Freedom

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1897.

With 1897 ends another year of the reaction. How many more are before us it is not easy to foretell; but even the drag which has been put on the wheels of progress by the heartless and soulless class who for the sake of their "vested interests" have turned their back on humanity, has only helped in a certain sense the cause it would destroy.

1897 can hardly be called an eventful year so far as popular movements are concerned. For all that much that has happened deserves consideration, if only for the indication of coming events which have cast their shadows before. In the labour world, as we all know, by far the most important thing has been and still is the struggle between the Engineers and their employers. One can easily discern in all that has happened in this great dispute the growing antagonism between employer and employed. So far as the clashing of their interests is concerned there is no frontier between nations so sharply drawn as the line that divides masters and men. The masters have declared war to the knife and although they may compromise they will take the first opportunity to return to the charge.

Do the workers at last begin to recognize the true import of the problem that faces them? Can they now begin to see that *they* are indispensable and that machinery is indispensable; but that the master with his lust for profit is the element in the problem that can and eventually must be dispensed with; who is at the bottom of all the discord and misery in our present system of industrial organisation, and who keeps them the wage slaves that they are?

If the great lock-out of '97 has helped to bring this home to the minds of even a section of the workers (and we firmly believe it has) then good fruit will be born of the past year.

It is needless to say much of Spain or of Spanish administration, the horrors of which have been chronicled with more or less fulness in *Freedom* during the year. Her treatment of the Cubans as well as of the Anarchists and the insurgents in the Phillipines has been marked by all that atrocious cruelty which she is proverbially known to mete out to her enemies.

The execution of Canovas by Angiolilo surprised nobody; and it is doubtful if at the present moment the 120 victims who innocently suffered their horrible imprisonment in Montjuich would be at liberty had it not been for the fall of that wretched tyrant.

As to Angiolilo himself, when the history of these times are written it will be known that a brave, a generous, a disinterested nature gave itself unhesitatingly for the cause of human freedom.

To turn from the great and good to the contemptibly mean and corrupt, we see the two great Republics of the world as the bitter enemies of the people as clearly evident as if they were the most autocratic monarchies. The French government is again on the brink of a political scandal which bids fair to outvie Panama. The mud in which the big fish of French political circles lives, moves and has its being, is indeed the veritable slime of bourgeois government reduced to its last stage of corruption. We shall need no Social Democratic regime to prove to the world that government is the fruitful mother of innumerable infamies. For if we turn to the United States, the home of Democracy, what do we see? Still the same spectacle of venalty and corruption, of votes bought and sold in open day, and the workers of New York again under the heel of Tammany. So much for the great things that were prophesied of Republican States and are prophesied to-day of a further step in that direction—the Socialist State. As Burke said the thing itself is the abuse.

One other thing deserves mention in this connection, and that is the complete breakdown of representative government in the Austrian Reichsrath.

The political situation in Vienna has certainly been most instructive, and the demeanour of those who devote themselves to the ruling of the people whom they graciously regard as requiring the beneficient and restraining laws which they are so good as to make for them, has been a sight for the gods. That which in their blindness they predict will happen under Anarchism, actually takes place as the practical outcome of their own methods of political organisation. The forced and artificial means by which Austro-Hungary is held together will have to give way before the laws of social and political disintegration; but the conduct and attitude of the Social Democrats in the Reichsrath does not inspire us with the hope that they will have either the intelligence or the good will to help on a solution of the problems that will then be forced to the front. It would be better for them to give up their ideas of governing others when they cannot govern themselves, and betake themselves to a broader and deeper study of Sociology. Then they would probably find more truth and justice in Anarchism than they at present dream of.

Indeed that the democrats will have to take some new departure, at least in England, has been made manifest during the past year. We deal with this point in our "Notes" so that it is only necessary to mention here that they have not made a single political "conquest" during the whole year, and that the votes recorded for them in the recent School Board election in comparison with previous years are becoming small by degrees and beautifully less.

