

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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THE STATE AT WORK.*

The mutual aid tendency in man has so remote an origin, and is so deeply interwoven with all the past evolution of the human race, that it has been maintained by mankind up to the present time, notwithstanding all vicissitudes of history. It was chiefly evolved during periods of peace and prosperity; but when even the greatest calamities befell men—when whole countries were laid waste by wars, and whole populations were decimated by misery, or groaned under the yoke of tyranny—the same tendency continued to live in the villages and among the poorer classes in the towns; it still kept them together, and in the long run it reacted even upon those ruling, fighting and devastating minorities which dismissed it as sentimental nonsense. And whenever mankind had to work out a new social organisation, adapted to a new phasis of development, its constructive genius always drew the elements and the inspiration for the new departure from that same ever-living tendency.

After having passed through the savage tribe, and next through the village community, the Europeans came to work out in mediæval times a new form of organisation, which had the advantage of allowing great latitude for individual initiative, while it largely responded at the same time to man's need of mutual support. A federation of village communities, covered by a network of guilds and fraternities, was called into existence in the mediæval cities. The immense results achieved under this new form of union—in well-being for all, in industries, art, science, and commerce—are well known.

But towards the end of the fifteenth century the mediæval republics—surrounded by domains of hostile feudal lords, unable to free the peasants from servitude, and gradually corrupted by ideas of Roman Caesarism—were doomed to become a prey to the growing military States.

However, before submitting, for three centuries to come, to the all-absorbing authority of the State, the masses of the people made a formidable attempt at reconstructing society on the old basis of mutual aid and support. The great movement of the Reformation was not a mere revolt against the abuses of the Catholic Church. It had its constructive ideal as well, and that ideal was life in free, brotherly communities. Those of the early writings and sermons of the period which found most response with the masses were imbued with ideas of the economical and social brotherhood of mankind. The "Twelve Articles" and similar professions of faith, which were circulated among the German and Swiss peasants and artisans, maintained not only every one's right to interpret the Bible according to his own understanding, but also included the demand of communal lands being restored to the village communities, and feudal servitudes being abolished; and they always alluded to the "true" faith—a faith of brotherhood. At the same time scores of thousands of men and women joined the communist fraternities of Moravia, giving them all their fortune, and living in numerous and prosperous settlements constructed upon the principles of communism. Only wholesale massacres by the thousand could put a stop to this widely spread popular movement, and it was by the sword, the fire, and the rack that the young States secured their first and decisive victory over the masses of the people.

For the next three centuries the States, both on the Continent and in these islands, systematically weeded out all institutions in which the mutual aid tendency had formerly found its expression. The village communities were bereft of their folk-motes, their courts and independent administration; their lands were confiscated. The guilds were despoiled of their possessions and liberties, and placed under the control, the fancy, and the bribery of the State's official. The cities were divested of sovereignty, and the very springs of their inner life—the folk-mote, the elected justices and administration, the sovereign parish and the sovereign guild—were annihilated; the State's functionary took possession of every link of what formerly was an organic whole. Under that fatal policy, and the wars it engendered, whole regions, once populous and wealthy, were laid bare; rich cities became insignificant boroughs; the very roads which connected them with other cities became impracticable. Industry, art, and knowledge fell into decay. Political education, science, and law were rendered subservient to the idea of State centralisation. It was taught in the universities and from the pulpit that the institutions in which men formerly used to embody their needs of mutual support could not be tolerated in a properly organised State; that the State alone could represent the bonds of union between its subjects; that federalism and "particularism"

were the enemies of progress, and the State was the only proper initiator of further development. By the end of the last century the kings on the Continent, the Parliament in these isles, and the revolutionary Convention in France, although they were at war with each other, agreed in asserting that no separate unions between citizens must exist within the State; that hard labour and death were the only suitable punishments to workers who dared to enter into "coalitions." "No State within the State!" The State alone, and the State's Church, must take care of matters of general interest, while the subjects must represent loose aggregations of individuals, connected by no particular bonds, bound to appeal to the Government each time that they feel a common need. Up to the middle of this century this was the theory and practice in Europe. Even commercial and industrial societies were looked at with suspicion. As to the workers, their unions were treated as unlawful almost within our own lifetime in this country and within the last twenty years on the Continent. The whole system of our State education was such that up to the present time, even in this country, a notable portion of society would treat as a revolutionary measure the concession of such rights as everyone, freeman or serf, exercised five hundred years ago in the village folk-mote, the guild, the parish, and the city.

