trouble of civilisation might find rest in the shadow of palm trees, and study nature. Yet there more than anywhere else I saw capital like a vampire come to suck up to the last drop the blood of the unfortunate pariahs."

"Then I returned to France, where it was reserved to me to see those who belonged to me suffering atrociously. It was that drop which made the cup run over. Tired of living this life of suffering and cowardice, I took that bomb into the midst of those who are chiefly responsible for social suffering. I am reproached with having injured those who were struck by my projectiles. Permit me to say that if the bourgeois had not committed massacres during the Revolution they would most likely still be under the yoke of the noblesse. Moreover, count up the killed and wounded of Tonkin, Madagascar, and Dahomey, and the thousands—nay, the millions—of unfortunate people who die in the workshops, the mines, and wherever capital weighs them down. Add those who die of hunger, and that, too, with the assent of our Deputies. By the side of all this, how insignificant is the weight of that for which I am blamed to-day! True, one does not efface the other, but, as a matter of fact, are not we Anarchists really well enough able to defend ourselves against reproaches from those above us?"

I am well aware that I shall be told I might have continued only to state our claims, but the deafer a person is the louder one has to speak to make himself heard."

"For too long a time the only reply that we have had has been imprisonment, the rope, or a volley of musketry. Make no mistake. The explosion of my bomb is not only the cry of a revolted Vaillant, but that of an entire class demanding its rights and soon destined to join deeds to words, for you may be sure that it will be all in vain you make your laws. The ideas of those who think will not be stopped. Just as in the last century all the forces of Government could not prevent the Diderots and the Voltaires from disseminating emancipating ideas among the people, so all the forces of Government to-day will not prevent the Reclus, the Darwins, the Spencers, the Ibsens, the Mirbeaus and others from disseminating those ideas of justice and liberty which will break down the prejudices which keep the masses in ignorance, and these ideas, once received by the unfortunate, will ripen into acts of revolt, as they have done in me. In this way the process will continue until the disappearance of authority enables all men to organise themselves freely according to their affinities, so that each may enjoy the product of his labor. Then will disappear those moral maladies known as prejudices, and human beings will finally live in harmony, their only aspiration being the study of the sciences and the love of their fellows."

"I conclude by saying that a society in which are seen such social inequalities as we witness every day about us, in which we see daily suicides that are the result of poverty, and prostitution flaunting itself at every corner; a society whose principal monuments are barracks and prisons—such a society must be transformed as soon as possible at the risk of being speedily wiped out from the human species. Hail to those who labor in any way whatever for this transformation! This is the idea that has guided me in my duel with authority. But, as in this duel I have wounded my adversary, it is for him to strike me in turn. It is of little account what the penalty may be with which you strike me, for, gazing upon this assembly with the eyes of reason, I cannot restrain a smile at beholding you, atoms lost in matter, reasoning because you possess a prolongation of the spinal cord, and pretending to the right of judging one of your fellows. Ah! how insignificant a thing is your assembly and your verdict in the history of humanity! Human history, too, is just as small a thing in the whirlwind which carries it across immensity, and which is destined to disappear, or at least to be changed in order to begin again the same history and the same deeds—a veritable and perpetual play of the cosmic forces which are renewed and transformed for ever."

SPEECHES OF COUNSEL.

M. Bertrand, Procureur-Général, in summing up the evidence, dwelt on Vaillant's inordinate pride, his covetousness, his ferocious instincts, and his evident desire to eclipse Ravachol and the Barcelona outrage. He scouted Vaillant's attempt to idealise his crime. He denied that menace could warrant pity, and he appealed to the jury not to falter in punishing an outrage against a Chamber representing the nation and interesting itself in the lot of the unfortunate.

In contrast to the colourless and somewhat perfunctory performance of M. Bertrand, the speech for the defence by M. Labori was brilliant, adroit, and remarkably eloquent. He is well known as one of the most distinguished members of the Paris Bar. He is the editor of the *Gazette du Palais*, and he was, curiously enough, the Moderate candidate at the last elections against M. Mirman, whose case was being discussed in the Chamber when Vaillant threw his bomb. To-day, had there been any loophole for the jury, it would not have been astonishing to have seen them swayed by the influence of M. Labori's eloquence. He pleaded not as an Anarchist. Vaillant's crime, his point was, was an exceptional one; it was not a political crime nor yet one of common law. It was a social crime, and the warning of his bomb was the menace in the cry of human suffering. M. Labori took up stage by stage the life of Vaillant, showing how in a certain sense his whole career had been formed by circumstance. He had worked and struggled in vain, and finally he was driven to the crime for which he was now before that Court. His act, however, was entirely disinterested, and contained in it none of that insolent pride which the Procureur-Général discovered in it. In a word, he had passed through revolutionary Socialism, and this act was only the utterance of others less courageous transformed into deeds.

VERDICT AND SENTENCE.

It was about 5.30 when, amidst a general murmur of admiration at the style of M. Labori's defence, the jury retired to deliberate. They were not out half an hour. The foreman read their decision, and the Court, by the light of the lamps which had been brought in, sentenced the prisoner to death.—*The Times*, Jan. 11, 1894.

PETITION OF THE PARIS STUDENTS IN BEHALF OF VAILLANT.

The following is a translation of the petition sent to Carnot by the students of the "Quartier Latin," with over 600 signatures:—

"Mr. President,

During recent events, the young men who think and work have felt more than any other class in this country how painful were the circumstances through which we were passing. The close interest which they have to-day in the question under consideration will perhaps suffice to justify in your eyes their intervention.

Vaillant is condemned to death. Society has almost reached the end of its rights in the warfare against him, who had turned against it. But we, who one day will be called upon to find more serious solutions than repression pure and simple and the law of retaliation, have to consider matters from a higher standpoint: we see in acts like Vaillant's less crime perhaps than unhappiness; and we dream less of revenge than of remedies that we shall have to find for a state of things, with which no one, no matter who, can declare himself to be satisfied.

This is why we come here, aloof from all party considerations, to beg you to reflect before sending this man to his death. We are not afraid to assume all responsibility for your clemency. Besides, is it not to us especially that the problems which are at present disturbing the world will be put? Will not the duty of rendering justice to the demands of the disinherited formulated thus violently, nay, despairingly, by these outrages, fall upon us?

Is it not to us that this social question, so alarming from the very first, will be put? We shall have the courage necessary to approach it and to solve it. It is for you to act so that the heritage which will be imposed on us may not be too heavy. Do not place in our path more human suffering, more blood."

THE EXECUTION.

Vaillant was guillotined on the morning of February 5. The *Daily Chronicle* of Feb. 6th gave the following account of the last moment:—

At six o'clock, M. Brun, the Governor of La Roquette, entered the cell and placed his hand upon the prisoner's forehead. Vaillant started up, and even before the usual words were uttered, said, "Ah, after all I was wrong. Never mind; if it is for to-day I am courageous enough to accept my fate. I had begun to suppose that my sentence was commuted." These words were uttered with a slight tremor in the voice. While the condemned man was dressing, M. Brun asked him whether he would like to pray with the chaplain. Vaillant replied warmly, "No, no; I was brought up religiously, it is true; but as I have given myself to Anarchy, body and soul, it would be grotesque and artificial if I were to be 'taken pious' at the last." He added the untranslatable words, "*Sans rancune, n'est-ce pas, Monsieur l'Abbé?*" to which the priest, with much emotion, replied, "No, my son; I have no word of bitterness for you at this dreadful moment." With the same calm indifference the condemned man refused a glass of kummel. "I have courage enough," he said, "without that."

During the pinioning process he remonstrated very gently with young Deibler, and remarked that there was no fear for his running away. From this moment it was evident that Vaillant meant to say something. As he crossed the courtyard he appeared to be humming one of those ditties which he used to sing at Anarchist concerts, but when he saw the crowd outside he grew bolder. For a moment he looked as if he were vainly struggling to loosen his bonds, then he shouted in a solemn voice, but without affectation, "*Mort à la société bourgeoise, et vive l'Anarchie!*" No pushing was required to make Vaillant take his place, and the rapidity with which the head was severed from the trunk was almost without precedent. Not a cry was heard, and less than five minutes afterwards the dead-cart, escorted by cavalry, was on its way to Ivry.

