

Freedom

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MONTHLY ; ONE PENNY.

IS IT PRACTICAL?

WE are often asked, and we have been asked again in our last issue by a member of the Independent Labor party, why should we not use Parliamentary legislation for promoting our ideas, or, at least, for attaining through legislative channels some of the reforms which might at once improve the conditions of the laboring classes, and thus prepare them for the ulterior acceptance of higher ideas. We have, over and over again, answered these questions; but perhaps we must repeat our answer once more.

We see that the civilised societies of our own time are deeply moved, worried, pursued by the feeling that some new departure in our social organisation has become an absolute necessity. Like the hero of Tourguéneff's novel, the nihilist Bazaroff, the civilised man is asking himself: "Where is the institution in our present life which does not deserve an absolute, a pitiless negation?" And, after pondering again and again over the terrible question, he finds none, not one institution which he would like to maintain in its present form, not one which does not carry within it the most terrible contradictions and evils. He feels that in every political, judicial, economical, and social institution, *all* must be changed, because the very bases of these institutions, the very bases of our present societies, require a total, pitiless and fearless revision.

Is it, then, representative government that we must maintain amidst that general crumbling down of our institutions? We know, because we see it from the very facts of our daily life, that representative government has had its day; and that the very idea of the State, of requiring a central power, has had its day as well. That the State must give way to a free association of free human beings for freely chosen purposes; and that representative government must disappear before the new forms of human grouping which must be worked out as soon as the beginnings of a new, free and equalising economical organisation make their appearance.

We have no taste for trying to electrify a corpse which is already beginning to putrify; and we strive, we endeavor to work out—at least in our narrow circles and in our conceptions—the new forms of the free organisation of free units for all the purposes they may strive to attain by their common efforts.

We cast a glance upon history as a whole, and we see that always, during each historical period, *ideas* have ruled mankind. The facts of life give birth to the ideas; but while men think that they are guided by facts only; while in their daily life they imagine that, being "practical," they reason upon facts only, and have practical facts only in view—they are, unconsciously in most cases, guided by the *ideas* which rule their own time, and they act in conformity with the ideas which prevail at a given period. They model their institutions, conceptions and modes of thought upon the conception of a Jacobinist powerful State at the end of the eighteenth century, just as they build up their guilds, cities and hansas upon the federalist and communalist idea in the twelfth century, and so in each period of history.

We see, moreover, that the grand idea, which is germinating now and which will, in times not very far off, rule civilised societies, is the idea of free individuals, freely combining, freely coming together to discuss their common needs, and to agree as to the action which may best lead them to the satisfaction of those needs.

And we choose our means of action in accordance with that leading idea, which is already acquiring new power over human minds, and already beginning to inspire both the thinker and the modest worker, as well as the simply honest man who prefers to rule no one that he himself may not be ruled by others.

We have often developed these theoretical bases of our line of action. And, reverting to the facts of daily life, we also have often pointed out that all the great changes which have ever been brought about in the life of man have *not* been brought about by legislation—which by its very essence must maintain the existing monopolies—but have been achieved *against* legislation, by revolutionary, *i.e.*, extra-governmental and extra-parliamentary, means.

But there is one more "practical" argument which seldom has been taken notice of, although it has an especial importance for this country. This is the numerical weakness of the manual labor class—the one which is *directly* interested in the social revolution—as compared with the numerical force of the classes which are but indirectly interested in the change, or directly interested in the maintenance of the present inequalities.

Thus, it appears, that out of the seven-and-a-half million adult men (above twenty years of age), which the last census records in England and Wales (7,515,000), there are not more than 4,350,000 adult men engaged in the manual production of riches, or in their transport and

distribution. True, that if we count all adult men in England and Wales who are occupied in agriculture (millionaire landlords and day-laborers alike), in all industries, in all carrying trades and in the transport of messages, as well as in the distribution of lodging and food, we shall find a little over six million (6,187,118) adult men occupied in or connected with these branches; but it appears, from computations which we hope some day soon to bring before our reader, that thirty per cent., at least, of these six million odd are the employers, the agents, the travellers, the clerks, etc., connected with the industries, the railways and the carrying trades; the publicans, hotel keepers, grocers, butchers, etc., connected with lodging and food; the big farmers and the milk-supply companies, with their agents; the clothiers, drapers, dealers, small shop keepers, and so on; so that there hardly remain $4\frac{1}{2}$ million adult men (4,350,000) engaged in the manual production of riches, their transport, and their distribution; less than $4\frac{1}{2}$ million adult men who are directly interested in the triumph of Socialism.

Now, the proportion of registered electors (they are 4,809,237 in England and Wales) to the adult males (7,515,934) is only 64 per cent.; and every one knows that the proportion of electors is smaller among the workers than among the middle classes. So to that it will not be unfair to suppose that—the average for England and Wales being 64 electors to each 100 adult men—the proportion is 55 electors to each 100 workers, and 75 electors to each 100 middle-class men. This is, most probably, above the mark for the workers.

But, if this admission be correct, the labor electors in England and Wales must make not more, and probably less, than 2,382,000, while the middle-class electors must be about 2,427,000, or rather more. The workers are thus in a numerical minority—not to say a word of the force of money, moneyed position, the liberal professions and the middle-class press, whose powers in influencing the electioneering lottery in favor of the ruling and moneyed classes is only too well known.

These figures are evidently but rough estimates; but one thing is certain, namely, that the labor vote has *not* the immense majority which it is generally supposed to possess. In this country, which lives so much upon the labor of the slaves of its capitalists all over the world: upon Indian, Egyptian, Hungarian, Canadian, Italian, etc., etc. labor, and imports two-thirds of its food,—the disproportion between the manual producers of wealth and the managers, organisers and distributors has become more abnormal than anywhere else.

So that, even if we suppose that all agricultural laborers and small farmers join hands with the industrial workers; if we admit that in that immense class of hotel keepers, publicans, grocers, bakers and butchers, etc., all the male servants and shop assistants even, march under the same banner as the workers; if we further make the improbable supposition that *all* industrial workers, farmers, hotel keepers, etc. etc., agree upon some common compromise as to their conception of Socialism—even then, they would be in a minority.

This is why, with the exception of M.P.s from certain especially favored districts, not one labor candidate can expect to enter Parliament unless he has the support, or at least the leave, of the middle classes; and no one has hitherto entered Parliament without having had that sort of unspoken leave. But, to have this leave of admission, he must abstain, and he really abstains, from displaying a revolutionary program; or he must abandon the revolutionary part of his Socialist program if he previously followed it. In reality, he is bound to strike out of his program all that is truly Socialist in it, and to pin a Socialist label upon what has in it nothing Socialist, *e.g.*, the eight-hours' labor day.

This explains also why the labor members who have lately entered Parliament have done so, not by real force, not against the will and bitter opposition of the middle classes, but chiefly because the middle classes, frightened as they have been by the revolutionary, non-parliamentary, attitude of a portion of the working classes, have found it wise to accept in their midst, and even to call for, a few of the more prominent leaders of that agitation, in order to calm the agitation itself, and to give it a more peaceful turn. An extra-parliamentary, a revolutionary agitation has brought the labor members into Parliament; without it, they never would have been there; and the tacitly recognised condition of their admission was not to insist further upon the revolutionary note in the movement, but to accept the *legal* channels—those which may maintain the supremacy of the middle classes in a mitigated form, but by no means can overthrow it.

Being tolerated in Parliament on these conditions, their subsequent policy must necessarily be in the same direction: they may sweeten exploitation, but they must not endeavor to throw it overboard.

As to the influence of parliamentary life upon the labor representatives, and the effects of the very atmosphere they are compelled to breathe, and which the strongest man (such as Proudhon) could not resist—this has often been spoken of in *Freedom*, and we hardly need

return to it. Man is to a very great extent a product of the medium he lives in, and the M.P. can no more resist his medium than the engineer or the typographer who acquires the stamp of his trade.

THE CONQUEST OF BREAD.

By PETER KROPOTKINE.

CHAPTER V.—FOOD.

IV.

THE people of the great towns will be driven by force of circumstances to take possession of all the provisions, beginning with the barest necessities, and gradually extending Communism to other things, in order to satisfy the needs of all the citizens.

The sooner it is done the better; the sooner it is done the less misery there will be and the less strife.

But upon what basis must society be organised in order that all may share and share alike? That is the question that meets us at the outset.

We answer that there are no two ways of it. There is only one way in which Communism can be established equitably, only one way which satisfies our instincts of justice, and is at the same time practical, namely, the system already adopted by the agrarian Communes of Europe.

Take for example a peasant commune, no matter where, even in France, where the Jacobins have done their best to destroy all communal usage. If the commune possesses woods and copses for instance, well, as long as brush-wood is plentiful, every one can take as much as they want, without other let or hindrance than the public opinion of their neighbors. As to the timber-trees, which are always scarce, they have to be carefully apportioned.

The same with the communal pasture-land; while there is enough and to spare, no limit is put to what the cattle of each homestead may consume, nor to the number of beasts grazing upon the pastures. Grazing grounds are not divided nor fodder doled out, unless there is scarcity. All the Swiss communes, and many of those in France and Germany also, wherever there is communal pasture-land, practice this system.

And in the countries of Eastern Europe, where there are great forests and no scarcity of land, you find the peasants felling the trees as they need them, and cultivating as much of the soil as they require, without any thought of limiting each man's share of timber or of land. But the timber will be divided, and the land parcelled out, to each household according to its needs, as soon as either becomes scarce, as is already the case in Russia.

In a word, then, the system is this: no stint or limit to what the community possesses in abundance, but equal sharing and dividing of those commodities which are scarce or apt to run short. Of the 350 millions who inhabit Europe, 200 millions still follow this system of natural communism.

It is a fact worth remarking that the same system prevails in the great towns in the distribution of one commodity at least, which is found in abundance, the water supplied to each house.