The absorption of all social functions by the State necessarily favoured the development of an unbridled, narrow-minded individualism. In proportion as the obligations towards the State grew in numbers the citizens were evidently relieved from their obligations towards each other. In the guild—and in mediæval times every man belonged to some guild or fraternity—two 'brothers' were bound to watch in turns a brother who had fallen ill; it would be sufficient now to give one's neighbour the address of the next paupers' hospital. In barbarian society, to assist at a fight between two men, arisen from a quarrel, and not to prevent it from taking a fatal issue, meant to be oneself treated as a murderer; but under the theory of the all-protecting State the bystander need not intrude—it is the policeman's business to interfere, or not. And while in a savage land, among the Hottentots, it would be scandalous to eat without having loudly called out thrice whether there is not somebody wanting to share the food, all that a respectable citizen has to do now is to pay the poor-tax and let the starving starve. The result is, that the theory which maintains that men can, and must, seek their own happiness in a disregard of other people's wants is now triumphant all round—in law, in science, in religion. It is the religion of the day, and to doubt of its efficacy means to be a dangerous Utopian. Science loudly proclaims that the struggle of each against all is the leading principle of Nature, and of human societies as well. To that struggle Biology ascribes the progressive evolution of the animal world. History takes the same line of argument; and political economists, in their naïve ignorance, trace all progress of modern industry and machinery to the "wonderful" effects of the same principle. The very religion of the pulpit is a religion of individualism, slightly mitigated by more or less charitable relations to one's neighbours, chiefly on Sundays. "Practical" men and theorists, men of science and religious preachers, lawyers and politicians, all agree upon one thing—that individualism may be more or less softened in its harshest effects by charity, but that it is the only secure basis for the maintenance of society and its ulterior progress. That is what we owe to the State.

SAUSAGE & BREAD.

The new Czar has been officially crowned, received the blessing of God and his Church, the homage of his nobility and the French Government, squandered the money wrung from the industrious people in one round of bread and sausage for some of the starving workers, costly jewels and robes for himself and in providing feasts for the wealthy gourmands of Europe. All this is very good, no doubt; and thousands of hungry ones sniffing the bread and sausage from afar crowded to behold, if unable to taste, at seven a.m. and waited till the distribution at noon when their vulgar appetite and total want of good manners impelled them forward in a mad rush, crushing thousands to death. How different their pastors and masters, who, after two or three lunches, sat down with due decorum to a dinner *de luxe* some hours later. The Czar does not value human life at the same rate as that of his lamented ancestor, who received compensation to the tune of six hanged and several hundred extinguished in Siberian mines; he came forward and appraised the "stiffs" who had families dependent on them at £8 per head and a burial! Yet some say that if these poor wretches were allowed to keep the produce of their toil they would not have troubled about his sausage and bread;—in fact, he might have been in want of some himself.

* Abstract from an article on *Mutual Aid amongst Modern Men*, in the *Nineteenth Century Review*, January, 1896.

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NOTES.

THE CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS.

The Co-operative Congress of 1896 must be considered a success, at least so far as numbers are concerned. We hear again of the vast amount of business done, of the increasing strength of the movement, etc., etc., all of which is very interesting—from a business point of view. But apart from that there is, we fear, not half as much for the movement to congratulate itself upon as there might be. The figures, of course, look very remarkable, and we don't doubt that they are perfectly accurate; for all that, what we need is to get behind the figures and find out, if we can, how far the evils of our present society have been reduced by the work of the Co-operators. In this respect even the Co-operators themselves will admit that very little has been done. For although many thousands may be a few shillings to the good and some hundreds, perhaps, may have attained a certain degree of affluence, yet the means employed in attaining these ends have been so largely of the ordinary commercial kind that the necessarily evil results of a narrow selfish spirit—the spirit that grabs at its five per cent and adopts the mean tricks of the capitalist to attain it—has borne the fruit that might have been expected. Yet 1,400,000 persons with the right ideas in their heads might in a brief while have won the economic emancipation of the people of these islands. This they will never do by adhering to their present methods. What is most essential is for them to reconsider their whole position. We notice they are turning their attention to the land question; and here, indeed, is scope for their activity. But how will they treat the question? Will they be guided by the "enlightened landlords" of the Winchelsea type, who, we notice, honored them with his presence and advice? If so, the landlords may look forward to an increase in their rent-rolls, and the poor laborer—well, he may expect to become the serf of the Co-operative movement.