The most striking features of the tragedy have been the terrors of the authorities lest the execution should have been marked by some signal act of vengeance on the part of Vaillant's sympathisers; the extraordinary courage of Vaillant, that forced every man to see that he was no "mere criminal"; the unusual quiet of the mob round the place of execution, which at every other time when law has carried out its bloody means of reforming the world has been a scene of horseplay, hooting and all the usual disorder springing from such demoralising spectacles.

COMMENTS.

The *Times*, Feb. 6, gave the following comments on the execution:—

M. Sébastien Faure states: "Never has so respectful and meditative a crowd been seen at La Roquette. People felt that a martyr was about to die. After all it was best, both for him and us, that he was executed. A pardon would certainly not have been the end of reprisals, but it would have been a means of gaining time; whereas the execution is the direct provocation to immediate vengeance. . . . He has been murdered between two opera balls. While the bourgeois dance the Anarchists die."

M. Elisée Reclus, on being interviewed, said: "The execution of Vaillant is a crime on the part of a society which so multiplies its clumsiness that one is tempted no longer to be angry with it, but to feel a humiliating pity. It could not do more to evince its weakness and cowardly terror. So much the worse for it. Moreover, it is high time for the old world to fall to pieces. It has itself authorised reprisals. *Quos vult perdere Jupiter dementat.*"

The *Echo*, Feb. 6, says:—

One of the most foolish things ever done by a great nation was the deliberate execution of Vaillant in Paris yesterday. Had he been handed over to penal servitude for the remainder of his life, he would have been thought little of. Now, in the estimation of many, if not of millions, he has ascended the scaffold to martyrdom. The Correspondent of the *Times* says, "The Abbé Valadier was standing bare-headed on the left as Vaillant passed out, walking with jerky steps on account of the thongs about his legs. He had taken, perhaps, five steps into the open air, when suddenly he stopped short, and, with eyes fixed on the guillotine, with no affectation of tone, he spoke so clearly that the sound of his voice must have travelled far, 'Death to bourgeois society! *Vive l'Anarchie!*' He advanced courageously, very pale, but not flinching."

And now the sound of that voice will be heard in every European city and village. There is a class of men produced by our modern competitive civilisation, which is so advantageous to the few and so crushing to the many, who cultivate a contempt for death. Ravachol and Vaillant belong to this number. They war against society, and society kills them, but in killing them makes martyrs—or martyrs in the opinion of millions; and martyrs manage to find imitators. Vaillant, with eyes fixed on the guillotine, and without flinching, and with no affectation of tone, spoke his last words in clear ringing voice. These words are now reverberating through Europe, which no King or Cabinet, and no combination of Kings and Cabinets can stifle, but which M. Carnot, who had the power of reprieve, might have prevented.

It was a mistake—yea, a blunder—to have executed three men for the shooting, without the intention of killing, a policeman in Manchester. The British public have paid dearly for the blunder since, and will continue to pay in similar coin for years to come. That Manchester execution—of course, vindicated by the British Press at the time—intensified Irish antagonism to England, and that antagonism ripened into Land Leagues, into agrarian outrages, into defiance of British authority, into the imprisonment of more than a thousand Irishmen without trial by judge and jury, into agonising struggles in Parliament and in Ireland, into Land Acts, and into abortive Home Rule Bills.

An English murderer when executed, in nineteen out of twenty cases, walks with pale face, faltering steps, and a crushed soul to the gallows. Not so the French Communist or Anarchist. He expresses no regret, but glories in the deeds he has done. He sings a song or utters a shout of triumph, and would, if he could, kiss the knife that cuts off his head; and there are thousands about who would, if they could, dip their handkerchiefs in his blood. Or, in other words, his ignominious death is surrounded with a halo of martyrdom, when, had he been respited, he would have been forgotten. Now he is pretty sure to have imitators.

The Socialist Movement in Austria.

(From a German correspondent.)

(Continued.)

Still all this did not entirely kill the revolutionary spirit of the Austrian proletariat. They are so exploited and so miserable, and at the same time so totally ignorant of so-called political and constitutional methods, that they require a good deal of humbugging talk to drive them into the sheepfold of the political jugglers and selfseekers. The great riots of Easter 1889, during the strike of the tramcar employees of Vienna, the riots in March, April, May 1890, in Bohemia,

Moravia, Vienna etc. show how small the distance is that separates them from open revolt. They are ignorant of what should be the true aim of their revolt, still the great majority of them are no believers in politics; they know simply that they are always oppressed, and they do not expect any help from anybody else. But their ignorance makes them credulous, and they fall victims to those who are masters in the tricks of flattering the people, praising its sovereign intelligence whilst in reality imposing themselves upon it as a new set of masters, the elected representatives of the sovereign people, etc. Instead of profiting by the political ignorance of the people, to save it from entering the stifling sphere of politics, they exploit this ignorance by extolling the value of political power, especially the suffrage, and of reforms, such as the legal eight hours working day.

We could easily show this by examples. Before May 1, 1890, the bourgeois were simply panicstricken by the large strike riots of March and April; nothing followed: all went on peacefully on May 1; the people crowded in the Prater like Londoners in Hyde Park on May 4, the same year, and since that time, however great the number of people demonstrating on May 1 may be, the bourgeois laugh at them, the government imposes insulting conditions on them, and few care more than they would for the American Labor Day demonstrations or some meeting in Hyde Park or in Trafalgar Square.

Every few months one is used to see something new becoming the point on which the Social Democratic agitation is concentrated; the legal eight-hours' day, the right to sell literature in the streets (not even this right exists in Austria), the suffrage. This year the suffrage agitation has assumed large dimensions because all the other tricks are played out. No one who has not heard for himself can realise the clap-trap character of this and other agitations. For a long time, nobody has cared for Socialist ideas in general; to dwell on them is considered utopian dreaming, and the so-called practical measures are advertised, like quack medicines, with the most reckless want of discrimination. The number of labor papers is considerable; but their contents are almost worthless, and their finances wretchedly hampered by having to provide for many sinecures. The rising generation is demoralised in a particular way: those showing zeal and enthusiasm are given a red ribbon and set to keep order at meetings, with the title of "Ordner." This petty authority turns them, after a time, into nothing better than Social Democratic policemen. It is ridiculous and revolting to see with what zeal, worthy of genuine police agents, they carry out the orders of their older chiefs in the background. Later on they have a career open to them in a hierarchic organisation of committees and councils—all worse than a farce, by the way, and controlled by Mr. Adler and his satellites.

It depends entirely on the skill of the local leaders and the tactics of the local authorities whether this movement takes an entirely peaceful form, as at Vienna, or an occasionally riotous one, as at Bruenn and Prague, where last year considerable disturbances occurred, simply provoked by the police who proclaimed meetings of the same sort as those which were allowed to be held in Vienna and there passed off quietly. There is not a spark of revolutionary feeling in those who take any leading part in the movement; they laugh cynically at the idea of a revolution. After misguiding the people for so many years, they are eager for their reward, a seat in Parliament, and so do not dislike that the people should, just now, assume a threatening attitude to get the suffrage for them. But they are too cowardly to do even what their friends in Belgium did, whom they are more likely to follow in the compromise, in which their "revolutionary" enthusiasm finally ended, and which put so shameful a conclusion to the Belgian general strike movement.

This is the present position of Social Democracy in Austria. Next month we propose to turn from this gloomy picture and consider the beginnings of the Anarchist movement in this country.

(To be continued.)

Proverbs in Coal-Dust.

There are who on four hundred mourn their fate,
And call us pampered at a quarter rate.

Or who, in Clubs from noon to night, report
A miner's hours compared to theirs are short.

There are who sing the People's virtues loud,
But keep at dainty distance from the crowd.

And who, long shocked at our uncultured ways,
Now cry, "How wanton!" if a piano plays.

There are who will their sympathies discover
From maps and Blue-books—when the fight's well over.

There are who boast a scientific tone,
And keep "an open mind," till all is done:

And to an open mind they turn the faster,
Meaning a mind that's open to the master.

There are who in Christ's teaching seem content
To find the grand old gospel of per cent.

And who, detesting war, acclaim with glee
A slaughter for the rights of property.

There are who cry commercial spirit down,
But quake if profits fall by half-a-crown.

There are who, long lamenting money's power,
Turn pale if credit's shaken for an hour.

Like those who, after long for heaven sighing,
Care less about it when it comes to dying.

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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NOTES.

THE BOURDIN AFFAIR.