As long as there is no fear of the supply running short, no water company thinks of checking the consumption of water in each house. Take what you please! In Paris during the great droughts if there is any fear of supply failing, the water companies know that all they have to do is to make known the fact, by means of a short advertisement in the papers, and the citizens will reduce their consumption of water and not let it run to waste.

But if water were actually scarce, what would be done? Recourse would be had to a system of rations. Such a measure is so natural, so inherent in common sense, that Paris twice asked to be put on rations during the two sieges which it supported in 1871.

Is it necessary to go into details, to prepare tables, showing how the distribution of rations will work, to prove that it is just and equitable, infinitely more just and equitable than the existing state of things? All these tables and details will not serve to convince those of the middleclasses, nor, alas, those of the workers tainted with middle-class prejudices, who regard the people as a mob of savages ready to fall upon and devour each other directly the government ceases to direct affairs. Only one who has never seen the people resolve and act on their own initiative could doubt for a moment that if they were masters of the situation they could and would distribute rations to each and all in strictest accordance with justice and equity.

If you were to give utterance, in any gathering of people, to the opinion that delicacies—game and such like—should be reserved for the fastidious palates of aristocratic idlers, and black bread given to the sick in the hospitals, you would be hissed. But say at the same gathering, preach at the street corners and in the market places, that the most tempting delicacies ought to be kept for the sick and feeble—especially for the sick. Say that if there are only five brace of partridge in the whole of Paris, and only one case of sherry wine, they should go to sick people and convalescents. Say that after the sick come the children. For them the milk of the cows and goats should be reserved if there is not enough for all. To the children and the aged the last piece of meat, and to the strong man dry bread, if the community be reduced to that extremity.

Say, in a word, that if this or that article of consumption runs short, and has to be doled out, to those who have most need most should be

given: say that and see if you do not meet with universal agreement.

The man who is full-fed does not understand this, but the people do understand; have always understood it, and even the child of luxury, if he is thrown on the street and comes into contact with the masses, even he will learn to understand.

The theorists—for whom the soldier's uniform and the barrack mess table are civilisation's last word—would like no doubt to start a *régime* of National Kitchens and "Spartan Broth." They will point out the advantages thereby gained, the economy in fuel and food, if such huge kitchens were established where everyone could come for their rations of soup and bread and vegetables.

We do not question these advantages. We are well aware that important economies have already been achieved in this direction—as for instance when the handmill, or quern, and the baker's oven attached to each house were abandoned. We can see perfectly well that it would be more economical to cook broth for a hundred families at once, instead of lighting a hundred separate fires. We know, besides, that there are a thousand ways of doing up potatoes, but that cooked in one huge pot for a hundred families they would be just as good.

We know, in fact, that variety in cooking is a matter of the seasoning introduced by each cook or housewife, the cooking together of a hundred weight of potatoes would not prevent each cook or housewife from dressing and serving them in any way she pleased. And we know that stock made from meat can be converted into a hundred different soups to suit a hundred different tastes.

But though we are quite aware of all these facts, we still maintain that no one has a right to force the housewife to take her potatoes from the communal kitchen ready cooked if she prefers to cook them herself in her own pot on her own fire. And, above all, we should wish each one to be free to take his meals with his family, or with his friends, or even in a restaurant, if so it seemed good to him.

Naturally large public kitchens will spring up to take the place of the restaurants, where people are poisoned now-a-days. Already the Parisian housewife gets the stock for her soup from the butcher and transforms it into whatever soup she likes, and London housekeepers know that they can have a joint roasted, or an apple or rhubarb tart baked at the bakers for a trifling sum, thus economising time and fuel. And when the communal kitchen—the common bakehouse of the future—is established, and people can get their food cooked without the risk of being cheated or poisoned, the custom will no doubt become general of going to the communal kitchen for the fundamental parts of the meal, leaving the last touches to be added as individual taste shall suggest.

But to make a hard and fast rule of this, to make a duty of taking home our food ready cooked, that would be as repugnant to our modern minds as the ideas of the convent or the barrack, morbid ideas born in brains warped by tyranny or superstition.

Who will have a right to the food of the commune, will assuredly be the first question which we shall have to ask ourselves. Every township will answer it for itself, and we are convinced that the answers will all be dictated by the sentiment of justice. Until labor is reorganised, as long as the disturbed period lasts, and while it is impossible to distinguish between inveterate idlers and genuine workers thrown out of work, the available food ought to be shared by all without exception. Those who have been enemies to the new order will hasten of their own accord to rid the commune of their presence. But it seems to us that the people, who have always proved themselves magnanimous, and have nothing of vindictiveness in their composition, will be ready to share their bread with all who remain with them, conquered and conquerors alike. It will be no loss to the Revolution to be inspired by such an ideal, and, when work is set agoing again, the antagonists of yesterday will stand side by side in the same workshops. A society where work is free will have nothing to fear from idlers.

"But provisions will run short in a month," our critics at once exclaim.

So much the better, say we. It will prove that for the first time on record the people have had enough to eat. As to the means of keeping up the supply of food, that is the very question we are going to attack next.

The Professional Soldier.

We select the following passages from *Psychologie du Militaire Professionnel*, by A. Hamon (1894), an account of the effect of their profession upon the officers of the European armies:—"On February 13th 1868, at a military execution in Italy, the soldiers of the firing squad refused to fire, or took no aim. An officer seized a soldier's arm and compelled him to fire point blank upon the condemned man. Two days afterwards, the unhappy soldier died of the shock."

After describing and giving numerous instances of the usual accompaniments of war—such as theft, rape, incendiarism, murder—the author, in another place continues: "What are the causes of these crimes? Very rarely does hatred play a part in them—hatred, a human passion, and elevated, however barbarous. Neither the Annamites, nor the Chinese, nor the Italians, nor the Abyssians, nor the French, nor the Soudanese, nor the Germans were hated by those who made war upon them, by those who committed against them the crimes I have just narrated. The passion of hatred is only found in civil wars, in acts prompted by some social or political motive. Then, in all cases, and on both sides,

crime is seen as the inevitable result of a passion utterly remorseless and savage."

Compare the account of the upshot of war in Carlyle, where, after describing how 30 English and 30 French villagers have been brought from their homes and fed for a time in the South of Spain, he continues: "At length, after infinite effort, the two parties came into actual juxtaposition; and thirty stands fronting thirty, each with a gun in his hand. Straightway the word 'Fire' is given, and they blow the souls out of one another; and in place of sixty brisk, useful craftsmen the world has sixty dead carcasses, which it must bury, and anew shed tears for. Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the Devil is, not the smallest! They lived far enough apart; were the entirest strangers; nay, in so wide a universe, there was even, unconsciously, some mutual helpfulness between them. How then? Simpleton! their governors had fallen out: and instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make their poor blockheads shoot."

Hamon's book is a good case of special pleading against officers as a class, but he would be hardly justified in calling it a "scientific essay" if he meant to condemn a whole class by merely collecting instances of blackguardism among its members during the last 150 years, for at least as many instances could be collected on the other side, and the enquirer is left where he was. If argument by the selection of scoundrels sufficed, why lay special stress on the professional soldier? Are all professional stock brokers, mill-owners, directors, journalists, landlords etc. so immaculate? We could undertake to fill as large a book as this with instances of scoundrels from any one of those professions, and, in fact, this is what the author in his preface proposes to do: the essay on the professional soldier is the first of a series he intends to publish on the police, magistracy, press, and men of finance and commerce. The object of this first essay is to show how military life tends to exaggerate the vices inherent in our present state of society, and to crush the better qualities common to mankind. Absolutism, authority in its worst form, is seen in the attitude of the officer towards his subordinates, in the military laws which exact the heaviest penalties for trivial breaches of discipline. With these go the inevitable accompaniments of contempt for human life and disregard of physical suffering, and, as a logical consequence, the brutal manners and coarse language inseparable from life in barracks that, as Hamon well shows, are unfortunately not confined to it. The deliberate choosing of the military profession indicates a predisposition towards violence and domination, further developed by the training essential for it. The prestige which has hitherto mistakenly been attached to the soldier's life has created a military caste that is pressing every day more and more heavily on the civil life it has been taught to despise, although it is in reality as much a trade as a grocer's. Hamon proposes briefly two remedies for the worst traits of military life which, if applied, would do much to relegate the professional soldier to his right place in the minds of the people:—(1) Arms (as in England) and uniforms not to be worn save in the exercise of professional duty; (2) Obedience due from the subordinate to be restricted to the time of professional exercise alone and to professional matters merely; (1) This obedience to be minutely determined, and every officer who tries to extend his powers to be dismissed the service." In Hamon's opinion the professional soldier's true place in society is in the lowest rank as a parasite, exploiter, and non-producer; the peasant's plough, the artisan's tool, and the thinker's pen are to him all nobler weapons than the sword.

A curious commentary on this book may be read in the statistics as to cases of military suicides published in the *Times*, February 22. In the Austrian army suicide is on a yearly average in the proportion of 12.33 to every 10,000 men, as against 1.63 to every 10,000 of the whole population; in Germany the average is 6.33 in the army, against 2.71 among civilians; Italy, 4 against .46; France, 3.33 against 1.87; England, 2.09 against .76. Among these military suicides there are twice as many non-commissioned officers as there are privates. Now, as all these men have been guarded from those pressing privations which in every-day life drive men to despair and death, the reasons for such suicides must lie in the military system itself; probably in habituating the soldier's mind to thoughts of violent death as being for him the most natural mode of exit, and in his being always surrounded with the means of thus solving the difficulties of his life—a solution that demonstrates nothing but the misery which suggested it.

The Chicago Conference.