SOCIETY, CRIME AND PUNISHMENT.

In a few days society is to have revenge on four of its wretched victims, who are to be legally done to death in satisfaction of the brutal doctrine, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." Every decent-minded person will be morally tortured by this disgusting exhibition of barbarism, and every morbid-minded person will gloat over the details the Press will supply—inflaming their diseased imaginations till some fine day, perchance, society will be "shocked" once more by an attack on life and property and will enact again the same sickening scenes. And yet society talks in its fulsome way of capital punishment being a "deterrent," little reflecting how every execution must necessarily weaken respect for human life, especially amongst those with whom it is most essential this respect should be encouraged. Clearly the whole business is a hideous failure; and if it were possible that executions could be repeated on the same subject, there are people whom circumstances would force through the process again and again, just as there are some people who return again to penal servitude.

A REMARKABLE DEFENCE.

The line of defence taken by Fowler's counsel in the Muswell Hill case seemed to cause a considerable shock to some of the respectables in court,—not least to the judge himself. Speaking of his career, of his imprisonments, of his being hunted and hounded by the police, of the apparent impossibility of his being anything but what he was, his counsel asked: "What had society ever done to help him out of his trouble?" A very pertinent question, and one which smug respectability may ask itself again and again on the morning when these four unfortunate human creatures are hanging lifeless in the prison yard of Newgate. No matter how ineffectually, we protest and shall always protest against these legalised murders, perpetrated as they are upon the unhappy victims of a system which, in the matter of mere blood-guiltiness, is a thousand times more criminal than those whom it hangs. Mrs Dyer, a partial lunatic, killed poor little children, it is true; but what of the morality of a society which hands these little beings into her charge? It is those philistines, who pour their contempt upon so-called illegitimacy, who are responsible for the crimes of baby-farming. But, after all, is she half as culpable as those who are responsible for

the management of our barrack schools, and who have not yet appeared in the dock? Think of the suffering and death they have to answer for through their cruel and inhuman treatment of the unfortunates committed to their charge, and then pity the poor half demented creature who, in the struggle for existence, became callous of human life—and no wonder!—and who is to die on the scaffold because of the pretence that human life is sacred. Oh that justice might be done!

PROGRESS AND REACTION.

From various quarters we have had several reminders lately of the tendency of some Anarchists to take a gloomy view of the prospect of things at the present time. Whether this is due alone to the influence of the reactionary times through which we are passing it is difficult to say; but it is obviously due in some measure to this fact. And certainly if one judged by the tone of the press and the majority in the House of Commons there would be some grounds for taking a gloomy view. But fortunately these things form no correct basis for estimating the progress that is being made. As a matter of fact they indicate pretty accurately the fear and cowardice of the ruling classes with their hangers-on in their rally in aid of the "rights" of property and monopoly, this and nothing more. Superficial observers imagine that the evolution of ideas is at a standstill during these periods. Nothing of the kind. That process is always at work; and indeed it is evident there are many persons who will be helped in drawing more correct conclusions as to the necessity for the abolition of the present system merely by the facts which events are plainly disclosing to them now. Of course there will always be people who can never see that we have taken a single step in the right direction because a revolution cannot be certainly predicted for to-morrow morning. For these no argument will suffice; but, for the most of us at any rate, it is only necessary to recall to ourselves the work that has been done during the past ten years to remind us how the growth of ideas has been going on. Even the deepest dyed reactionary of the present day cannot afford to be the reactionary he might have been some years ago. He feels bound to make some concessions to the new conceptions of a better state of society that are beginning to animate all sections of workers. And for us it is only necessary to keep steadily on with the most uncompromising and intelligent propaganda we can possibly organise.

NARROW ESCAPE OF TOM MANN.

We congratulate Tom Mann on his narrow escape from being returned to Parliament—and lost. We are happy to think he is still in the land of the living movement, and long may he remain there! It is to be feared, however, should an opportunity again arise he will still be willing to sacrifice himself in the political vortex. And then—well he must either go the way of "honest John," or remain isolated and ineffective like Keir Hardie. It is pitiable to think of the splendid energy and enthusiasm of the I.L.P. being frittered away on "political action," and of the possibility of some of the best men in the Socialist movement being sacrificed to the same Moloch. Still, time works wonders, and no doubt a very brief experience of the demoralising effects of political tactics will convince the advanced wing of the I.L.P. there is a cleaner and straighter road leading to social emancipation than that which conducts to that "incoherent assembly," as Dickens styled the House of Commons.