On Thursday, Feb. 15, a French Anarchist, named Martial Bourdin, met his death by the explosion of a bomb, which for some purpose unknown he was carrying in Greenwich Park. His funeral, on Feb. 23, was the occasion of a disgraceful exhibition of rowdiness on the part of certain medical students, who smashed the windows of the Autonomie Club, and created a disturbance in the street, whilst the crowd from Lisson Grove and the neighborhood hissed and showed some inclination to attack the hearse and mourners. A Fabian Anarchist comments on the scene as follows:—

The aristocracy of Lisson Grove don't like Anarchism. Indeed why should they? Take away their policeman, and life will be robbed of well-nigh its only gleam of interest. Without intermittent visits to Marylebone police court existence in the Grove would be duller even than the dismal houses which line that detestable thoroughfare. No! the patience of Lisson Grove has its limitations, and when a dead Anarchist has the effrontery to rest his unhallowed body—though but temporarily—in a district sacred to second-hand furniture and yellow-haired ladies, it is high time for Lisson Grove to assert itself. And what more tasteful occasion could there possibly arise for a display of virtuous indignation than that afforded by the passage to its last resting-place of the poor, mangled, weary body wherein had lately burned a maddened hate of capitalist oppression? So Lisson Grove has turned out in its thousands to "boo" at the coffin and the handful of mourners accompanying it.

It was immense fun. The mourners looked quite scared when we rushed at them—or at least we imagined they did, which came to much the same thing. Certainly the police were rather stupid. They spoiled one bit of harmless frolic completely; for we meant to take the coffin out of the hearse, and dance on it. This would have made a capital diversion, and would have eased our pent-up feelings greatly, especially if we could have obtained the services of a piano-organ to give a suitable accompaniment, say "The Rowdy Dowdy Boys." The police, however, partly compensated for this loss by providing an excellent game of hide and seek after the cortège. But we should have enjoyed being let into the cemetery. Great opportunities for rollicking were missed there. And, to take a more serious view of it, the graveside would have been such an appropriate place for Lisson Grove to make its dignified protest against Anarchism. There we could really have warmed to the subject and denounced with proper energy the infamous monsters who would, if they had their wicked way, abolish our great commercial system. The prospect of what would ensue, were these wretches to triumph, hardly bears thinking of. What would become of the profits of the worthy tradesman who sells rickety chairs to poor married people? And how would the lady lodgers on the first and second floors be able to continue their patronage of the "Pig and Whistle" if they no longer had the opportunity of selling their bodies, like honest commercial people, in the open market? Savagery would come again, and Lisson Grove be a wilderness! Well, we did succeed in making some kind of protest. And, take it all in all, we don't remember such a jolly demonstration since we cheered H. M. Stanley on his safe return from slaughtering niggers. This time we were able to vary our vocal exercises. Altogether, a pleasant and profitable day.

If indeed the hisses of the crowd were directed against Anarchism, Anarchists are not the first social reformers by many thousands whose earnest efforts to come to the aid of their fellow men have been met by shouts of "Crucify them, Crucify them"; but we are inclined to believe that the bulk of the Lisson Grove people knew and cared nothing about Anarchist principles, and were simply giving vent to the national dislike of "furriners" and "dynamiters." Also, we should not be surprised to find that the presence of a large number of detectives scattered amongst the crowd, and the fact that a street row would not ill serve the purposes of the agitators for a continental police system had something to do with a want of decency in the presence of death rarely shown by the English public.

THE AUTONOMIE CLUB.

The English "Third Section"—for we free-born English now pay out of the taxes for the maintenance of a force of secret political police, who are in future to be at the beck and call of foreign governments as well as our own (see the Home Secretary's reply to Colonel Howard Vincent, Feb. 19)—the English "Third Section" profited by the excitement resulting from the Greenwich explosion to raid the Autonomie Club with impunity. As all London comrades know, the Autonomie was a foreign (principally German and French) Anarchist Club, which in the days of the German Anti-Socialist laws published a German paper and did much propaganda in that country. Its members have always been very generous in lending their hall for English lectures and giving any help they could to the English movement. On Feb. 16th, Inspector Melville and his gang took possession of the Club premises, where they

violently wrenched open doors, overturned furniture, and seized papers of every description, including the private letters of the family living in the house and their Christmas cards. All persons who turned up were kept under arrest until the close of the search. A frequent attendant at the lectures in the Club Hall recently, Mr. Passmore Edwards, proprietor of the *Echo*, says that had he been thus summarily deprived of liberty for no offence he would have had the law of the men who acted in so high-handed a fashion. (*Echo*, Feb. 17.) The Club has now been closed, not on account of the open violence of the police, but of their secret spy system, which has rendered the place useless and dangerous. The last public meeting was held in the Hall on Feb. 18, when Gittens, of the Social Democratic Federation addressed a handful of foreign comrades and some Scotland Yarders in an impromptu speech which is said, by those who heard it, to have been shamefully misquoted in the capitalist press.

WELCOME.

The propaganda in England has this year been strengthened by a third Communist Anarchist paper; *Liberty*, 1d. monthly, published by the Liberty Group, 7, Beadon-road, Hammersmith. The three numbers that have already appeared are excellently got up, and are full of bright, readable matter. The March issue contains, amongst other things, some specially interesting contributions upon the outrage question, as well as the two serials, Reclus' "An Anarchist on Anarchy," reprinted from the *Contemporary Review*, and B. Tucker's translation of "My Uncle Benjamin." Most heartily we wish our comrades the success they merit and seem likely to achieve, for *Liberty* is already widely circulated.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MOWBRAY'S FAREWELL.

To the FREEDOM Group.

Dear Comrades,—May I take the liberty of using the columns of "Freedom" for the purpose of bidding farewell to the various comrades and groups with whom I have worked in the interests of propaganda. I am shortly leaving England for America, at the special request of the American groups who think I may be the means of greatly helping on the movement in that Country; if there are, however, any groups in England or elsewhere who would like me to pay a final visit before going I shall be happy to do so.

Yours for the cause,

C. W. MOWBRAY.

[London comrades will regret Comrade Mowbray's absence, and especially his zealous and useful work in his Trade Union. We wish him all good luck in his new sphere of activity. The *Daily Chronicle* in an interview with Mowbray, published Feb. 17th, erroneously stated that he was a member of the Freedom Group. We called Comrade Mowbray's attention to this misstatement, but the *Daily Chronicle* has not deigned to publish his correction of it.—Ed.]

AN INQUIRER.

To the Editor of FREEDOM.

Dear Editor,—I am very desirous of fully understanding the principles or doctrines of Anarchist Communism. I am a member of the North-East Manchester I.L. Party, but all my sympathies are with the Anarchists. I accept all that the Anarchists teach regarding what ought to be our mode of living; what I cannot fully understand I will try to explain. You say that the end of politics is government, that it cannot possibly be anything else, that government will not dissolve or destroy itself. It certainly will not so long as the people support government; but the question is, can we get any good out of any government until the time comes when the people are prepared to abolish all governments?

Another point that is not clear to me is this, are Socialists trying to get into Parliament so as to help to abolish monopoly and private property, and at the same time to perpetuate government, or to destroy all three; if it is not their intention to destroy all three I don't consider them up to the mark. A correspondent of *Freedom* says a certain Socialist Municipal program is a vile mixture of taxation and compensation. It certainly looks like compromising with the devil. Have we to refuse taking part in such things until we are ready for a Social Revolution? Have we no political freedom? Are we voting for our servants or masters? Why are politics a fraud? If you would take up some of these points and answer them in next issue of *Freedom* I should think it will enlighten such ignorant people as myself.

Manchester.

Yours truly,
A. R.

[Our correspondent has raised several very important points; we shall be glad to receive and publish answers to his questions from any comrades who may have decided views on the subject.—Ed.]

OVER THE WATER.

Germany.