(Report concluded.)*

Two days, Oct. 4 and 5, were devoted to the discussion of tactics, and the following resolutions were passed:—

"Whereas, all methods of producing, distributing and exchanging the wealth of the world being in the hands of a privileged class, whereby the workers are made dependent upon them for existence; and

"Whereas, panics, money stringencies and industrial depressions, with all their concomitant evils, are the result of the mismanagement, rapacity and dishonesty of this favored class; and

"Whereas, the workers and the poor, having nothing to do with causing such conditions, should not be held responsible or made to suffer for the sins and shortcomings of the said privileged class; therefore

"Resolved, that we reiterate the doctrine of Cardinal Manning that the hungry and starving should take food wherever they can find it; and

"Resolved, that we urge the homeless and hungry everywhere, when the avenues of employment are closed against them and starvation is imminent, to supply their immediate wants from the abundance they see around them, and to cease paying rent."

* For 1st part of report see *Freedom* for Jan.-Feb.

"Whereas, the war cloud which for years has hung over Europe is, by reason of the hatreds and jealousies of the various ruling powers, growing darker and more threatening every day; opposing armies and navies are being strengthened in numbers, in discipline, and by the introduction of new devices to be used in wholesale destruction and slaughter; and

"Whereas, under these forbidding conditions a terrible conflict between rival powers is most imminent and cannot long be delayed; and

"Whereas, the working people throughout the world, having nothing to gain and everything to lose by such a war, are opposed to these destructive preparations; therefore

"Resolved, that we earnestly urge our comrades everywhere to agitate the doctrine of international unity among producers; and that they be urged to realise the importance of having a common end in view, be it further

"Resolved, that we recommend to the workers of the world a general strike, and the cutting off of all supplies from the contending forces, whenever war shall be declared between any two or more nations; thus making a vigorous protest against the barbarity of war and at the same time seeking to abolish the hated system of wage slavery."

The Conference next considered the position of the Anarchist press, and proposed to endeavor to put *Solidarity* upon a firm and permanent basis; a resolve which we trust will soon be carried into effect. It was also

"Resolved, that we urge upon our comrades throughout the world the necessity of forming everywhere propaganda centres, from which literature can be distributed, correspondence carried on and workers brought in close touch with one another.

"Resolved, that in our judgment the work of such centres should be mainly confined to suggestions of desirable opportunities for propaganda-making; it being left to the initiative of individuals to utilise such opportunities, and to act single-handed, or to group themselves together as they may see fit."

Regarding the proper attitude of Anarchists toward other schools of reform, the following resolution received the unanimous endorsement of those present at the meeting on Friday evening, after a brief discussion:—

"Resolved, that it is the sense of this Conference that the solidarity of the disinherited, regardless of sex, creed, color, race or occupation, is the main object to be striven for; that even in the present necessary work of criticism all shades of the labor movement can and should amicably unite their forces, and that as regards the constructive work of the future, the greatest tolerance should be extended toward differences of opinion, since the form of our future society will be in any event largely determined by circumstances over which we have no control. The abuse too often showered by radicals upon others who differ from them is a most regrettable survival of that spirit of intolerance which in earlier days exhibited itself through the stake and the gallows, and survives at this moment in a hundred hideous forms."

After a warm discussion as to whether the attack of Pallas upon Marshal Campos was justified by the special circumstances of the case, the following resolution was agreed to:—

"Whereas, this government emanated from the fearless spirit embodied in the Declaration of American Independence; and

"Whereas, every line in our history worth reading breathes the fire and love of revolt against authority; and,

"Whereas, the American people were the first to institute a general revolution against the idea that monarchies were divine institutions; and,

"Whereas, the revolution was fought out on the principle that 'one honest man was worth more to human society than all the crowned ruffians ever born'; and,

"Whereas, all revolts of the people against the despotism of authority and injustice since 1776 have been but the echoes of that epoch; and,

"Whereas, the right of a people to alter or abolish their government when it ceases to serve their ends is clearly set forth in the American Declaration; and,

"Whereas, the great author of that paper pronounced in favor of violent revolution whenever it should be found necessary to educate a few tyrants on the rights of the masses; and,

"Whereas, the workers of the world are now manifesting in various ways a feeling of discontent against the robbing classes; therefore be it

"Resolved, that we hail with enthusiasm every effort of the workers to shake off their oppressors, and impress upon them the necessity of familiarising themselves with every invention and improvement of the human brain, that they may successfully meet force with force; and,

"Resolved, that we commend the heroism and devotion of the Spaniard, Pallas, to the liberty-loving people of the world as that kind of heroism and devotion which has in all ages and at all times proved a pathway for humanity to march forward to freedom; and

"Resolved, that we congratulate the common people of Spain upon their good fortune in possessing such fearless champions to protest when the liberty and happiness of the people are being sacrificed to the caprice of a few rulers; and be it further

"Resolved, that we extend our sympathy and congratulations to the victims of monied aristocracy here in the United States, where the constitution of the nation is daily violated by its pretended defenders, and women as well as men are dragged to prison cells for exercising the right of free speech."

The Conference was concluded by a general meeting, on Oct. 8th, to which members of labor organisations and sympathisers were invited. Speeches were made in Spanish, Polish, Russian, German and Yiddish, as well as by English, Irish and American delegates. Comrade Holmes explained what had been done at the Conference, and a letter from Louise Michel was read out with enthusiasm. Resolutions of respect to the memory of Dyer D. Lum were warmly endorsed. The meeting was a complete success in every way.

"Whatever influence upon the movement this Conference may have in the future," writes the Secretary of the organising committee; "whatever of good, if any, it may have accomplished; however it may be viewed by friend or foe, it has at least demonstrated that earnest, honest workers in a common cause, even though differing widely in their advocacy of methods, can accomplish definite results without bitterness and without anger. Those who took part in this Conference will always feel the satisfaction of a conscientious performance, in a spirit of toleration and kindness toward their opponents, of such labors as seemed to them necessary."

Chicago, October 15th, 1893.

Labor Day.—A Mass Meeting will be held by London Anarchist Communists and others, in Hyde Park, on Tuesday, May 1st, at 3 p.m., to express sympathy and solidarity with the workers of all countries in their efforts to put an end to authority and monopoly.

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NOTES.

AGAIN WELCOME.

A fourth Communist Anarchist paper has come to reinforce the propaganda of our ideas in England. Our old comrade in arms, the *Sheffield Anarchist*, has been revived under the editorship of David Nicoll. May it meet with all success. Price 1d.; address 36, Industry-street, Walkley, Sheffield. From the same address may be obtained Nicoll's important pamphlets, which should be read by all Anarchists: "Anarchy at the Bar" and "The Walsall Anarchists"; both post free 3d.

"THE GREATEST OF ALL EXISTING CALAMITIES!"

This is what the *Times* styles militarism, and we might well agree with the phrase could we but forget that there is such a thing as capitalism. Side by side with the feeling against war, spreading ever wider, we see a prodigious increase in standing armies and a lavish outlay on engines of war, which tends, as in the case of Italy, to bring the countries thus military-ridden to the verge of ruin. Glancing at the attitude of continental powers to-day, we cannot but fear that schemes for international disarmament and for settling the disputes of empires by arbitration, so ardently advocated by the Peace Societies of England and America, are, as to realisation, quite the other side of a hideous continental warfare, in which the victorious nation or nations, to use Bismarck's pet phrase on such matters, "will bleed white (*saigner à blanc*) the vanquished, thus guaranteeing at least a thirty years' peace for the victors."

REASONS FOR MAINTAINING OUR GREATEST CALAMITY.

The most plausible argument for militarism which can be put forth is that in the perfect fitness for war of each nation lies the best safeguard against its horrors. Were this the only reason for huge armaments it might well be accepted as the lesser evil. But there is another reason, which governments do well to keep in the back ground. The leading Austrian journal, *Pester Lloyd*, closed a series of articles for 1893 with an apology for militarism, thus summarised by the *Times*, January 2nd:—

"The *Pester Lloyd* begins by inquiring what would be the condition of the Europe of to-day without its great armies, and what would be the position of justice, freedom, and progress. There is, it says a hatred of things as they are in millions of souls all over the world, and if it were not for militarism that hatred would seize the weapons of destruction and lay the existing order of society in ruins, together with all the gains of thousands of years of progress. Nihilism, Social Revolution, Anarchism, and Fenianism are but the changing phenomena of one disease of our time—namely, the blind resistance of huge masses to civilisation. Without its enormous armies Europe would fall a helpless prey to this revolutionary impulse. Dynamite would be the dictator of the world. The bombs are silent only so long as they fear the repeating rifle.

"It is the merest illusion, the writer says, to fancy that we are enjoying a state of peace. Certainly international peace has not been disturbed for 15 years past, and, notwithstanding the Franco-Russian fraternisation, it will hardly run much risk in the future. That *rapprochement* is said to have had a peaceful object, but, while it may tend to maintain international tranquillity, it is impossible to overlook the strong popular movement against autocracy in Russia and the change of feeling manifested in France through the revival of the Napoleonic legend. The diplomatic *rapprochement* tends to disturb the idea of autocratic rule in Russia and that of Republicanism in France. In those 15 years of international peace most European States have had to conduct a war against subversive tendencies within their own dominions, in which no decisive engagement has yet taken place. The strategic movement of the revolution would, however, have forced the various governments to increase their defensive resources, even if those armaments were not required by considerations of foreign policy. The writer concludes by stating that disarmament is an object which should be striven for to the utmost, but it can hardly be attained before the revolution has destroyed itself by its own excesses."

The assumption that justice, freedom, and progress are preserved by militarism is to us simply ridiculous. As to the notion that "bombs are silent only so long as they fear the repeating rifle," we say there is a greater force than fear at work among revolutionists—the force of real progress, which rejects the coarse and brutal methods upon which our present civilisation has been founded. Revolutionists as a party do not throw bombs simply for the reason that they do not desire to

do so, although they have continually before their eyes the greatest incentives to bomb-throwing and other violent methods of calling attention to their wrongs in the very methods used by governments against all whom they regard as their enemies. The perpetual parade of violence in the various forms of standing armies, battle ships, manufactories of explosives, prisons and executions all tend to hypnotise the human mind, and give an undue importance to the part played by violence in the evolution of mankind.