1897 has not been without its massacre of strikers by the hirelings of the masters, and the wholesale murder of innocent miners at Hazelton, to which we refer, will be remembered as almost unparalleled in its cruelty and cowardice. Thanks to the energy of comrade Kelly and another the trade-unionists were aroused to the situation and a protest meeting was organised in New York at which some of the more prominent members spoke their minds freely, and warned the police that no quarter would be shown to them if they resorted to such tactics in New York.

In 1896 John Turner visited the States arousing the heartiest feelings of comradeship amongst American friends and leaving a deep impression upon all the trades unions with which he came in contact. This year the ties between the revolutionary movements of the two countries have been still further strengthened by the visit of Voltairine de Cleyre to us and of Kropotkine to Canada and the States. Of the former's activity in England we have already had occasion to speak, and we are only waiting her return to be able to chronicle a still more successful propaganda.

Of Kropotkine's visit we give a brief account elsewhere, but we must not omit to mention here what we feel to be the truth: that following on the work done by Turner in '96, we think Kropotkine's meetings and lectures will give an immense impetus to the Anarchist movement in the States. The demand for Anarchist literature from America during the past month goes to prove the truth of this.

The past year has also seen the prosecution of our comrades of the *Firebrand* in Portland, Oregon. Ostensibly they were attacked for their open discussion of the sex question, and although this subject may have aroused the ire of the vulgar hypocrites who applaud the maxims of conventional morality, it is rather more probable that the success which the brave little paper had achieved in its Anarchist Communist propaganda was at the bottom of it all. The good work, however, will go on as strongly as ever now that our comrades have pluckily started the publication of the *Free Society*, which is practically the *Firebrand* under a new title, and a very good title too. The new paper fully maintains the good reputation of the *Firebrand*, and we wish it long life and success.

Our record of the year would hardly be complete if we omitted to mention the appearance in a London paper—*The People*—of Zola's *Paris*. This remarkable work will arouse an interest in Anarchism in all civilised countries, and what is more to the point will make clear to its readers how necessary a thing it is if we are to have in the future anything that can be called a social life. Even the violence resorted to by the Anarchist Salvat, no longer astonishes after Zola's description of the unutterable misery and suffering of the poor worker in contrast with the bestial wealth and criminal folly of those who deprive him of Freedom and Bread.

And finally in the last days of the year we read of the appearance of Sarah Bernhardt, in *Les Mauvais Bergers*. This may be called an Anarchist-Socialist play written by Octave Mirbeau and produced at the *Renaissance* in Paris. By the accounts published in the Bourgeois press it is evidently a most powerful play, and considering its avowed Anarchist and revolutionary tendencies, with Sarah Bernhardt as the heroine —the Woman of the people—it is indeed a great event.

This brief survey of the year '97—a year of discouragement to many who find the movement dragging slowly in these days of reaction—leaves us nevertheless with a distinct impression that it has added its fair share to the forward march of events. Much more might have been done, no doubt, and the movement has not regained that vigor which the work of '96 seemed to promise for the immediate future; but for this we must perhaps blame ourselves rather than the times through which we are passing. For all that we may look round and see many hopeful signs: the undoubted results of the Anarchist Communist propaganda of the previous years. Some comrades are too apt to suppose that when there are no *visible* results the cause is at a standstill. Such a supposition is a mistake. Our work in reality is to produce a mental revolution in the minds of our fellow-workers, not quite such an easy thing as advising them to vote, but certainly of the utmost importance for future social developments. Let us make sure there shall be no falling away from the work to be accomplished in the year that lies before us.

MEN AND MASTERS.

BY

Charles DICKENS.

"Well, Stephen," said Bounderby in his windy manner, "what's this I hear? What have these pests of the earth been doing to *you?* Come in, and speak up."

It was into the drawing-room that he was thus bidden. A tea-table was set out; and Mr. Bounderby's young wife, and her brother, and a great gentleman from London were present. To whom Stephen made his obeisance, closing the door and standing near it, with his hat in his hand.

"This is the man I was telling you about, Harthouse," said Mr. Bounderby. The gentleman he addressed, who was talking to Mrs. Bounderby on the sofa, got up, saying in an indolent way, "Oh, really?" and dawdled to the hearth-rug where Mr. Bounderby stood.