On January 18th, a meeting of the unemployed, convened by the Berlin Anarchists, was broken up by the police with the most outrageous brutality, in spite of the fact that the permit required by Prussian law before a meeting can be held was duly obtained from the authorities. The number of the *Sozialist* announcing the meeting was confiscated without any legal condemnation, though its appeal to the unemployed contained no trace of an incitement to violence. The comrade who wrote the appeal and obtained the permit, Rodian, a metal worker by trade, had his life rendered a burden by police spies, who did all in their power to provoke him. On the day of the meeting he was suddenly arrested. Having expected something of the sort, he had prudently given over the permit to a comrade. This comrade, however, was not allowed by the police to enter the hall. Comrade Lutzen therefore announced from the platform that the meeting could not be held and that the out-o'-works, who had peacefully assembled to hear Dr. Ladislaus Gumplowitz, son of the well-known Professor of Constitutional Law, speak on "The Unemployed Question and how

to deal with it," would do well to quietly disperse, not allowing themselves to be incited to violence by unknown persons in their midst. This, however, by no means suited the police. The whole civic force, a numerous contingent of the "criminal police," and even the military had been called out. 500 policeman were assembled outside the Friedrichshain Brewery, where the meeting hall was; reserves were posted in neighboring pleasure gardens and in omnibuses and cabs behind the Gewalt Institute; squadrons of mounted men stood in the yards of the main police stations; two lieutenants kept guard from a tramcar. Was all this to be for nothing? The meeting was called for 10.30 a.m., but by 9.30, before the hall, holding 2,200, was yet full, all the avenues of approach were closed. At the Königsthor every passer-by had to stop and give an account of himself. Before 10 o'clock the police had begun to draw their swords and stop and insult casual passers in the open street. Spies and detectives jostled one another on the curbstone, and seemed to have had an extra glass already. Treacherous mischief-makers mingled with the workmen, *agents provocateurs*, in artfully contrived tatters, sought from early morning to aggravate and provoke disturbances among the people. I saw, says a writer in the *Sozialist*, how an old woman was struck from behind with a sabre, her pot of milk knocked out of her hand and she herself thrown to the ground. A barber standing unsuspectingly in his shop door was lashed across the face by a police officer's horsewhip. But all this was child's play compared to the violence and brutality of the later hours.

Vorwärts (Social Democratic official organ) remarks how peacefully the poor men, on whose faces hunger and suffering were plainly writ, immediately turned to leave the hall, on receiving Comrade Lutzen's dismissal. In fact, says *Der Sozialist*, they displayed the "usual donkey's patience of the German." But this was not enough for the police, who rushed at the helpless, unarmed crowd with sabre and bludgeon. In a moment, they converted the whole scene into one of indescribable confusion and riot, if that can be called riot where the aggression is entirely on one side. Outside the hall, foot and horse dashed indiscriminately among the distracted, terrified multitude, rushing to escape their persecutors as best they might into shopdoors and passages, or up the staircases of tenement houses. In many houses they were given refuge and bravely defended by the occupiers.

Even the daily press, conservative and liberal, and with scarcely an exception, condemned the savage brutality of the police, in some cases in pretty strong terms. The reporters themselves suffered more or less in their own persons from police violence, which may have served to open their eyes. For the newspapers had been indulging beforehand in a great deal of malicious and inflammatory denunciation of the meeting, and had worked up public opinion to the idea that the Anarchists were intending to bring about a riot like that of 1892, but on a larger scale. The press therefore are themselves largely to blame for the conduct of the authorities, and their railing and scolding after the event was a sight to set the gods laughing.

Der Sozialist has recently undergone a series of persecutions, which have so far utterly failed to crush this excellent Anarchist paper; it still appears regularly and keeps up its high standard of journalistic ability. Feb. 9th, Emil Brandt, as writer of an appeal to the metal workers, October 28 last, and Arthur Ellendt and William Werner, as editor and printer of the paper, were sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Dr. Gumplowitz has been sentenced to 18 months' incarceration for an article "inciting to disrespect of the Government," and for "resisting the police" at the meeting, Jan. 18. Werner has again been condemned to another six weeks by default, he having left Germany for Holland, whence he may repair to America. About a dozen charges against the *Sozialist* still remain to be answered; five articles in the issue for Feb. 3rd were objected to by the censor and the whole number confiscated. And yet *Der Sozialist* is by no means a violent paper in its views or mode of expression.

On Feb. 23, Comrades Pawlowitz, a locksmith, and Petersdorf, a cloth worker, were condemned to 9 and 3 months' imprisonment respectively for "language inciting to violence."

France. IMMEDIATELY after Vaillant's attempt, the French parliament rushed through an exceptional law, dealing, not with explosives, but with freedom of association! This law provides that every association, whatever its duration or the number of its members, and every understanding formed and established for the purpose of preparing or committing crimes against persons or property, constitutes a crime against the public peace, punishable by hard labor or transportation. Whosoever favors or helps such associations is liable to imprisonment. Every member of such an association who gives information to the police shall be pardoned. The object of this law is, of course, not to enable the police to deal with gangs of thieves or murderers, for which they had already all necessary powers, but to give them a means of involving any revolutionary propagandist group in an accusation of criminal conspiracy. Having framed this redoubtable enactment, caused the houses of 2000 Anarchists to be searched on New Year's Day, with next to no result in the way of finding explosives, arrested some of the most energetic Anarchist propagandists and guillotined Vaillant, Feb. 5, the French government believed it had made all secure and might sit down at its ease. But on Feb. 12, an Anarchist, Emile Henry, who had been quietly living in Paris and making explosives all the while, flung a bomb into the Terminus Café and wounded 24 persons, most of them very slightly. He was arrested on the spot, and is committed for trial in March. He states that he is alone the author of the abortive attempt last year against the Carmaux Company's office, which resulted in an explosion at the Rue des Bons Enfants police station, whither the bomb had been conveyed. Several other persons are,

however, in custody on this charge.—Feb. 20, a bomb placed over the door of a room, Rue Saint Jacques, Paris, by an unknown person, giving the fictitious name of "Rabardy," wounded the landlady, Madame Calabresi, who has since died. This poor woman is the only person killed in France by the outrages of the last few months. "Rabardy," who is still at large, directed the police to a house Rue Faubourg St. Martin, where also a bomb was placed over a door, but this was detected and exploded by them at a safe distance, by means of electric wires.—On Feb. 19th and the following days, the police made another futile attempt at discovering the non-existent "Anarchist Plot," by means of domiciliary visits, 150 in Paris and the provinces, and, much as before, were rewarded by the discovery in Paris merely of "letters, newspapers, a revolver, and a firework squib." (*Times*, Feb. 20.) And yet at this very time "Rabardy" must have been placing his bombs, and a quantity of dynamite is said to have been stored in a ditch of which the police were informed only after its removal. Being unable to discover any dynamite conspiracy, the police have attempted to cover their failure by arresting a number of Anarchists and other persons, whom they have not the slightest reason to suppose dynamiters, upon all sorts of trivial pretexts, e.g., André Reclus, one of Elisée's nephews, for calling out "*Vive l'Anarchie*," a Corsican workman for saying he admired Vaillant and so forth. In fact, so many arrests have daily been made under the new law of persons whose only crime is a profession of Anarchist principles that on March 4 no more prison room was left. But, "notwithstanding these summary and elaborate methods, nothing useful has been discovered." (*Daily Chronicle*, March 5) The government has followed up the same petty and vexatious policy by such measures as prohibiting all French flags but the official tricolor and those of "recognised societies," and depriving two students at Nancy College of their scholarships on the ground of their Anarchist views. The people retaliate by a merciless series of hoaxes. Continually the specially constructed Paris bomb-conveyance, with an ex-artilleryman as driver, may be seen solemnly and cautiously making its way through the streets to the municipal laboratory with its load of sardine boxes, old tins and sham infernal machines full of rubbish or some harmless explosive. Sometimes as many as eight in a day. From January 1 to February 26 two hundred and thirty-nine supposed bombs have been found in Paris, of which only five were dangerous.—On Feb. 8, Villisse, a poor old die-sinker, who, driven crazy by misfortune, fired off a pistol, without injuring any one, on Oct. 20, during the Russian fêtes, "as a protest against flinging away the hard-earned money of the toilers," was sentenced to five years penal servitude. The prosecution tried to bring Villisse into the "Anarchist Plot" because Paul Reclus had endeavored to assist him in his distress!—Feb. 10th, M. Breton, nephew of the artist Jules Breton, was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and £40 fine for an article in *Le Parti Socialiste*, predicting the possibility of grave consequences to M. Carnot if Vaillant were not pardoned.—On Feb. 23, Leauthier, a shoemaker, aged 20, was condemned to hard labor for life, for wounding M. Georgevitch, the Servian Minister in France, at a Paris restaurant, on the 13 Nov. last. From the age of 16 Leauthier had interested himself warmly in the social question and adopted Anarchist principles. He was a good workman and well spoken of by those who knew him. During the last few months his character was observed to change, he showed signs of a disturbed mind, become morose, and in November wrote to Faure that he felt he must attack a bourgeois. M. Georgevitch was entirely unknown to him. It appears probable that continual brooding on the wrong and suffering around him preyed upon his mind. M. Lagasse, the counsel for the defence, told the jury that, had Leauthier not happened to be an Anarchist, and his victim the Servian Minister, the prosecution would have asked for a few years' imprisonment instead of for death.—Feb. 24th, our esteemed Comrade, Jean Grave, was condemned to two years' imprisonment and £40 fine, as the author of that excellent book, "*Moribund Society and Anarchism*," which has now been a year before the French public. It was reviewed in *Freedom* for July last; an English translation will, we trust, be shortly published. The prosecution endeavored to make out a case of incitement to murder, arson, mutiny in the army, etc., by the arbitrary selection of passages, most of which, read with their context, bore a different significance. The highest testimony to the stainless character and literary ability of Grave was borne by a number of old friends and distinguished writers, amongst whom were Elisée Reclus, Octave Mirbeau (who wrote a preface to Grave's book), Paul Adam, and Bernard Lazare. His counsel, Maître St. Aubin, eloquently demonstrated that the views of Grave were shared by some of the greatest of writers, quoting parallel passages from Diderot, Victor Hugo, Heine, and Renan. Grave was a shoemaker before he devoted himself to literary work. For years he has been an invaluable member of the staff of *La Révolte*, and lately endured some months' imprisonment for an article exposing the horrors of the Fourmies massacre. He bore himself in court with the calm dignity so characteristic of his steadfast and sincere nature. A full and almost sympathetic account of the trial may be found in the *Times* (Feb. 26), whose correspondent was evidently much impressed. Altogether, the French government have made remarkably little by their anti-Anarchist campaign. They have successfully demonstrated to the world that the perpetrators of outrages are an infinitesimally small proportion of the Anarchist party in France, and that they are a few individuals acting independently of the bulk of that party. On the other hand, they have brought to light the existence of a wide-spread and serious Anarchist agitation, a propagandist party with ramifications throughout the whole country, and counting amongst its adherents and sympathisers men of a moral earnestness and mental calibre altogether and most disagreeably surprising to the authorities. In fact, the result of official persecution has been merely to stimulate and advertise the ideas it was