ANOTHER VIEW OF MILITARISM.

H. O. P., writing in the *Echo*, February 24, says of the professional military man:—

"Worse than the evictor, worse than the prison-warder, worse than the hangman, worse the doctor who debases himself by attending a judicial murder, worse than the clergymen who turns his back on the professed Master to help the hangmen in his bloody work, oh, worse than these is the man who can be hired to command a hundred thousand poor deluded fellows, and march them off to kill and be killed, not by ones and twos, or tens and hundreds, but by thousands and tens of thousands.

"The only killer or beater who is not wholly deserving of detestation, the man who kills or ill-treats his private enemy, we hang or imprison. All the others—those who can be hired to kill or beat people against whom they have no personal grudge—we endure, respect, glorify, almost worship, just as the character of the crime becomes blacker, baser, and meaner. Take my advice: if you wish a glorious life, a tremendous funeral, a gorgeous monument, and undying fame, become a professional killer; hire yourself out to the politician, and kill as many people as possible."

THE CIVILISATION IT SUPPORTS.

In the same article we find a plain unvarnished statement of the brutalities men may perpetuate in the name of civilisation: deeds far worse than any committed by the wildest revolutionists, until they too, as in the days of "The Terror," took the form of government. For instance:—

"You can hire men to throw poor men, sick women, and helpless children into the street in the depth of winter, because they cannot pay their rent. You can hire men to go into the prisons and guard other men with guns, and keep them locked up behind iron bars as if they were hyenas, and make them march with lock step, and watch them to see that they do not talk, and lock them up in dark cells in solitary confinement till some of them go mad.

"You can hire men to build a gallows, and lead another man to it, and adjust the noose round his neck, and draw the bolt that lets him drop and hang, ripe fruit on the tree of Christian (?) civilisation. You can hire men to strap another in an electric chair, and turn on the current that roasts his brain, and if the first discharge of liquid fire does not kill him they will turn on another. And, what is more, there are famous doctors who will help these men at the ghastly work, and afterwards cut up the dead man and carry off parts of his body in tin vessels; and there are clergymen who will lead the wretched victim to the gallows to assist the hangman in his bloody work. You will not fail to observe that these inhuman deeds, unlike the barbarous deeds of the past, are not even palliated by personal prowess, for the unfeeling wretches who commit them run no risk of injury or death. They have their victim completely in their power."

A HAPPY THOUGHT.

Our friends the London police seem to be actuated by a laudable spirit of emulation, and show a touching desire to follow in the footsteps of their Parisian brethren. The raids of March 15 and 16, which the bourgeois press itself acknowledges to have been made by men *without warrants* and even without uniforms, are quite in the spirit of French police-tactics, and we would venture to suggest to any worshipful company of burglars who may happen to be in want of a job that Chief Inspector Melville has kindly provided a brilliant idea for them gratis. To march up, 10 or 12 strong, to the front-door of any well-conducted rate-payer of liberal views and nervous temperament—say a contributor to *The Vegetarian* or a timid old lady who subscribes to the *Zoophilist*; to enter with a high-and-mighty air, and the remark: "We have come to search your premises"; to disarm the householder's timid appeal for a search-warrant with an Olympian: "That is not necessary; we are police officers, and that is quite enough for you," and then to walk away serenely, with pockets full of hypothetical bombs in the shape of silver teapots, and gold christening-spoons,—what could be "neater and completer"?

GOOD BEHAVIOUR.

Joking apart, though, Chief Inspector Melville and his subordinates are approaching perilously near to the most approved continental methods, as the shameful Peckham case shows. Reading the account of the proceedings in Lambeth Police Court, one is involuntarily reminded of the man in the fairy-story, who, after receiving a sound drubbing from his wife, was made to kneel down on the kitchen floor and say, "Forgive me, dearest, that you thrashed me!" There is a fine humour in the notion of binding over the unoffending speaker to "be of good behaviour for six months." If anybody would bind over the police to be of good behaviour for even three months, how very nice it would be!

ANOTHER EXTRADITION CASE.

Meunier, whose extradition is demanded by the French police on the charge of murder at the Café Véry in 1892, was brought before Sir J. Bridge, Bow-street April 12th, but was remanded at the request of the French Embassy for another week. Ricken, who was then charged with attempting to rescue Meunier from Inspector Melville at Victoria Station, pleaded through his solicitor that when he saw his friend struggling with Melville, who was in plain clothes, he naturally went to his assistance, being ignorant of the quality of Meunier's assailant. Sir John, after a homily on the Vanity of Anarchism and taking into consideration that he had no weapons when he grappled with Melville,

fined Ricken £5 or a month's imprisonment. It must be borne in mind that François extradited by Sir J. Bridge on a similar charge last year has since been fully acquitted.

A comrade in Southampton writes apropos of "Democratic America":—Two men have been pulled up here for being stowaways on one of the American Liners. In defence they said they could not exist over there and so came over to try this side of the world. Counsel for the prosecution said that every voyage over they had a lot of stowaways and that an example must be made of some. One of the defendants then said it was impossible to get work in America, and that he had never seen things so bad there before, but that now if he were fined he would be willing to work out the amount. He forgot that slavery has been abolished! They were fined £5 or in default a month in prison. The second man paid the fine, having no doubt a banking account of surplus value or unearned increment; at least the papers did not say that he went below.

OVER THE WATER.

THE French Government have gone on steadily arresting Anarchists, accused of no crime but their opinions, every day. Some are released again, others retained for the big trial which is in preparation. Most are, in either case, measured, according to M. Bertillon's system for the identification of criminals. An illustrated description of the process is given in the *Westminster Budget* for April 6th. The *Times* says that the Director of the Anthropometric Department of the Detective Service has nearly finished the preparation of an Anarchist album of 500 portraits, with descriptive notes and the measurements of these "suspicious characters." So far, however, all this disgraceful tampering with the liberty of opinion has proved no practical safeguard against revolutionary violence. On the contrary, as might be expected, it appears to stimulate it. On March 15th, Joseph Pauwells exploded a bomb and himself at the Madeleine church. On April 4th, an explosion occurred at the Café Foyet, opposite the Luxembourg Palace, wounding one or two persons. Its author has not been discovered, neither has "Rabardy," nor the supposed accomplices of Henry in the Bons Enfant affair.

The publication of *La Révolte* has ceased temporarily. The comrades who stepped into the breach occasioned by the arrest and imprisonment of Jean Grave found that the correspondence connected with the publication of *La Révolte* was being used by the Paris police as traps to catch the unwary; besides, since the beginning of the year the paper has been practically suppressed, very few subscribers having received their copies. The literary energy of the Paris comrades will, for the present, be directed to the publishing of pamphlets, and the paper will reappear when a suitable opportunity presents itself.

THE persecution of Anarchist ideas still continues in Berlin. Before the 18th March number of the *Sozialist* appeared, the police resolved to confiscate it. For days beforehand our comrades were pestered by detectives hanging about the publishing and printing offices. Finally, all the printer's customers were pounced upon and searched, those who protested being carried to the police station! A few hours after an order for confiscation arrived and all the 6,547 copies printed or partly printed were seized, the formes were "dissed" under police supervision, and the printer's books inspected. When the matter came before the magistrate, he upheld that action of the police, saying that an article on "The Days of March in Berlin" was inciting and also "completely unhistorical," that the red paper on which the journal was printed was revolutionary and might inspire revolutionary feeling. He also objected to the poem by J. H. Mackay, "Mother of Freedom, Revolution," and when the publisher remarked that it had only been reprinted from a repeatedly published volume of the author's poems, the State Attorney replied that when two different persons do the same thing it ceases to be the same. Nothing daunted our brave comrades hurriedly printed off another 18th March number, on white paper, part of which got into circulation, before the police could rush down to confiscate it. One acting editor after another still continues to appear before the courts for "inciting to class hatred."

STAUROS KALLERGES, the editor of the *Socialistes* in Athens, whose speech from the reporters gallery in the Greek parliament caused no small sensation last December, when he presented to the legislators a petition in behalf of the workers and saw it rejected, has paid for his boldness by twelve days imprisonment. After two days in gaol he was brought before three army doctors, who did their best to find symptoms which would enable them to certify him as insane. It shows an advance, that even in Athens, where Socialism is perhaps as backward as it is in Ireland, that our comrade was not clapped into a madhouse without any medical examination at all. Kallerges has since written to us saying: "What clogs the advance of effective propaganda among us is the priest, who unfortunately comes from the classes, and is, moreover, well backed by the law. Religion and the King's person are outside attack. We are limited to a warfare against institutions. We shun politics as much as possible, for we feel sure that State-socialism will but tend to delay the work of emancipation. But unfortunately here as elsewhere charlatans enter our ranks and preach political action. Social life is completely stupefied by the priest, and our poor wretches under every misfortune appeal to Jehovah, believing that their misery is the will of God. They have no desire to think for themselves, and furthermore the proletariat here are imbued with patriarchal customs. The comrades who carry on individual propaganda can be counted on one's fingers. They are timorous because of the struggle there is for

bare life. All the same, a party of starving men are fighting for us, and we make the employers feel uneasy. Since the beginning of April last the propaganda has spread; we have hope in the future. We will at least make the idea known to every one. It matters little if for the moment all are not upon our side: economic conditions will bring them over. We have neither books nor pamphlets, as we are in need of the wherewithal, the chief thing. Our attempts to combine the adherents of our ideas for common action are vain for the present. 'Anarchy and Revolution' are now very pertinently being discussed in the *Socialistes* by an Anarchist comrade, who has just given me a translation of 'Un Siècle d'attente,' by Kropotkin. We sign our articles to encourage others." Kallerges further tells us that his paper is distributed in Turkey, although prohibited. It is reassuring to find that the idea is spreading so far and so widely. Like the seed that germinates silently under ground all through the dark winter weather, it will one spring-day burst forth into a strong plant to gladden all men's eyes. We hope the other Greek comrades will gain more courage, for though still few in number they can show their government that "while three men stand together the nations are less by three."