"THE ART OF HAPPINESS."

This is the title of a little book written by M. Blatchford (Mont Blong) and published at the *Clarion* office, price 1s. The author combines the happy faculty of writing both amusingly and instructively, and it is obvious that books of this description fill a very useful place in the Socialist movement. Every one of the twenty-four chapters contains something of interest for those outside the movement as well as for the initiated. We note that the author has found a rule for himself which entirely accords with our ideas. "My only rule is," he says, "never to do what I don't want to do." This is excellent Anarchism. We might almost call it "the golden rule."

LIEBKNECHT'S TAIL.

On Wednesday, May 20, Wilhelm Liebknecht was accorded a public reception by the S.D.F. and I.L.P. at Queens Hall, Langham Place. Of course, we were glad to see Liebknecht, who has done active service for Social Democracy; but it was disgusting to see Aveling inviting people who knew nothing of Liebknecht to break out into deafening applause at the mention of his name (just as other political tricksters use the name of the G. O. M.): indeed, this occurred to such an extent that Liebknecht himself rose and requested them to manifest their enthusiasm for principles rather than men.

After several speakers, who evidently did not know what they were talking about, had expressed their admiration for the conduct of the Social Democratic M.P.s and congratulated the German Party on the possession of 47 of them (there being nothing else to congratulate the party about), Liebknecht addressed the audience. In the course of his remarks he compared the tactics of the party in Germany with those pursued in other countries, especially with France, and said that their present conditions might be said to show the result of using the ballot and the bullet respectively; pointing out that the Paris Commune was crushed by the reactionary rural population, inferring that the comparison was favorable to the tactics of the German party. But when we remember that Germany is the home of the meanest kind of petty tyranny; that half the party are patriots, and that, although they have

worked the ballot for all it is worth during the 25 years that have elapsed since the Commune, the rural population is so reactionary that it will not tolerate a sensible view of religion, and repudiates Socialism (democratic or otherwise); while, as we mentioned in *Freedom* of Nov. and Dec., 1895, the Social Democrats are so advanced in their ideas that they were wrangling hopelessly among themselves—Vollmar with Liebknecht, Bebel with both, and Schippel with all three—in the vain attempt to concoct an Agricultural Program which should propitiate the rural voters all over Germany without pledging them to anything Socialistic (and they would have been wrangling still but that the stupid Kaiser prosecuted some of them for *lèse majesté*),—we fail to see that the German peasantry are less reactionary than the French 25 years ago, in spite of the political jugglery of the Social Democrats. They have more liberty of thought, speech and action in France, where Radicals, Republicans, Positivists and other sections of advanced thought form separate parties, which in Germany are rolled into one and labelled Social Democracy.

Then he proceeded to deal with Anarchism in the same scrupulously fair and truthful manner. There was no Anarchism but Individualism; no Socialist could disbelieve in Parliamentary Government—as if an economic theory must necessarily be bound up with any such political theory! He also informed his audience that Anarchism and Association were antagonistic; and there was no Anarchist movement in Germany, although he well knew that an Anarchist weekly, *Der Sozialist*, has been published for the last three years, in spite of persecutions far more severe than those endured by the Social Democrats.—T. C.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN RUSSIA.

Now that Russia is in a state of extraordinary excitement owing to the attractive coronation of the Czar, it may not be without interest to the readers of *Freedom* to get a glimpse of the situation in that darkest of all European lands. The more so, as the advent on the throne of Nicholas II. has been accompanied by quite a number of rumours of his supposed liberality and broad-mindedness, not only abroad, but also in Russia. What wonder, then, that the people of Russia hailed him as the inaugurator of a new era; their hearts began to beat hopefully, and in their trustfulness they approached the young Czar and, while assuring him of their most devoted loyalty, they ventured to utter the desires, hopes and expectations of the people. Many may still remember the Czar's reply to the petition of the zemstvos* of the government of Tver, where he told the representatives of the people that it was all "foolish dreams." This reply was a shock to all; even the most ardently devoted conservatives, who did not cease to sing hymns in praise of the new Czar, seemed rebuffed. After such a reply there can be little hope left for any noteworthy reform, and, indeed, Nicholas II. has left everything much in the same state as it was under his father, whose policy he is simply continuing or extending.