designed to stamp out, and to make clear to the thinking portion of the European public that Anarchism is one thing and the commission of outrages another.—The government are now trying to retrieve their mistake by copying still more closely their Russian ally. They propose that Anarchist trials shall be held secretly in future, and no newspaper accounts of them allowed.

Switzerland. At the close of last year, the Swiss Republic passed a law awarding penalties of from ten years to life-long imprisonment to any persons using explosives unlawfully, and imprisonment not exceeding fifteen years to any who should assist or meddle with such. To this—from the governmental point of view—excusable enactment, the Swiss Democracy added a law condemning to hard labor any one who may, covertly or openly, incite to or afford opportunity for criminal actions which may injure human life, and, if this be done by means of the printing press or similar means, then all who have knowingly contributed to the multiplication or dissemination of such matter may be imprisoned or heavily fined. Subtle manipulation by a reactionary lawyer can squeeze any sort of revolutionary propaganda under this heading, and the government need nothing further to enable them to get any revolutionist into their clutches. Consequently freedom of speech is at an end in Switzerland and less than ever is it a refuge for political exiles.—Jan. 19, five workmen were arrested at Chandle Fond, Canton Neuchâtel, and subsequently condemned to several months' imprisonment and a fine of £40 or 200 days in prison, for distributing a leaflet called "The war of the poor against the rich."—January 28th, a meeting of sympathy with the Sicilian peasants, organised by the Zürich Revolutionary and Anarchist Socialists, took place at the "Sonne" Hall, in Aussersihl-Zürich. Several speeches on the deplorable state of the Sicilian peasants were made and messages of sympathy formulated by speakers of various nationalities and languages. A collection was then made on behalf of those unfortunate people, after which some 200 persons formed a procession and marched in an orderly manner through the streets, carrying a board with the inscription "*Lutto per i fratelli siciliani*" and a red flag covered with black. Opposite the house of the Italian Consulate the procession stopped, while a young man, acting on his own initiative, affixed the board and flag to the wall, over the entrance of the building. After this the demonstrators were going to quietly disperse, when suddenly a number of police with drawn swords rushed upon them, brutally hitting out right and left, wounding many, and making several arrests. The local bourgeois roughs were also allowed freely to assault the Anarchists and Socialists. Feb. 12, the Federal Council pronounced a decree of expulsion against 13 persons, obnoxious to the German and Italian governments, for having participated in organising and speaking at the meeting in the "Sonne" Hall. So much for liberty in the most Democratic Republic in Europe!—In an article on the Zürich Anarchists, *Der Sozialist* for Feb. 3 says that, in spite of the excessive conservatism and jingo patriotism of the Swiss, many members of the locksmiths', carpenters' and tailors' associations in Zürich are Anarchists, and that well attended and very promising Anarchist meetings have been held there. Some of our Swiss comrades are seceders from the Social Democrats, whose subservient constitutionalism surpasses that even of their German allies.

Italy. On Jan. 31st, F. S. Merlino, a comrade esteemed and beloved in many lands, was arrested at Naples, on his way to Sicily. The government had offered £20 for his capture, and he was betrayed by a pretended Anarchist. The chief of police has been congratulated by Signor Crispi, and each of the eight detectives employed has received 25s. Italian papers report that so much importance is attached to the prisoner's safe custody that the governor of the prison himself brings his meals. Merlino is the son of a late Neapolitan judge and himself holds the university degree of Doctor of Law. From his youth up he has been an earnest student of the social question, and has counted all suffering to himself as gain if thereby he might save the wretched and oppressed. In the terrible cholera outbreak of 1884, when most of the wealthy classes fled the city, he was one of those who devoted themselves day and night to the care of the sick, and was afterwards offered a government decoration, which he refused. In March 1885, he was arrested, with other comrades, for writing upon walls revolutionary notices referring to the Commune of Paris. The same year, they were tried at Rome and Merlino was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, as being a member of the International Workingmen's Association, which the Italian law considers as conspiracy. The prisoners appealed and Merlino escaped (the authorities making no effort to detain him) to England, thereby rendering himself liable to four instead of two years in prison, should he be recaptured. One more year of exile now would have made him a free man and enabled him to return home. During his absence from Italy he has constantly contributed articles to English and foreign papers and magazines of advanced tendency, besides writing two books, "Monopoly and Socialism," in Italian, and "Italy as it is," in French, and several pamphlets. Merlino is one of the many Anarchists opposed to promiscuous bomb throwing, and before his departure from London several times gave energetic utterance to this opinion on the platform. We are glad to hear from a post-card to an English friend, dated Naples prison, Feb. 12, that our comrade is well.

The condition of the Italian people is most piteous. The constitutional parliamentary government of a united Italy, which in the days of Austrian and Papal oppression represented the idea of liberty, has turned out an engine of monstrous tyranny. It supports a huge army and navy, costing 19 millions p.a. and a vast and wasteful bureaucracy, by means of taxation, which grinds down the people to the verge of actual starvation. In the Province of Cosenza the bad taxes on peasant farmers amount to 60 p.c. of the produce! Even in Pied-

mont and Lombardy they reach 15 to 25 p.c. Then there are building taxes on rental value, taxes on domestic animals, on hired labor, on families, from 4/2 to 15/10 per head, besides the tremendously heavy duties on provisions brought into towns. The government now propose a number of fresh taxes, for they are on the verge of bankruptcy; amongst these is an increased tax on wheat and a heavy increase in the price of salt, which is a government monopoly, manufactured by convict labor. This salt tax is specially cruel, as the want of salt in the maize bread, which is the main food of many of the poor, causes most terrible diseases. "The real rulers of Italy," says Professor Ferrero, of Bologna—from an interview with whom, published in the *Daily Chronicle*, Feb. 19, we quote some of the above facts—"are those who go to the Chamber to prey on her, the bourgeois." Every man who can read and write has a vote, but this test excludes in Sicily 80 p.c. of the adult male population. Elections are managed in each district by the biggest landlord or contractor, and the people vote as he tells them. Government bribes these Grand Electors by remitting their taxes, putting good jobs in their way, etc. The government, says Professor Ferrero, is against the people wherever they turn. As for laws, they are so much waste-paper. Yet Crispi complains that the Sicilians and others do not look to the government for protection and ascribes this to foreign agitators! Many interesting facts about the sufferings of this unhappy nation will be found in "The Italy of today," *Fortnightly Review* for February.