FOR some time very great discontent with the rate of wages has prevailed in the great mining districts of America, especially in the Ohio and Pennsylvania collieries, amongst the numerous Hungarian, Italian, French and other foreign miners. There have been several partial strikes, during which many have been in a starving condition; and before the great labor war broke out in Pennsylvania this month, a serious riot occurred in the neighborhood of Mansfield, Ohio, on January 28 and 29, particulars of which have been sent us by a comrade on the spot. He writes:—

"We are almost starving in this glorious country. Hardly any work in the mines, and when there is any we make less than \$1.00 a day. And still reductions are following one another. There will likely be trouble before long. The miners are preparing for a general strike."

On Jan. 28, a meeting was held at Mansfield, at which it was determined to stop scab work at certain mines, and a band of some hundreds of strikers, mostly Hungarians, Poles, Frenchmen and Germans, arming themselves with pickaxes from a Wordville store, marched through the district, destroying the mining plant and driving away scabs. About noon on the 29th, they were repulsed from Beading's mine by his Winchester rifles, leaving one killed and a dozen wounded. Soon afterwards they were dispersed by the sheriff's posse from Mansfield and a band of armed Bridgeville citizens. Sixteen prisoners were taken, and subsequent arrests brought up the number to 58, who were all tried together at Mansfield, Feb. 12, for riot. We notice in the jury list only one working man. The principal witness against the prisoners, most of whom did not understand English, was a mine owner named Stern, who identified 49. Directly after the attack on his mine, he declared that he would see the strikers got punished. His evidence, and that of the other witnesses for the prosecution, was in many cases directly contradicted by the prisoners and their witnesses, who maintained an *alibi* or that the accused had been carried along by the crowd against their will. Finally, on February 17, the jury found 37 guilty, and the judges decided to sentence them on Washington's Birthday, February 22, as a suitable tribute to the memory of the great defender of American liberty. Meanwhile the acquitted men were marched back to prison, the Attorney for the Commonwealth remarking that they were well housed and fed there, and might as well stay a day or two, as making out release papers is slow work!

Manifestations of a violently revolutionary spirit are not confined to the mining districts. Serious strike riots occurred, in January, in Connecticut amongst the Bridgeport tramcar employees, and dynamite attempts in different parts of the country are continually reported. We have noted 2 in March from Chicago, 2 in January from New York, and 3 from the mining districts. During a dyers' strike a silk factory was wrecked, on March 13, in Paterson, New Jersey. And the armed resistance in Carolina to the attempt to make a government monopoly of the liquor traffic shows the growing readiness of the Americans to rebel by force against authority.

On the other hand, the distress amongst the workers becomes more and more terrible. After the World's Fair there were 175,000 out-of-work starlings in Chicago, whilst the capitalist promoters cleared a profit of \$1,404,841. On February 20, a turbulent meeting of about 5,000 unemployed gathered at Boston, threatening the government unless it provided work, and the latest telegrams, as we go to press, April 9, report that two masses of the unemployed, calling themselves Industrial Army and the Commonwealth Army of Christ, are marching down upon Washington to demand legislative relief. They are reported to be 50,000 and 100,000 strong respectively. The Californian contingent of the Industrial Army has succeeded in extorting free food and transport from the authorities at Oakland and Sacramento.

A Californian correspondent writes:—

"This country is in a wild chaos of discontent, but the curse is that it is ignorant discontent. The prevailing idea is the personal one, i.e., that the fault lies with our governors—with 'gold-bug' Cleveland, or the plutocratic Senate; with Republicans or Democrats." The real revolutionary movement "is ploughing its own rugged way, regardless of speeches and writings, and the tramp who seizes, in armed bands, free railroad transportation, and the train robber, and the outcast, with a revolver hidden somewhere in his rags, are really the history making factors. They, and their opposites, the thoroughly rotten money-makers—both political and economic. I see a prominent Californian recently quoted as saying: 'The only difference between my constituents and myself is that I am in a position where I can take bribes, and they are not.' This seems to me to reflect exactly the cynical tone that pervades all society here, especially out West. The tramps, etc. are not the good-natured idiots of the old countries; they are hard characters, whom the others—with the full approval of the com-

munity—go for with a shot gun. The ordinary workingman will tell you frankly that the politician is a damned scoundrel, but he sells him his vote quite cynically. So that, as it always seems to me, one has all the brutal elements of revolt here, without any of its ennobling features. In other words, what is needed is, not to prick the workers out of their spirit of submissiveness and easy content—for that spirit, so strong in England for instance, is non-existent here—but to give them a clear, intellectual conception of what is wanted, *viz.*, the sweeping away of the whole system of monopoly. And that is just what they don't get. Chris. Evans has recently escaped from jail. He held up several trains, and shot several men. Swarms of officers hunt for him in vain, because he has the sympathy of and is sheltered by the whole farming community. He has their sympathy because he says he is making war on the Southern Pacific railway, who robbed the Musselshough settlers of their lands. In other words, we have a large community of farmers here—that usually conservative class—to whom the whole social question means downing the Southern Pacific railway. They themselves would fight for that, but they don't see an inch further. They are practical men, if you please, who don't go a cent on 'isms.' The trouble with our people is that they are not a 'student' class; they don't believe in students or in study, and each gets hold of some special fad, and sticks to it like grim death. This man says: 'Give us free silver'; another one: "Nationalise the railroads"; and as for those who have land, they propose to stick to it at all costs. . . . Congresses are being continually held, at which fire and blood speeches are made in favor of all sorts of impossibilities. The governor of Colorado, for instance, says, 'We will have free silver, though we have to wade in blood for it; aye, wade to the bits of the horses' bridles.' The speech, as you may have seen, created a great sensation, but he stuck to it. In short, the inevitable has happened—*i.e.*, discontent and eager desire for change have far outstripped the necessary education. In this whirlpool one feels helpless. I have the misfortune to know the inside history of the labor movement on this coast, and if I could only give you some idea of the ignorant and unscrupulous, but often very able and powerful, quacks, who are shouting, at the head of their own little coteries, their own special nostrums—all of which are, of course, more or less political. 'Elect me on the Populist ticket; me on the Reform Democratic; me on the Prohibitionist, etc. etc., and I will turn the world inside out.' After all, the real tragedy of such a revolution as we are now in the first throes of seems to me to lie in the fact that it is a task of the most enormous difficulty imposed upon absolutely incapable, because ignorant, masses, who are therefore doomed to miss their mark again and again until they have finally gathered wisdom in the slow and painful school of experience."

W.C.O.

A Pretentious Legend.

AFTER the split in the International, the two parties adopted very different tactics. . . . Whilst the Federalists laid more and more stress upon the revolutionary, economic struggle, the partisans of a centralised state set up, in 1873, a program of legal and parliamentary action, and were drawn by political excitement and the electoral struggle more and more into the paths of moderation and compromise. The lengths to which Social Democracy carried the spirit of conciliation between Socialist demands and the existing social order, at the Congress of Gotha, is a matter of common notoriety. And it is by no means astonishing that the old qualification of "Revolutionary Socialist" became embarrassing to all these diplomatic and legalitarian gentlemen. A new adjective was needed, better suited to their new ideas of Socialism and their distinguished position as would-be law-makers.

The desired term was found: for the expression "revolutionary" they substituted "scientific," as distinguishing them from such ignoramus as St. Simon, Owen, Proudhon and Tchernyshevsky. Unfortunately, the adjective "scientific" is somewhat ambiguous, the defenders of the iniquities of capitalist organisation being extremely fond of prating in the name of "science," whilst in Germany the men who cry "Peace, peace, where there is no peace," also call themselves "scientific socialists"—Socialists of the Chair. To be distinguished from these doctrinaires was absolutely necessary; therefore a legend must be created treating the "science" of the Social Democrats as something quite peculiar, exclusively their own, and based on special discoveries made by these parliamentarians. Instead of simply saying that the colossal development of European culture obliges us to effect a radical change in the existing capitalist organisation, and that science, *in its broadest sense*, as developed by the researches of numberless independent thinkers, tends to condemn individualistic methods of production and consumption, they preferred to attribute to themselves a special "science" of their own. But they forget that party science—if such a thing can indeed exist—can be accepted as authoritative only by the members of that party; whilst the unanimous claims of all branches of human knowledge act with irresistible pressure upon all open-minded persons.

Do the doctrines of official Social Democracy really contain laws and principles unknown to science in general and to Socialists of the "ignorant" schools? According to the assertions of the "thinkers" it appears as if they did.

"The laws of capitalist production discovered by Marx," we read in Engels' Biography (*Neue Zeit*, Year IX., No 8), "are as stable as those of Newton and Kepler relating to the movements of the solar system."

"It is to Marx," says Mr. Engels, "that we owe two great 'discoveries': First, the revelation of the secret of capitalist production by the explanation of surplus value; second, the materialist conception of history." (Engels, "Development of Scientific Socialism.")

"In 1845, we [Marx and Engels] decided to devote ourselves to the research necessary to work out the materialistic explanation of history discovered by Marx." ("Ludwig Feuerbach"; preface by Engels.)

In a controversy with Dühring, Engels says: "If Dühring means that the whole economic system of our time . . . is the result of the class war and of oppression, . . . then he repeats truths which have become commonplaces since the appearance of the 'Communist Manifesto' " (drawn up by Marx and Engels).