However, in spite of all this, the Russians did not give up hope entirely, and a petition, signed by 78 well-known authors of St. Petersburg, was handed by the Academician Bilbassov to the Tzar, asking for justice and fair play in dealing with the press, which is bound hand and foot. Articles and whole books are being suppressed without any trial whatever, simply by administrative order. They therefore appealed to the Tzar in very eloquent terms to take them under the protection of the law and to do away with arbitrary administration. The Tzar, acting upon the advice of the Minister of Justice, decided to "leave the petition without any attention whatever." Meanwhile, the brief reign of Nicholas II. has been signalised by numerous suppressions of journals and other publications on the most trivial pretexts; for instance, the paper *Russian Life*, for publishing an article on the measures taken by the Minister of Finance; the Moscow journal *Art and Life*, for revealing the bribery of the Commission of Building by a new Moscow theatre; the retail sale of the Moscow daily paper *Russian Gazette* was prohibited on account of its having been published without a black margin on the day of the anniversary of the death of Alexander III. Various other journals and reviews received warnings and reprimands; a weekly paper, called *Njedelia* (The Week), for some articles on Marxism; another, *Russian Thought*, for describing the miserable position of the Russian workers and indicating the labor movement of Western Europe as an example for Russia. Besides these, many other arbitrary dealings took place, all of which space would not permit me to chronicle; and to crown all this, a new list of books has been sent to all public librarians with the special order not to lend them for reading, at the same time strictly forbidding them to let the public know of this arrangement.

Those who are acquainted with the course of the world's history will be able to judge from the above that plutocratic Russian absolutism is struggling with all its might to keep itself alive, and there can be no doubt as to the fact of its being on the eve of its downfall. Woe unto those rulers who think that by making the laws more stringent, or that by using brutal force and suppression, they will succeed in stopping for ever the stream of progress! They may retard it for a while, but afterwards it will break forth with irresistible force and sweep away everything in its path.

Hypocrisy has always been a useful aide-de-camp to governments of all kinds; more than ever it is now the order of the day of the new government in Russia. While the above-described suppressions, etc., are going on, the Czar, anxious to throw dust in the eyes of the public and to pose as the beneficent ruler, opened a fund in aid of poor journalists and their families. Of course, those who keep their eyes open will be able to see through this "benevolence" and easily detect its underlying motives. Especially when one sees how every attempt on the part of the intelligent to help in the education of the poor ignorant people is frustrated; and it is quite naturally so, since the upholders of absolutism are fully aware that as soon as the people become enlightened they will also become conscious of their rights. In accordance with the line of tactics so distinctly proclaimed by the late Minister of Public Affairs, M. Durnevo, who said that the bureaucracy recognised "in principle" the task of education is "perfectly honorable," but to leave it in the hands of society would be dangerous, he therefore proposed to put all existing Committees of Popular Education as well as all private societies under the immediate control of the Minister of Education. His

proposal has since been put into effect by an ukase of Nicholas II.—(see St. Petersburg Correspondent of *The Daily Chronicle* of April 22). If all this is not sufficient to convince our readers to what an extent the new Czar is furthering popular education, the following anecdote which happened in Russia may help to do so. The local zemstvo was very active in trying to organise reading-rooms in the villages. The chief obstacle lay in finding rooms for that purpose; consequently they petitioned the Minister of Education to give them permission to make use of the schoolrooms. The answer was a point-blank refusal. But let nobody imagine that the Minister is against libraries, and that it is his intention to hinder the spreading of such—oh no! he is only afraid the visitors to the reading-rooms "might make the floors dirty"!

It may be regarded as a remarkable sign of the time, however, that in spite of persecutions, suppressions and so forth, the social question is being discussed everywhere. The theories of Karl Marx are subjected to severe criticism at the hands of the best known critics such as N. Mikhailovsky, in his journal *Russian Wealth*; Slonimsky in the *Meessenger of Europe*; Obolensky, Danielson and Professor Karéjff in the chief organ of the Russian populists, *Novoyé Slovo* (The New World), as well as various other professors and learned men, have taken up that subject for discussion. DORIS ZHOOK.

THE VOICE OF SPRING.