Naturally the whole country is seething with discontent. The five Socialist M.P.s have contented themselves with protests against taxation and mild proposals for reform, but now two of them, de Felice and Casilli, are arrested for association with malefactors and incitement to class hatred. The whole population and even the army is impregnated with revolutionary feeling and more or less Socialistic beliefs. It is their crushed, starved condition which deprives them of the energy to revolt. The attempts recently made in Sicily and at Massa Carrara have been only too easily suppressed, and the government is now wreaking vengeance on the rebels. Martial law is proclaimed in both places and the Workmen's Groups forcibly broken up. During January 2000 arrests were made in Italy.

Jan. 31, Luigi Molinari, aged 27, advocate and editor of the Anarchist paper *La Favilla* at Mantua, was tried by court-martial at Massa, for having incited the Carrara marble quarry men to revolt, by means of a lecture delivered, on the mountain side, on Christmas Day, in which lecture he denounced religion, law the family, property, etc. It was also alleged against him that he had published an Almanach, in which, together with the usual information, there were revolutionary verses, etc. Almanachs are a successful means of propaganda used by our Italian comrades. Furthermore, the Carrara Inspector of Public Safety (a sort of police officer) said that he had arranged to get a sight of all telegrams to Molinari, and there was one from Carrara, "We shall meet in the spring," which implied that an insurrection was being planned. Molinari, in his defence, said this referred simply to a propagandist meeting. His lecture was delivered at the request of the Carrara comrades, to whom he was personally a stranger, and was an explanation of the theory of Anarchism, in no way connected with any plans for an insurrection. He had taken for his subject Victor Hugo's contention in "The Toilers of the Sea". Two things are evil, religion that leads men to superstition and law that hinders natural evolution. His view of the family was that it should be based upon and held together by love alone. As to property, he said what had long been publicly preached by all Socialists, i.e., that it was robbery and tended to the division of classes, whereas we desire one class of men only. Molinari was sentenced to 23 years of prison, 3 to be passed in solitary confinement.

On Feb. 5th, seven of the Carrara rioters received sentences of from 8 to 2 years' imprisonment with 6 to 4 months of solitary confinement. Feb. 18th, Carlo Gattini was sentenced to 25 and Pietro Gattini to 12 years' solitary confinement, and 5 others to from 5 years' to 3 months' imprisonment with occasional solitary confinement.

Austria. The number of unemployed here is estimated at 350,000, including 100,000 in Vienna. Naturally they have been trying to call the attention of society to their misery, and to protest against the institutions of which it is a result. A meeting of about 3,000 persons was held in Vienna, on Feb. 7th, when a workman dared to complain of the hardship of only young men being employed by capitalists; at some factories they would take no one over 40. Whereupon the police roughly dissolved the meeting. On Feb. 12, about 2,000 unemployed attempted to march in procession to the town hall, but were violently attacked by the police, who wounded a number of persons. Another peaceful demonstration, on Feb. 15, was treated in like manner, and 50 persons arrested. The Social Democrats are endeavoring to divert the agitation into one for universal suffrage. With their meetings the police apparently do not interfere.—Feb. 19-23, fourteen Anarchists, who have been in prison since September and came into court half-starved, were tried before a jury, but with closed doors, for high treason, incitement to civil war and offences against the explosives acts. The latter accusation seems to have rested on the discovery of very elementary experiments at bomb making on the part of Hahnel, a carpenter, who said that his object was to see if he could prepare defensive weapons for the workers against the soldiers in the coming revolution. He was condemned to 8 years' rigorous imprisonment. Frantz Haspel, a carpenter too, was also accused of being in possession of explosives. He declared that the police had put in his lodgings the explosives which they "discovered" there. As to the other charges, "the two principal culprits," says the *Times* correspondent, "confessed that they desired to bring about the downfall of the existing order of society through the distribution of such prints," i.e., propagandist handbills, "and had purchased a small hand machine to accomplish their ends." They also distributed a manifesto, said to have been printed in London, and met to discuss social questions. For these crimes Haspel was condemned to 10 years' and six others to from 2 to 4 years' rigorous imprisonment; six were acquitted, of whom three had turned informers, as did also two Socialists, named Will and Meder, who are serving a five years' sentence for incendiarism.

Stransky, editor of *Volné Listy*, and two other Anarchists were arrested early in February on the charges of high treason, being in communication with comrades in Holland and Germany and circulating seditious pamphlets.

The Omladina (Society of Youth) was originally a literary association of Serbian students at Presburg University, founded just before 1848. By 1866 it had grown into an association for promoting the unity of the Serbian nation and had a central committee at Neusatz and branches in Hungary and Servia. In 1867 it decided, contrary to Hungarian law, to admit foreigners, whereupon it was proscribed by the Serbian and Austrian governments and became perforce a secret society. Nevertheless, it rapidly increased, and in spite of its severe repression after the assassination of the Serbian tyrant, Prince Michail, 1868, rose

at the time of the Herzegovina insurrection and Servian-Turkish war, 1875, into the strongest political influence in the nation, being supported by the Prime Minister, M. Ristich. In 1880, however, it was weakened in Serbia by Austrian influence.

It appears to have renewed its activity in Austria in 1890, with national federation and equal rights for all classes as its program. Its organisation is said to have been copied from the Mazzinian Carbonari: groups of 5, a "thumb and 4 fingers," the "thumbs" being all known to and directed by the President and Central Council, whilst the members of the different groups knew nothing of one another. In 1893, the society was betrayed by a spy, one Mrva, who was slain by two of his comrades on the discovery of his treachery. 78 members of the society, of whom only 11 were aged more than 20, were tried at Prague, January 15—February 21, by 6 judges, with no jury and closed doors, for high treason, belonging to a secret society and disturbing public order. Ziogloser got 8 years, three others 5 years, Wenzel and Cizek, secretary to the committee of the Young Czech Party in the Bohemian Diet, 6 years, and all the rest but two from 3 years' to 14 days' imprisonment, many with hard labor, fast days and other minor tortures. The *Pall Mall Gazette* laments that the birch rod was not added. Two Anarchists, one of whom was tried over again with Haspel, are said to be amongst the condemned.

THE CONQUEST OF BREAD.

By PETER KROPOTKINE.

CHAPTER V.—FOOD.

III.

THE most prominent characteristic of capitalism is the wage system, which in brief amounts to this:

A man, or a group of men, possessing the necessary capital, starts some industrial enterprise; he undertakes to supply the factory or workshops with raw material, to organise production, to pay the employees a fixed wage, and lastly to pocket the surplus-value or profits, under pretext of recouping himself for managing the concern, for running the risks it may involve, and for the fluctuations of price in the market value of the wares.

To preserve this system, those who now monopolise capital would be ready to make certain concessions: to share, for example, a part of the profits with the workers, or rather to establish a "sliding scale," which would oblige them to raise wages when prices were high; in brief, they would consent to certain sacrifices on condition that they were still allowed to direct industry and to take its first fruits.

Collectivism, as we know, does not abolish wages, though it introduces considerable modifications into the existing order of things. It only substitutes the State, that is to say, Representative Government, National or Local, for the individual employer of labor. Under collectivism, it is the representatives of the nation, or of the district, and their deputies and officials, who are to have the control of industry. It is they who reserve to themselves the right of employing the surplus of production—in the interests of all. Moreover, Collectivism draws a very subtle but very far-reaching distinction between the work of the laborer and of the man who has learned a craft. Unskilled labor in the eyes of the Collectivist is *simple* labor, while the work of the craftsman, the mechanic, the engineer, the man of science etc. is what Marx calls *complex* labor, and is entitled to a higher wage. But laborers and craftsmen, weavers and men of science, are all wage-servants of the State—"all officials," as has been said lately, to gild the pill.

The coming Revolution can render no greater service to humanity than to make the wage system, in all its forms, an impossibility, and to render Communism, which is the negation of wage-slavery, the only possible solution.

For even admitting that the Collectivist modification of the present system is possible, if introduced gradually during a period of prosperity and peace—though for my part I question its practicability even under such conditions—it would become impossible in a period of Revolution, when the need of feeding hungry millions springs up with the first call to arms. A political revolution can be accomplished without shaking the foundations of industry, but a revolution where the people lay hands upon property will inevitably paralyse exchange and production. Millions of public money would not suffice for wages to the millions of out-o'-works.