Telling the story of their youthful evolution, Engels naïvely acknowledges: "The remarkable thing was that it was not we alone who discovered materialist dialectics." ("L. Feuerbach.") In any case, they also rediscovered the dialectical method. . . . But the disciples of

these two thinkers go much further. They declare that their masters were the first to apply the dialectical method to historical, economic and sociological researches and studies, thanks to which they have found out the law of capitalistic concentration—a sort of economic fatalism. They it is, also, who have created the party of Social Democracy, "the most revolutionary history has known." It is necessary, we are told, to carefully study Engel's pamphlet "L. Feuerbach," as "it is the completest exposition of the philosophy of these two thinkers. (Plechanov's Preface.) Mankind must seriously consider their earliest and crudest ideas, for "these are the first steps of scientific Socialism." (*Neue Zeit*, Biography of Engels.)

Every time I read these exaggerated passages, it always strikes me that the reputation of Marx, and of Engels himself, would by no means suffer if these overzealous laudations were avoided. How can it be seriously maintained that sociological laws as exact as those of attraction and gravitation have been yet discovered, and that it is to Marx that we owe these "discoveries"?

The above quotations inform us to what these "laws" relate, namely,

1. The appropriation of surplus-value as the source of capitalistic accumulation and of poverty among the people.
2. The materialistic explanation (or conception) of history.
3. The tendency to the concentration of capital—"the expropriation of the larger number of capitalists by the smaller." (see *Capital*, French Edition page 342, English Ed. Vol. II. page 789.)

If the legend-makers had simply said that no one, either before or after Marx, has so fully developed the thesis of surplus-value, that no Socialist writer of any country has ever equalled him in the pitiless analysis of production and of capitalistic accumulation, and that, in his analysis, he has most clearly worked out the theory of the creation of surplus-value and the methods and results of its seizure by the capitalist class, I should be the first to agree. His work is one of the greatest glories of Socialist literature. But for all that, it is not he who first formulated the idea of surplus-value. It was the bourgeois writers who, long before Marx, taught us that capital is the result of the legalised snatching of surplus-value. The "net product" of Adam Smith, who first demonstrated that "all wealth is derived, not from land, but from labor," corresponds to the surplus value of Marx. We find the same thing spoken of by the physiocrats. (See H. Dennis' "History of Socialist systems.") At the beginning of this century, Sismondi, a Democrat, but not a Socialist, said that if we deduct the cost of production from the exchange value of a product, there remains an excess which is appropriated by the capitalist. This excess, which is the result of labor, Sismondi calls "*mieux-value*" (literally, better value).

A contemporary of Sismondi, a disciple of Robert Owen, William Thompson, has very clearly developed the idea of surplus value in his work, "Social Science, an inquiry into the distribution of wealth." (London, 1827.) According to Thompson, all capitalistic accumulation results from the appropriation by force of the surplus of production. "Without force, there can be no monopoly." (Page 106.) "Why not give him [the laborer] the whole absolute produce of his labor, without any . . . deductions?" (Page 37.) Because, Thompson replies, all his surplus is taken from him under various names—rent, profit etc. (Pp. 32-38.) As an Owenite, Thompson preaches a very large and humanitarian Socialism. One can see his fundamental idea from his advocacy of "free labor, entire use of its products [for the producers] and voluntary exchange." (Page 253.)

But it is specially in Proudhon that, here and there, we meet with a clear conception of surplus-value. Marx and Engels and their disciples have proclaimed Proudhon an ignorant sophist, and yet, before Marx, this sophist wrote, in his "Economic Contradictions": "In economic science, we have said, after Adam Smith, the point of view from which all values are compared is labor." (Page 107.) "In the thought of political economy, the principle that *all labor should leave an excess* is simply the consecration of the constitutional right which all of us gained by the Revolution, the right of robbing one's neighbor. (Tucker's translation, Vol. I., p. 113.)

Better-value, surplus-value, excess of labor—all mean the same thing: that portion of the value of the product of labor which is appropriated by the capitalist. Proudhon is quite right in saying that at bottom "it is a right of robbing one's neighbor."

Whatever name we may give to that portion of the product of labor which is accumulated by the capitalist, its appropriation is always theft, whether legalised or not. All the philosophy and pretended laws of capitalism can be summed up as follows:—

1. To rob the producer when he sells his produce;
2. To again rob the same producer in his quality of consumer of the produce.

The people long ago comprehended the nature of commerce and of capitalism, even so long ago as in the days of the wise Greeks. Mercury, the god of thieves, was also the god of commerce and of lawyers.

In Marx we find the theory of surplus-value admirably worked out, especially from the point of view of historic accumulation. In his hands surplus-value is an excellent weapon against all the bourgeois schools of economists. His, also, is the most complete definition. In his chapter on the "Conversion of surplus-value into capital" he says: "But whilst obtaining the value in exchange of his labor-force, the worker has alienated its value in use, as takes place in all buying and selling of wares. . . . The conversion of money into capital . . . brings about the following results:

1. That the produce belongs to the capitalist, not to the producer;
2. That in the value of this produce is contained both the value of the capital advanced and a surplus-value which costs labor to the worker, but nothing to the capitalist, whose legal property it becomes;

3. That the worker has maintained his labor-force, and can sell it again if he finds a buyer." ("Capital," French edition, p. 256.)*

This is very true and very complete, but we have already seen that Simondon and Proudhon have suggested the same idea. Why then does Mr. Engels declare so pompously that "it is to Marx that we owe two grand discoveries"? What would one say of a historian of art who attributed to Michel Angelo—a genius, great in painting, sculpture and architecture—that revolution in painting which may be traced through Masaccio, Ghirlandajo, Signorelli, Mantegna, Perugino and so many artists of the preceding generations to its perfect expression in the works of Raphael. Such a proceeding would scarcely be "scientific."

W. TCHERKAZOV.

Books, Pamphlets, etc.

We have received since our last acknowledgements the following books and pamphlets.

IN FRENCH.

- La Société Future.* Office of "La Révolte," 144, Rue Mouffetard, Paris.—An analysis by E. Darnaud of Grave's book "La Société au lendemain de la Révolution." A clear exposition of the principles which would guide an Anarchist Communist society.
- Dieu et l'Etat.* By Michael Bakounine. 1fr. 2nd French edition. Office of "La Révolte."
- L'Harmonie.* A monthly social and literary review. 15 centimes. Edited by Eugène Buré, 23, rue St. Jacques, Marseilles.
- Les deux congrès impossibilistes—compte rendu d'un délégué.* Publication of "La Révolte."—A criticism of the two international congresses held in Paris in 1889, giving the text of the resolution presented to them by the Anarchists.
- Evolution et Révolution.* Elisée Reclus. 10 centimes. Office of "La Révolte." A new and enlarged edition.
- Anarchie et Communisme,* a speech delivered by Cafiero in 1880. Published by E. Darnaud, 1890.—This speech shows well the compatibility of Anarchism and Communism, and points out the bad results of individual property under Anarchism and the impossibility of Collectivism.
- Nécessité et Bases d'une Entente.* No. 1 of the Propaganda Socialiste Anarchiste Révolutionnaire. By S. Merlino. Brussels: Imprimerie A. Longfils, 14, rue Vesale.—This little pamphlet is written to show the necessity of united work to bring about the Revolution. Merlino of course repudiates all authoritarianism, but believes in using trade unions as instruments for the Revolution. He also points out the help they may prove in inculcating among the workers that feeling of solidarity in work which will be so essential to start the work of production that must be begun immediately after and even during the Revolution.
- Les Hommes et les Théories de l'Anarchie* (réponse à M. A. Berard), by A. Hamon.—This is an answer to M. Berard, the criminologist, who wrote an article on Ravachol to show that he was a typical criminal. The author shows how unsound and unscientific Berard is in his arguments, and the ignorance he displays in many of his remarks on present social conditions. It is well worth reading.
- Psychologie du Militaire Professionnel.* By A. Hamon. (See page 18.)
- Militarisme.* By Dr. A. Corre. Issued by *La Société Nouvelle*, Brussels.—An interesting review of the above work.
- Les Temps Nouveaux.* By P. Kropotkine. 25 centimes. Reprinted from *La Révolte*, and enlarged from the lecture given last year in London for the benefit of Freedom. (See *Freedom* for April, 1893.)

IN ITALIAN.

- In tempo di Elezioni* (At Election time). A dialogue between an abstentionist and a man who thinks everything can be set right by "voting for the right man," but is finally convinced of the impracticability of his method. Biblioteca dell'Associazione, N. 2.
- Un Anarchico & un Repubblicano*, a dialogue by Emilio Sivieri. London: Biblioteca dell'Associazione, No. 4.
- Socialisti Anarchici al Popolo Italiano.* A manifesto calling upon the Italians to abstain from voting.
- Gli Anarchici sono Malfattori?* (Are Anarchists criminals?) A speech delivered by the advocate Vittorio Lollini at the trial of Cipriani and his comrades before the Tribunale di Roma, on October 14th, 1891.
- Sul Socialismo.* A lecture given at the Circolo Filologico di Naples, the 10th May, 1893, by Contessa Alessandra L. Polozow. 1d.—This pamphlet advocates a sort of Christian Socialism, to manifest itself by increased charity and humanity on the part of the rich. A not very satisfactory solution of the social problem.

IN YIDDISH

- Die Anarchistische Gesellschaft*, being a translation from *Freedom* of Jean Grave's essay, *Society on the Morrow of the Revolution*. Price 5 Cents. Office of *Die Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, 225, Madison-street, New York.

IN ENGLISH.