"Now," said Bounderby, "speak up!"

After the four days he had passed, this address fell rudely and discordantly on Stephen's ear. Besides being a rough handling of his wounded mind, it seemed to assume that he really was the self-interested deserter he had been called.

"What were it, sir," said Stephen, "as yo were pleased to want wi' me?"

"Why, I have told you," returned Bounderby. "Speak up like a man, since you are a man, and tell us about yourself and this Combination."

"Wi' yor pardon, sir," said Stephen Blackpool, "I ha' nowt to sen about it."

Mr. Bounderby, who was always more or less like a Wind, finding something in his way here, began to blow at it directly.

"Now, look here, Harthouse," srid he; "here's a specimen of 'em. When this man was here once before, I warned him against the mischievous strangers who are always about—and who ought to be hanged whereever they are found—and I told this man that he was going in the wrong direction. Now, would you believe it, that although they have put this mark upon him, he is such a slave to them still, that he's afraid to open his lips about them?"

"I sed as I had nowt to sen, sir; not as I was fearfo' o' openin' my lips."

"You said! Ah! *I* know what you said; more than that, I know what you mean, you see. Not always the same thing, by the the Lord Harry! Quite different things. You had better tell us at once that that fellow Slackbridge is not in the town, stirring up the people to mutiny; and that he is not a regular qualified leader of the people: that is, a most confounded scoundrel. You had better tell us so at once; you can't deceive me. You want to tell us so. Why don't you?"

"I'm as soory as yo, sir, when the people's leaders is bad," said Stephen, shaking his head. "They taks such as offers. Haply 'tis na' the sma'est o' their misfortuns when they can get no better."

The wind began to get boisterous.

"Now, you'll think this pretty well, Harthouse," said Mr. Bounderby. "You'll think this tolerably strong. You'll say, upon my soul this is a tidy specimen of what my friends have to deal with; but this is nothing, sir! You shall hear me ask this man a question. Pray, Mr. Blackpool"—wind springing up very fast—"may I take the liberty of asking you how it happens that you refused to be in this Combination?"

"How 't happens?"

"Ah! said Mr. Bounderby with his thumbs in the arms of his coat, and jerking his head and shutting his eyes in confidence with the opposite wall: "how it happens."

"I'd liefer not coom to 't, sir; but sin' you put th' question—an' not want'n t' be ill-manner'n—I'll answer. I ha' passed a promess."

"Not to me, you know," said Bounderby. (Gusty weather, with deceitful calms. One now prevailing.)

"Oh no, sir! Not to you."

"As for me, any consideration for me has had just nothing at all to do with it," said Bounderby, still in confidence with the wall. "If only Josiah Bounderby of Coketown had been in question, you would have joined and made no bones about it?"

"Why, yes, sir. 'Tis true."

"Though he knows," said Mr. Bounderby, now blowing a gale, "that these are a set of rascals and rebels whom transportation is too good for! Now, Mr. Harthouse, you have been knocking about in the world some time. Did you ever meet with anything like that man out of this blessed country?" And Mr. Bounderby pointed him out for inspection with an angry finger.

"Nay, ma'am," said Stephen Blackpool, staunchly protesting against the words that had been used, and instinctively adressing himself to Louisa, after glancing at her face. "Not rebels, nor yet rascals. Nowt o' th' kind, ma'am, nowt o' th' kind. They've not doon me a kindness, ma'am, as I know and feel. But there's not a dozen men amoong 'em, ma'am—a dozen? Not six—but what believes as he has doon his duty by the rest and by himseln. God forbid as I, that ha' known and had'n experience o' these men aw my life—I that ha' ett'n an' drookken wi' 'em, an' seet'n wi' 'em, and' toil'n wi' 'em, and lov'n 'em, should fail fur to stan' by 'em wi' the truth, let 'em ha' doon to me what they may!"

He spoke with the rugged earnestness of his place and character, deepened, perhaps, by a proud consciousness that he was faithful to his class under all their mistrust; but he fully remembered where he was, and did not even raise his voice.