This point cannot be too much insisted upon: the reorganisation of industry on a new basis (and we shall presently show how tremendous this problem is) cannot be accomplished in a few days, nor, on the other hand, will the people submit to be half-starved for years in order to oblige the theorists who uphold the wage-system. To tide over the period of stress, they will demand what they have always demanded in such cases—communisation of supplies—the giving of rations.

It will be in vain to preach patience. The people will be patient no longer, and if food is not put in common they will plunder the bakeries.

If the people are not strong enough to carry all before them, they will be shot down to give Collectivism a fair field for experiment. To this end "*order*" must be maintained at any price—order, discipline, obedience! And as the capitalists will soon realise that when the people are shot down by those who call themselves Revolutionists the Revolution itself will become hateful in the eyes of the masses, they will certainly lend their support to the champions of *order*—even though they are Collectivists. In such a line of conduct, the capitalists will see a means of hereafter crushing the Collectivists in their turn. If "*order* is established" in this fashion, the consequences are easy to foresee. Not content with shooting down the "marauders," the faction of "*order*" will search out the "ringleaders of the mob." They will set

up again the law courts and reinstate the hangman. The most ardent Revolutionists will be sent to the scaffold. It will be 1793 over again.

Do not let us forget how reaction triumphed in the last century. First the "Hébertists," "the madmen," were guillotined—those whom Mignet, with the memory of the struggle fresh upon him, still called "Anarchists." The Dantonists soon followed them; and when the party of Robespierre had guillotined these Revolutionaries, they in their turn had to mount the scaffold; whereupon the people, sick of bloodshed, and seeing the Revolution lost, threw up the sponge, and let the reactionaries do their worst.

If "*order* is restored," we say, the Social Democrats will hang the Anarchists; the Fabians will hang the Social Democrats, and will in their turn be hanged by the reactionaries, and the Revolution will have to be begun all over again.

But everything confirms us in the belief that the energy of the people will carry them far enough, and that, when the Revolution takes place, the idea of Anarchist Communism will have gained ground. It is not an artificial idea. The people themselves have breathed it in our ear, and the number of Communists is ever increasing as the impossibility of any other solution becomes more and more evident.

And if the impetus of the people is strong enough affairs will take a very different turn. Instead of plundering the bakers' shops one day and starving the next, the people of the insurgent cities will take possession of the warehouses, the cattle markets, in fact of all the provision stores and of all the food to be had. The well-intentioned citizens, men and women both, will form themselves into bands of volunteers, and address themselves to the task of making a rough general inventory of the contents of each shop and warehouse. In twenty-four hours the revolted town or district will know what Paris has not found out yet, in spite of the statistical commission, and what it never did find out during the siege—the quantity of provisions it contains. In forty-eight hours, millions of copies will be printed of the tables giving a sufficiently exact account of the available food, the places where it is stored, and the means of distribution.

In every block of houses, in every street, in every town ward, bands of volunteers will have been organised. These commissariat volunteers will work in unison and keep in touch with each other. If only the Jacobin bayonets do not get in the way; if only the self-styled "scientific" theorists do not thrust themselves in to darken counsel! Or rather let them expound their muddle-headed theories as much as they like, provided they have no authority, no power! And that admirable spirit of organisation inherent in the people, above all in every social grade of the French nation,* but which they have so seldom been allowed to exercise, will initiate, even in so huge a city as Paris, and in the midst of a Revolution, an immense guild of free workers, ready to furnish to each and all the necessary food.

Give the people a free hand, and in ten days the food service will be conducted with admirable regularity. Only those who have never seen the people hard at work, only those who have passed their lives buried among documents, can doubt it. Speak of the organising genius of the "Great Misunderstood," the people, to those who have seen it in Paris in the days of the barricades, or in London during the last great strike, when half-a-million of starving folk had to be fed, and they will tell you how superior it is to the official ineptness of Bumbledom.

And even supposing we had to endure a certain amount of discomfort and confusion for a fortnight or a month; surely that would not matter very much. For the mass of the people it could not but be an improvement on their former condition, and, besides, in times of Revolution one can dine contentedly enough on a bit of bread and cheese, while eagerly discussing events.

In any case, a system which springs up spontaneously, under stress of immediate need, will be infinitely preferable to anything invented between four walls, by hide-bound theorists sitting on any number of committees.

* Kropotkine is here supposing the Revolution to break out first in France.

JUST OUT:

Anarchy at the Bar: A SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE OLD BAILEY BY DAVID NICOLL IN ANSWER TO A CHARGE OF INCITING TO MURDER, MAY 5TH, 1892.

The Walsall Anarchists; OR, INNOCENT MEN IN PENAL SERVITUDE. THE TRUTH ABOUT THE WALSALL PLOT.

Both, post free 3d., from David Nicoll, 36, Industry-street, Wakley, Sheffield.

Walsall Anarchists Pamphlet Publication Fund subscriptions to be sent to Robert Bingham, 63, Blonk-street, Sheffield.

THE VOLUNTARY STATE & VOLUNTARY TAXATION. THE FREE LIFE, 1d., monthly; edited by Auberon Herbert; says: "Use moral force instead of brute force; abandon the mad struggle for power; cultivate voluntarism in all things; maintain the absolute ownership of each over his own faculties and his own property." Order from Marlborough, 51, Old Bailey, E.C.; or Auberon Herbert, Ringwood. Voluntarist papers sent gratis by A. H. [ADV.]

THE PROPAGANDA. REPORTS.

LONDON—

During the past 7 weeks, comparatively few meetings have been held in the open air owing to the weather, but meetings have been held irregularly in Victoria, Regent and Hyde Parks, and other places. Most of the propaganda has been confined to indoor lectures at various Trade Union Centres, S.D.F. branches and N.S.S. branches. Comrades have also been attending lectures on social questions, taking part in the discussions. The lectures at the Autonomie Club have been a decided success during the month of February. Having had a great many lectures by comrades we next invited lectures from some of those who differ from us. Feb. 7th, Morrison Davidson lectured on "Anarchist Communism" to a crowded audience. After giving an excellent and instructive historical account of Ancient Rome and Greece he concluded by declaring that Jesus Christ was the first Anarchist Communist, and that he (Davidson) was a Christian Anarchist Communist. He gave it as his opinion that Anarchist Communism can be brought about by love alone, and that violence would positively play no part in the coming change; that we must pass through Collectivism, the reasons for this conclusion being that the three forms of development, already passed through, have been, Chattel Slavery, Serfdom and Wage Slavery. The next step therefore must be Collectivism, and the only means left open to us now was to vote, and a few Anarchists in Parliament would do an immense amount of good. In summing up the lecturer said: "Anarchism is fundamentally correct, it is the grandest and noblest of ideals, and for its realisation all mankind should strive." A very interesting discussion followed in which our friend Davidson got a severe heckling. He was asked whether the man that voted was inspired by love, or whether voting was not rather debasing, and killed all the finer qualities in man and destroyed all his initiative. In which last opinion he agreed. Among the audience was Mr. Passmore Edwards, proprietor of the *Echo*. Feb. 14th, Herbert Burrows came down to show us how foolish we were, by lecturing on "The Foolishness of Anarchism." The main reason for considering that Anarchism was foolish was that your Anarchy destroys your Communism and *vice versa*, and that we must have government, and centralisation in such industries as the post office and railways. He then dealt with some points which were raised by H. B. Samuels on the economic rent question. The discussion was the most interesting part of the evening. Macdonald completely paralysed the lecturer by getting him to admit that he (Burrows) was an Anarchist in ethics and a Communist in economics, and also that revolt was not government. Then Macdonald pointed out that ethics and economics cannot be separated, and therein lies the strength of the position of Anarchist Communism. One cannot exist without the other, just as force and matter are different, yet you cannot have one without the other. Burrows was certainly left without a leg to stand upon. After having listened to Burrows attentively I concluded that he was nothing but a hairsplitter. His conception of government is our conception of free association, his conception of force in society is that of moral force, he claims that the majority have no right to rule the minority and *vice versa*. He admits also that "government is morally wrong," an Anarchist in ethics, a Communist in economics; economics and ethics being indivisible Burrows is therefore practically an Anarchist Communist, yet he says one destroys the other, and calls himself a Social Democrat, why "he don't know where he are." On this occasion the hall was packed. Since the above lecture a controversy has been going on between Herbert Burrows, H. B. Samuels, and Fauset Macdonald in the *Morning Leader*. The Anarchists here have certainly scored a point.—J. P.