O it is a dulcet thing to note the spring time's dawning! Now the trees bud timidly and the capitalist reduces wages. All nature rejoices and so does the financier. For the merry birds carol in the tree-tops and dividends on watered stocks fall due. The blushing daughters of plutocracy demurely go to church, and from the slums whence the revenues of Archbishop Benson come ragged girls steal forth for the chance crust that may lie in the gutter. Surely, no season is comparable to happy spring.

And we blessed mortals rejoice with Mother Earth. Like her, we feel renewed youth. After all there is much in life worth living for. It costs nothing to look at Marlborough House as you pass by. Park Lane is free to any who choose to perambulate therein. And the shops! What a pure pleasure they afford! The bakeries and cakeries spread out their choicest wares, tempting as Hebe herself, and it is so inspiring to see the dirty, ragged boys who gather about, eyeing the dainties with the keenest admiration. There is a simple charm in the pleasures of the poor. Those ragged boys before the bakeries are really obtaining a valuable æsthetical training. They get ideas of form and color from their inspection of the cakes and loaves in these bright spring days. How pleasing is the spectacle of their eager, expectant faces. Nor must we forget the higher and grander ethical precept instilled into the minds of the boys by the fact that the occasion is to them one of self-denial. The boys see the cake, that is to say, but they may not eat it. What a theme, this, for a bishop! However, there stand the youths, deriving all the benefit of an ethical training gratis. The rich youth is differently situated. He would want the cake and get it. Self-indulgence would ruin his nature. He runs the risk of being spoiled. Ah! poverty is a privilege.

But to return to spring. Now the buds and the building season open. There is a demand for labor. There seems a holiness, if one may say so, about labor in the spring. Labor is healthy. So is spring. To combine the two is to be happy. How odd that the wage-earners do not see this. The capitalist affords the opportunity to toil. Instead of welcoming it as an honor, the mechanic holds out for wages. Thus the glad spring time is sicklied o'er with strikes.

The voice of spring calls voyagers away. Outgoing steamers carry our venturesome fellow citizens to the Riviera. Our fellow citizens will contemplate the grandeur of ancient hills and towers, returning in the autumn with vivid accounts thereof for our pleasure and instruction. Nor, for our part, are we at home idle. Wood is hewn; water is drawn; clothes are washed; mines are worked. We, too, will give an account of ourselves; for we wish our Continental tourists to find as good a land as they left when they do come home. Nor can we feel anything but a proper pride in the diversity of English capacities. Some of us lead cottillions. Others clean the streets. But, whether we be millionaires or whether we be tramps, we are supreme in our respective spheres. Harmonious variety! Happy freedom from mediocrity's dead level!

Then there are the churches. Nothing can be more edifying than the spectacle they now present. The silken garments of the clergy, the princely architecture of the ecclesiastical edifices, the wax candles, the costly windows, the satin lined pews are meet adjuncts of the House of God and the refuge of the poor. Nothing is more pleasing than true piety thus manifested. In these halcyon days of spring to be thus reminded of the transitory nature of mundane things and to resort to the house of God in the spirit of true thankfulness. What are the trials of this world but a preparation for the blessings of the next? The sweat-shop, starvation, strikes, reductions in wages, lack of employment are blessings in disguise. Affliction chasteneth. The wage-slave may well reflect that it is easier for the camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven. Whatever miseries we endure here will be amply compensated for by the eternal bliss of the next world, when the tenants of Lambeth Palace and Lambeth's slums are angels in Paradise, spreading wings in realms of song.

These, then, are the lessons of spring. Let us ponder them, dearly beloved brethren, and, if your subscription is unpaid, kindly send us the amount due.—Adapted from the *TWENTIETH CENTURY*.

AUSTRALIA.

DEAR COMRADES.—I have sent you the first number of *Reason*, and I will send the second number when it appears—which will not be for a few days yet, owing to troubles and difficulties of various sorts which press with special severity where it is a matter of individual activity without a Party on the spot to give aid.

Anarchist publications already issued are:—

(1) *Honesty*, Melbourne, 1887-8, a monthly magazine, irregularly published. There were also connected with it a few leaflets, etc.

(2) *The Australian Radical*, weekly, Hamilton, New South Wales, 1888-9.

(3) A series of leaflets, etc., which I published during the years 1890-93, as well as newspaper correspondence.

(4) *A Handbook of Anarchy*, 1894, for which I was imprisoned; a small pamphlet on the social question, and *Poems of Freedom*, first instalment. All the remaining copies of these were stolen by the New South Wales Government.

* District assemblies.

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