- The Women's Trade Union Review:* The Quarterly Report of the Women's Trades' Union League. 1s. 6d. per annum. Women's Trade Union League, Club and Institute Union Buildings, Clerkenwell-road, E.C.
- Socialism, its Growth and Outcome.* By William Morris and E. Belfort Bax. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Price 6s.
- The Anatomy of Misery: Plain Lectures on Economics.* By John C. Kenworthy. Bellamy Library, No. 17. Price 1s. London: William Reeves, 185, Fleet-street, E.C.
- Why we are Anarchists.* 1d. An instructive pamphlet, just issued by the Commonwealth Group, 24, Sidmouth-mews, W.C.
- In Defence of Emma Goldman and the Right of Expropriation.* 3515, Wallace-street, Philadelphia, U.S.A.—An eloquent lecture delivered at New York last December by Voltairine de Cleyre.
- Report of the Committee* appointed by the Secretary of State for India to inquire into the Rules, Regulations and Practice in the Indian cantonments and elsewhere in India, with regard to Prostitution and the treatment of venereal disease; reprinted, with explanations and notes, by the British Committee for the Abolition of the State Regulation of Vice. 1d. 1, King-street, Westminster, S.W.—Confirms the report as to the cruelties practised upon native women, forcibly kept to minister to the vices of English soldiers.
- Freedom; Rent, Interest, Profit and Taxes*, the true causes of wage slavery discussed and explained. An address on the Labor question, delivered before the Dublin Ethical Society, by G. O. Warren. 1d. W. Reeves, 185, Fleet-street, E.C.—An Individualist Anarchist pamphlet written in the flowing style so

pleasantly familiar to readers of the *Echo*.

Vivisection. By Ed. Carpenter & Ed. Maitland. 6th pamphlet of the Humanitarian League.—A thoughtful and well-written contribution to the Anti-Vivisection agitation.

Sex-love and its place in a Free Society. By Edward Carpenter. 4d. Manchester Labor Press, 59, Tib-street.—The finest and most important utterance on this subject since the publication of Karl Pearson's Essays. All comrades should read it.

The Crime of 1893, Russia and America. By W. H. Galvani. 15 cents. Morris-Jones Co., Portland, Oregon, U.S.A.—An indictment of the infamous treaty with Russia, and an account of the agitation for its abrogation.

Political Ethics and Political Organisation. By S. C. Cronwright (Olive Schreiner's husband).—An attempt to rouse the South African farmers against the morally ruinous policy of Cecil Rhodes.

Bad Air and Bad Health. By Harold Wager and Auberon Herbert.—An elaborate and emphatic exhortation to keep the windows open.

A Plan of Campaign for Labor. 2d. Fabian Tract 49. 276, Strand, W.C.; containing the substance of the famous manifesto, "To your tents, o Israel," with practical proposals for Labor Representation.

THE PROPAGANDA.

REPORTS.

LONDON—

February 11th, P. Kropotkine gave a lecture on "Work as it Might Be" at the Grafton Hall, Grafton-street. The lecturer quoted some interesting figures from works of well-known economists proving that under present conditions each producer supported beside his own family at least five other persons. The workers were further handicapped by the bad conditions under which they labored, and the lecturer cleverly quoted a large gun factory and a mine, both of which he had inspected, as existing instances of how work could be done under good conditions with satisfactory results to all concerned. Domestic work was touched on, and the audience shown how by co-operation, "neighbors' guilds," as the Americans style such organisation, much of woman's energy now quite wasted would be set free to run in channels useful to the whole community. Typical and amusing instances were given of the waste of time and energy involved by officialism in France and England. The large audience were held keenly interested for an hour-and-a-half.—N. F. D.

In January, J. Turner lectured on Anarchism at the National Secular Society, Wimbledon, to a crowded audience. He was well received and made a remarkable impression on those present; he was requested to come again to speak on Anarchism.

C. W. Mowbray has lectured to the Dockers' Union on the "House of Lords," at Minerva Hall, East-End, where he pointed out that before any good was likely to be done both Houses would have to be abolished. He made an impression and created a deal of sympathy.

Mowbray and Yanovsky have been very busy lately in attending scores of meetings in the East-End, both trade union and unemployed, at which they have done a remarkable amount of good. Mowbray also on one occasion lectured to the East-End branch of the S.D.F. on Anarchism, provoking much discussion, with good results. E. Leggett has been busy speaking in various parts of the East-End lately.

February 18th, C. T. Quinn lectured on the "Dangers of Democracy" to the Barking-road branch of the S.D.F. A very brisk discussion took place after the lecture, and continued until such a late hour that the discussion was adjourned for a week; so on Feb. 25, Quinn again turned up. A very interesting discussion took place, and Quinn has certainly impressed a great number of good fellows here.

February 18th, Fauset Macdonald on "A Plan of Campaign" to the Kentish Town branch of the S.D.F. The lecture created such an interest that several members of the S.D.F. got up after the lecture and claimed Macdonald as a "Social Democrat," little thinking that it was not Macdonald who was becoming a Social Democrat, but they who are fast becoming Anarchists.

During March, meetings have been held every Sunday regularly at Regent's Park, Hyde Park, Victoria Park, Hoxton Church Square and other places. At each of these meetings and at various other places, the pamphlet "Anarchism and Outrage" has found many buyers, the title is attractive and it is cheap, and when once read must leave a marked impression on the reader, so that comrades would do well to extend the sale as much as possible: too much attention cannot be called to this declaration of our methods and principles.

Comrades have also been busy lecturing at various S.D.F., N.S.S., and Trade Union branches. Comrade Young has been doing excellent work at the Tottenham branch of the Gas Workers' Union, of which he is lecture secretary, with the result that Comrades Turner, Presberg, Samuels, Macdonald, Quinn and others have given lectures on Anarchist Communism from various points of view.

On Sunday, March 18th, the day on which the so-called anti-House of Lords demonstration took place at Hyde Park, an exceptionally large audience gathered round our platform, near the Reformers' Tree; speakers, Cantwell, Leggett and Quinn. Literature, *Weal and Freedom* went exceedingly well. Audience most sympathetic. The *Times* and *Telegraph* took notice of this meeting on the following day, commenting on the sympathy and magnitude of the crowd.—J. P.

Feb. 21, H. Seymour should have attended at the Autonomie Hall to lecture on "Anarchy v. Communism." Failing to attend, because of not wishing to be mistaken for an "Anarchist Communist or bomb thrower" (as he practically put it), H. B. Samuels opened the discussion on the same question from a Communist standpoint; Mahoney, Individualist, replied. An interesting discussion followed, which lasted till a late hour.—Feb. 28th, G. W. Pearson (S.D.F.) lectured on "Anarchy and Anarchists." He might have chosen the following title, which would have been more appropriate, "Why I am a Social Democrat, and how to insult and abuse the Anarchists because they hold opinions different to mine." The whole time this Social Democratic "gentleman" was lecturing we heard nothing but abuse and vile insults. He brought with him a gang of his followers, of whom he made good use. He tried to "boss" the meeting by saying who should speak and should not; but the comrades would not submit to this, and in the midst of great excitement G. W. Pearson got up and walked out. So ended a most miserable evening, owing to the action of a conceited idol of the S.D.F. Very many Anarchist pamphlets have been sold at these lectures, "Anarchism and Outrage" going exceptionally well. Good collections on each occasion.—J. P.

Peckham.—Open-air propaganda was resumed on Thursday, March 15th, when our meeting was broken up by a gang of respectable roughs, led on by several detectives, among whom we noticed Sergeant Walsh, who exhibited his manliness by getting behind little boys and pushing them on us. Eventually, Comrade Forrester was taken to the police station and charged with assault, but the assaulted individuals not coming forward, the charge was altered to one of causing a disorderly crowd to assemble, leading to a breach of the peace. At the Lambeth Police-court next morning (after the usual amount of police lies) our

* This passage is omitted in the English edition of 1887.

comrade was bound over in one surety of £25 to keep the peace for 6 months, or one month's imprisonment. Police Constable Martin, 302 P, stated in cross-examination that the crowd was perfectly orderly until Forrester and others struck out at them with sticks! And, of course, the magistrate, Mr. Biron, could not be expected to doubt the word of a policeman! This magistrate would not allow W. Hart to give evidence on behalf of Forrester; he persistently interrupted Hart and eventually ordered him from the box, with the remark that he'd "have no speeches there!" After taking 3 days to make enquiries, the magistrate refused Comrade Agnes Henry as surety, saying he considered a woman not responsible enough! Then Comrade Samuels' security was refused because he would not take the oath! Samuels asked the magistrate if that was what they called justice, promising him that the matter would receive the attention of the Press. At this the magistrate flew in a temper, and our comrade was unceremoniously hustled out of court by a whole crowd of police bullies. In the end, Comrade Forrester was released, on the surety of W. B. Parker, after having been 7 days in gaol.—All South-London comrades are specially requested to turn up regularly every Thursday, at 8, at the corner of Peckham-park-road (opposite the Gas Works), Old Kent-road, to keep order and see fair-play.—W. H.

Deptford.—Energetic propaganda work is still being carried on here, two meetings being held every Sunday in the Broadway, enormous crowds listening with great attention to the gospel of Revolution and Anarchy. The lying misrepresentations of Anarchism in the Capitalist Press of late, has evidently had no effect on the workmen of Deptford, for they receive our speakers with sympathy and approval. There is no doubt that Anarchy is making rapid strides in this locality; our audiences get larger and larger, and more sympathetic every week. The Social Democrats have been completely routed from the Broadway, being unable to hold an audience, since we have put in an appearance. Our most active speakers have been Comrades Banham, Carter, Forrester and Goldsmith, relieved occasionally by Comrades Cantwell, Barnes, Levings and Atterbury. Our women comrades have also been very active in selling literature, etc.—On Sunday, March 18th, a splendid meeting was held, addressed by Carter, Banham and Goldsmith. Banham delivered a very able address on the Commune of Paris, pointing out its errors. Then a prominent Social Democrat, named Elliot—a god among these people—delivered a speech of over half-an-hour in opposition to the principles of Anarchism, talking the usual twaddle. Comrade Goldsmith replied very effectively, completely pulverising the arguments of his opponent, who hurriedly left the meeting, having lost his temper.—We intend very shortly to extend the propaganda into Woolwich.—Ca Ira.