Peckham and Camberwell.—On Sunday Jan. 28th, Com. Samuels debated with Mr. Woodmansee, a local vestryman, on "Reform or Revolution," at the North Camberwell Radical Club. The subject was ably handled by Samuels. At the request of the audience the debate was adjourned to Feb. 11th, when both disputants spoke for a quarter of an hour, and the rest of the time was taken up by the audience—Comrades Forrester, Reuter, Levings, Gutzkow and others taking part in the discussion.—W. H.

Our propaganda has extended all over South London during the past two months. At Brixton a few comrades have formed themselves into a group, which shows good signs of success. We have restarted the propaganda at Deptford Broadway on Sunday evenings and, in spite of the inclement weather, have a fair sale of literature. Sunday morning Feb. 4th, Com. Banham delivered an address on "Anarchism," at the Deptford Liberal & Radical Club; sympathetic audience and good discussion. In the evening, on the Broadway, we held a very good meeting, Comrades Cantwell Banham and Carter speaking to a large crowd. Feb. 11th, W. G. Pearson lectured at the North Camberwell S.D.F. on "Anarchism v. Social Democracy," and told the audience at the outset that his main reason for lecturing on such a subject was because the younger members of the S.D.F. were leaving that body to join the Anarchists. Comrades Knight and Banham opposed, smashing up such weak arguments as, "What would you do with madmen under Anarchy." It is a remarkable fact that at S.D.F. meetings in South London, after the lecturers have been rambling for about 2 hours, the chairman suddenly finds out that it is very late, so that only 5 or 3 minutes are allowed for discussion. An Anarchist group is in formation at Deptford. Any comrades willing to help please communicate with S. Carter, 14, Fairthorne-road, Charlton, S. E.

PROVINCES—

Edinburgh.—To many Scotsmen the name Edinburgh is synonymous with pride and poverty, and it is far from being undeserved. Most folk here seem to take pride in the very things that would make most honest men blush, and there seems to be a remarkable poverty of any earnest desire on the part of many to take any steps to bring about a better state of things. But, even in such uncongenial soil, the seeds of our gospel have taken root.—January 1st, a Conference of Scotch Anarchists was held in Moulders Hall; over 30 delegates attended, and discussed the various aspects of our movement. January 24, Com. Westwater read a paper on "Anarchy" to St. Stephens Literary Society, which provoked a splendid discussion in which Westwater and Campbell took part. After the meeting was over a dozen of the members got round Westwater and myself eagerly asking us all sorts of questions concerning Anarchist Communism which, in itself, was proof that the lecture had made an impression. Feb. 5th, Professor Robertson Watson from Glasgow, lectured for the Fabians in St. John's Hall, on "A Neglected Item in the Labor Program, i.e., Municipal Doctors." In the discussion that followed, Com. John Smith taking part, the Professor was shown that it was not doctors that were wanted so much as food and fresh air. The Professor, let us hope, went back to Glasgow a wiser, if not a better, man; his physic would not go down even with the Fabians. Feb. 9th, Com. D. J. Nicoll lectured on "Anarchists and Anarchy" in Free Iron Hall, to a fair audience for Edinburgh. At the finish there were plenty of questions, and a good discussion. 2s. 6d. collection and 3s. 6d. worth of literature sold, which shows that some folk are beginning to take an interest in the question. On the whole we have good prospects of being able to do good work for the Cause this summer in Edinburgh. Comrades and sympathisers meet in the small room at the back of Moulders Hall High-street, every Sunday evening at 6.30.—H.C.

Glasgow.—On Sunday 11th February, D. J. Nicoll lectured for us in the Wellington Palace at 5.30 on "Law and Order," and at 6.30 on "The Coming Revolution." Considering the day, which was certainly one of the stormiest we have had for some time, we had very fair audiences. Nicoll answered all the questions very satisfactorily, but the discussions were not very profitable, as they developed into a religious controversy. On Monday night we had a very successful meeting in Bridgeton Cross Hall, a local parson putting in an appearance. Much merriment was caused by three detectives dropping in one after the other, the last receiving a splendid ironical ovation. The questions were not very important, and were easily disposed of by Nicoll. In connection with these meetings we must tender our hearty thanks to Com. Colton and other members of the S.D.F. for the handsome assistance they rendered us. We shall not forget it, and whenever we can, in conformity with our principles, assist them we shall be only too happy to do so.—The Labor Party in Glasgow have adopted new tactics in dealing with Anarchists. Formerly we were in the habit of taking part in the discussion at their meetings, and also selling our literature at the entrance to the Hall, and in fact the friendliest feeling existed between us and them. But now this has all changed. Being under the impression that we are making three miles for their one, and that we are capturing their adherents only too quickly, they have resolved to suppress us. The fiat has gone forth that no longer shall we be permitted to sell our literature at the hall entrance, and they intend the prohibition shall be carried out, even if they require to call in the might and majesty of "law and order." They have also decided to prohibit all discussion at their meetings, only questions being allowed. However, they have only succeeded in doing more damage to themselves than to us by their narrow-minded bigotry. This rupture is not of our seeking, although we were all aware that, sooner or later, it would have to come. The Labor Party has thrown down the gauntlet, we will not be slow in lifting it. They have resolved to fight us, well, so let it be. We will lose no opportunity of exposing the fraud, the trickery, the wirepulling and deception which is inherent in the Labor Party just as much as in any other political party.—We are still pegging away at our outdoor propaganda, gaining additions to our members almost every week. So far as Glasgow is concerned the outlook, considering how recently we have been properly organised, could not be better. We have also been "interviewed" by a reporter of a local paper *The Citizen*. They have devoted about a column to an exposition of our principles, and a very fair exposition it is. On fine Saturday afternoons we visit the surrounding villages, when our younger comrades make their first shy, so that when the good weather comes we will have quite a host of speakers.—J. B. S.

Portsmouth.—We have not sent up a report for some time, but we have been steadily progressing. A comrade had a curious experience last Sunday. Celestine Edwards of the C.E.S. was lecturing on the "Brotherhood of Man." At question time Com. Feinstein accused the chairman—a master tailor—of being a sweater. Being invited to the platform he detailed the charge: cutting down his wages to starvation level, and on his refusing to work for such wages telling him he could get plenty of men glad to do so. In reply this apostle of Brotherhood said there was a Court where such differences could be adjusted, and that in his position as chairman the accused had no opportunity to reply! In answer to a question about the unemployed Mr. Edwards said that their condition was their own fault, and that they ought to have a "brotherly feeling" towards the rich.—B. F.

Brighton.—The Cause has been rapidly advancing, and our local speaker Reed has been very active. Besides other meetings we had a large meeting Jan. 21st, subject: "What is Anarchism?" Jan. 28th we were much surprised to hear a gentleman speaking on the Front to a large audience who said that he was not an Anarchist, but that he knew some Anarchists, and that they are clever, honest good-hearted, and that all of them were students of history to whom the people ought to listen. Com. Reed then addressed the meeting, and a well-known preacher wanted to make a row, but the audience kept him quiet. Feb. 4th, Reed spoke in the Secularists' room, and in the evening four comrades delivered short addresses; a discussion followed.—J. H.

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

NOTICES.

LONDON—

Peckham and Camberwell.—Open-air propaganda will be resumed Thursday, March 1, when it is hoped all comrades will turn up regularly and help. Meetings will be held every Thursday, 8 p.m., at corner of Peckham Park-road (opposite the Gas Works), Old Kent-road.

COMMUNE CELEBRATION.

A PUBLIC MEETING

WILL BE HELD BY

LONDON ANARCHIST COMMUNISTS

On Monday, March 19th, at 8 p.m.

at the Club and Institute Union, Clerkenwell Road, W.C.,

To celebrate the twenty-third Anniversary of the Paris Commune.

Speakers:

J. Turner, Fauset Macdonald, H. B. Samuels, C. Mowbray, P. Kropotkine, J. Tochatti, Louise Michel, Agnes Henry, S. Yanovsky.

* * Notes on Spain, Greece and the United States, also conclusion of report of Chicago Conference, second article on Marxism, Newcastle and some London reports, two letters, several poems and other matter held over for want of space.

Received: "FREEDOM" PUBLICATION FUND—H. G., 10s.; H., 3s.; Brighton Group, 3s.; H. C., 5s. Kropotkine's Lecture: Printing and hire of Hall, £1 14s.; from sale of tickets (up to date), £6 8s.

Special Notice.

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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