PROVINCES—

Portsmouth.—On Sunday, Feb. 25, a debate took place here between Comrade Reed (late of Brighton, now at Southampton) and C. J. Hales, of the I.L.P. According to the verdict of an audience none too favorably disposed towards Anarchists and Anarchism, Comrade Reed came off very well. At the close of the debate time was allowed for questions, most of which were addressed to Reed, who answered them all very satisfactorily.—On Wednesday evening, Feb. 28, Reed addressed a large and attentive open-air meeting on "The Labor Problem and its Solution." The only disorder was caused by the guardians of order—the police; their efforts to end or disturb the meeting, however, were futile.—On Sunday, March 18, Comrade Feinstein lectured in the open air to a large audience on "Government and Labor."—W. J.

Newcastle-on-Tyne.—We have but little to report as regards meetings; our propaganda has been chiefly distributing literature and discussing. It has commenced anything but a happy new year for the workers of Tyneside; on every hand there is the tale "out of work" or "slack time." It is years since such suffering and misery have been seen here. In every street are groups of idle workers. Most of the Social Democrats here are "leaders" of trade unions, and some of them having been members of the School Board, and having taken part in everything connected with the Labor movement, the unemployed looked to them to do something. Meetings were called, which were well attended, and addressed by the Social Democrats. The old remedies were first put forward: 8-hours' day, relief works, etc., but these evidently were far too advanced for our practical friends, so they asked permission of the Watch Committee for the unemployed to carry collecting boxes and beg alms of the more fortunate workers. This was graciously granted, an unemployed relief committee was started and a few "Social" Democrats, Aldermen, Councillors and others have been busy collecting and distributing charity. We have but utter contempt for compromisers, who thus betray the true cause of the workers to get a few votes. A few comrades spoke out and told the workers that the social problem could not be solved by charity, and that they were only perpetuating the conditions under which they suffered, but the influence of the Social Democrats and hunger did their work and again the workers sold their rights for a few scraps of food. But the "philanthropists" got tired even of that, and, work not being any better, the unemployed are now left to "either revolt or starve." During the unemployed meetings Shaw Maxwell paid a visit here, told the unemployed that it would not be a crime if, when they or their children were starving, they were to break a shop window and take food, and also that they would have to do something like this before they would get anything out of the capitalists. Then the Fabians and labor leaders rushed to write to the press and state that M. Shaw Maxwell had not spoken "officially." It is seldom that the truth is spoken "officially." The new motto of the labor party is "We shall arrive." It seems to be a race between them and the millennium.—T. P.

Sunderland.—We have not been idle, although we have had no speakers. We have disposed of a great deal of literature in the colliery villages; five quires of *Freedom*, *Weal* and *Liberty* of last month. We have not done so well this month, as some of the collieries have worked so little.—Comrades McCabe, Haughton, and Wood have been here during the holidays. McCabe and Haughton addressed a fair meeting Sunday, March 25, at Wheat Sheaf, and had very good discussion. McCabe, assisted by Fox (I.L.P.), addressed a very large meeting in Green-st. Audience very sympathetic. A working man (so he termed himself, but someone in the audience said he was an agent for the Marquis of Londonderry), in a box hat, requested leave to speak for a few moments, which was granted. He harped upon "foreign competition" for about fifteen minutes. We requested him to allow the lecturer to answer his opposition. He refused. Then someone in the crowd shoved him off the stool, and immediately a policeman appeared from the outside of the crowd and informed us that the meeting must stop; that he had allowed us above an hour, while the "Salvationists" were only allowed half-an-hour. We asked him to allow the lecturer five minutes to answer the "working man," but he was inexorable. Was this a plant? I pause for a reply.—J. J. B.

Southampton.—On Wednesday, 21st March, Comrade Purkess read a paper on Anarchism, at the local branch of the S.D.F., followed by a good discussion, in which Comrade Reed (late of Brighton) joined. We hope to be able to do some good propaganda during the summer months.—Snell, of the Fabian Society, after lecturing at the local Radical Club, the other Sunday, in answer to Comrade Reed, admitted that the workers would not gain their emancipation by political methods; and that Burns, Keir Hardie, and other labor Members would be doing more for Socialism and the labor movement by educating the people outside the House of Commons.—H. P.

Aberdeen.—Since our last report things have been looking lively here. Besides our usual propagandist work, we have had visits from Comrades D. J. Nicoll,

Sheffield, and H. B. Levinson, Glasgow. Nicoll lectured on Sunday, Feb. 4, morning and night, and on Monday evening in the Oddfellows' Hall, subjects, "The Labor Problem," "The Coming Revolution" and "Anarchists and Anarchy." Good audiences each time. Some Social Democrats subjected Nicoll to a close questioning, which would have become tiresome had it not been for the smart way in which our comrade replied. Social Democrats will think twice before they cross swords with Nicoll again, at least in Aberdeen.—Sunday, Feb. 11th, Comrade Duncan lectured on "The Triumph of Labor." 18th, H. B. Levinson, "Anarchist Communism and Morality," a lecture which fairly "took" our audience. It won't be long before Levenson is back in Aberdeen to give us another lecture. There has been too little exchange of speakers going on in Scotland, owing perhaps to the excessive modesty of those who can speak, but now that Aberdeen has dragged (for we had to drag Levenson north) into the light another comrade capable of lecturing before any audience perhaps other comrades will not be so confoundedly modest when they are invited to spout in another town.—Sunday, 25th, concert; our musical and elocutionary comrades and friends supplied a good program of songs, recitations, etc.—Wednesday, 28th, Comrade Duncan debated with W. S. Rennie, of the S.D.F., on "Anarchist Communism v. Social Democracy." There was an unusually large audience present, the Hall being packed. Both sides claimed victory.—Sunday, March 4th, Comrade Eglan Shepherd lectured on "Social Parasites." 11th, Comrade Duncan on "Life as it might be." 18th, Commemoration of Paris Commune. Addresses were delivered by Comrades Duncan, Fraser and Shepherd.—On Sunday, 26th, we concluded our series of indoor meetings, which all through have been remarkably successful, and commenced a vigorous open-air propaganda. Usual open-air meetings are as large and attentive as ever. In fact, all things go to prove that though Labor Parties may "wax and wane," Anarchism has come to stay in Aberdeen.—E. S.

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

COMMUNE CELEBRATION.

For many years South Place Chapel had been the scene of Commune Commemorations, but this year, owing to the decision of the South Place Institute Committee last November not to rent the Hall to any Anarchists in future, the Commune was celebrated at the Club and Institute Union, Clerkenwell-road, W.C., on Monday, March 19th. The hall was crowded. Proceedings were opened by Comrade John Turner, who gave an eloquent account of the Commune.

Macdonald, who came next, pointed out that the success of a revolution depended upon new ideas, a revolutionary situation, and courage on the part of the people to act.

Samuels next pointed out that one must not be surprised to hear of continual bomb outrages in France, when we looked back and saw how 35,000 men, women and children were most brutally murdered twenty-three years ago by the men then in power. "But in England there is no need for a policy of revenge." We have free press and free speech, and should utilise those means to further Anarchist ideas. No bomb would have been thrown in other countries if the people of them had the same freedom. He concluded by saying that he believed logic to be stronger than dynamite, and truth than falsehood.

Mowbray accentuated the necessity of Anarchist Communists joining their various trade unions, so as to spread Anarchist ideas, as the future depended upon the action taken by such bodies of workers during a revolutionary crisis; he bade farewell to comrades, as he was about to sail for America (having been sent for by American comrades) to carry on the work which was so nobly begun by Spies, Parsons, and the other Chicago Martyrs.

Kropotkin followed and dwelt upon the growth of ideas; although persecuted in every land, the idea of Anarchism was triumphing in all; the discussion that has been and is taking place in the press on Anarchism is a sign of the growth of our ideas. Republicanism was played out in France, and the idea of government was being rapidly exploded all over the world. Something grand is growing up among us. The individual will assert himself: he will no longer be a pariah. For this he is ready to sacrifice even his own life.

Louise Michel said it is beautiful that, when men perceive liberty, they will fight and even die for it; revolt is inherent in man. We cannot love freedom and not hate oppression. The conscience of every man will ultimately act, and so the revolution will come, when men will be able to love each other.

Comrades Agnes Henry, Yanovsky and Leggett followed in brilliant style, and so ended a successful meeting amid cheers for the Social Revolution.

The audience, different from former commemorations, was entirely English in character. Social Democrats were plentiful; two S.D.F. branches had brought their banners and placed them by the side of the platform. Some ten paper representatives were present, and yet the whole of the press, with the exception of the *Morning Leader* and *Daily Graphic*, boycotted the meeting. The reason is plain: sensational incidents so necessary to the bourgeois palate were missing; there was no Anarchism and less bombs spoken of. And this is as it should be, for it is better if but one individual learns the truth concerning Anarchism than that hundreds, through columns devoted to bloodthirsty speeches, should get false conceptions of our ideas. Let us spread ideas, and time will prove their worth.

J. P.

NOTICES.

LONDON—

On Sunday, April 15th, at 11.15 a.m., Fauset Macdonald will lecture on "Evolution and Anarchism" at the Hall of Science, Old-street, E.C. Comrades should make a point of attending this lecture, with literature, as there is a fine field among the freethinkers for our ideas.

Grafton Hall, 55, Grafton-street, Tottenham Court-road, W.—A Grand Concert &c. will take place, on Friday, April 20th, on the occasion of Comrade C. W. Mowbray's departure for America. Speeches will be made during the evening by several well-known comrades. Tickets for admission 6d. each.

The Autonomie Club being now closed, lectures will be discontinued for a short time, until new premises have been obtained.

PROVINCES—

Manchester Anarchist Group.—Lectures and discussion every Wednesday evening. Stevenson Square (open air) every Sunday at 3 p.m. Financial Secretary, P. J. Kelly; Cor. Sec., Alpheus Round, 203, Oldham-road, Newton Heath.

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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