"No, ma'am, no. They're true to one another, faithfo' to one another 'fectionate to one another, e'en to death. Be poor amoong 'em, be sick' amoong 'em, grieve amoong 'em for onny o' th' monny causes that carries grief to the poor man's door, an' they'll be tender wi' yo, gentle wi' yo, comfortable wi' yo, Chrisen wi' yo. Be sure o' that, ma'am. They'd be riven to bits ere ever they'd be different."

"In short," said Mr. Bounderby, "it's because they are so full of virtues that they have turned you adrift. Go through with it while you are about it. Out with it!"

"How 'tis, ma'am," resumed Stephen, appearing still to find his natural refuge in Louisa's face, "that what is best in us fok seems to turn us most to trouble an' misfort'n an' mistake, I dunno. But 'tis so. I know 'tis, as I know the heavens is over me ahint the smoke. We're patient too, an' wants in general to do right. An' I canna think the fawt is aw wi' us."

"Now, my friend," said Mr. Bounderby, whom he could not have exasperated more, quite unconscious of it though he was. than by seeming to appeal to any one else, "if you will favour me with your attention for half a minute, I should like to have a word or two with you. You said just now that you had nothing to tell us about this business. You are quite sure of that before we go any further?"

"Sir, I am sure on 't."

"Here's a gentleman from London present," Mr. Bounderby made a backhanded point at Mr. James Harthouse with his thumb, "a Parliament gentleman. I should like him to hear a short bit of dialogue between you and me, instead of taking the substance of it—for I know precious well, beforehand, what it will be; nobody knows better than I do, take notice!—instead of receiving it on trust, from my mouth."

Stephen bent his head to the gentleman from London, and showed a rather more troubled mind than usual. He turned his eyes involuntarily to his former refuge, but, at a look from that quarter (expressive, though instantaneous), he settled them on Mr. Bounderby's face.

"Now, what do you complain of?" asked Mr. Bounderby.

"I ha' not coom here, sir," Stephen reminded him, "to complain. I coom for that I was sent for."

"What," repeated Mr. Bounderby, folding his arms, "do you people, in a general way, complain of?"

Stephen looked at him with some little irresolution for a moment, and then seemed to make up his mind.

"Sir, I were never good at showin' o 't, though I ha' had'n my share in feeling o 't. 'Deed we are in a muddle, sir. Look round town—so rich as 'tis—and see the number o' people as has been broughten into bein' heer, fur to weave, an' to card, an' to piece out a livin', aw the same one way, somehows, 'twixt their cradles and their graves. Look how we live, and wheer we live, an' in what numbers, an' by what chances, an' wi' what sameness; and look how the mills is awlus a-goin', and how they never works us no higher to ony dis'ant object—ceptin' awlus, Death. Look how you considers of us, an' writes of us, an' talks of us, an' goes up wi' yor deputations to Secretaries o' State 'bout us, and how yo are awlus right, and how we are awlus wrong, and never had'n no reason in us sin' ever we were born. Look how this ha' growen and growen, sir, bigger and bigger, broader and broader, harder and harder, fro' year to year, fro' generation unto generation. Who can look on it, sir, and fairly tell a man 'tis not a muddle?"

"Of course," said Mr. Bounderby. "Now perhaps you'll let the gentleman know how you would set this muddle (as you're so fond of calling it) to rights."

"I donno, sir. I canna be expecten to it. 'Tis not me as should be looken to for that, sir. 'Tis them as is put ower me, and ower aw the rest of us. What do they tak' upon themseln, sir, if not to do it?"

"I'll tell you something towards it, at any rate," returned Mr. Bounderby. "We will make an example of half-a dozen Slackbridges. We'll indict the blackguards for felony, and get 'em shipped off to penal settlements.

Stephen gravely shook his head.

"Don't tell me we won't, man," said Mr. Bounderby, by this time blowing a hurricane, "because we will, I tell you!"

"Sir," returned Stephen with the quiet confidence of absolute certainty, "if yo was to tak' a hundred Slackbridges—aw as there is, and aw the number ten times towd—and was to sew 'em up in separate sacks, and sink 'em in the deepest ocean as were made ere ever dry land coom to be, yo'd leave the muddle just wheer 'tis. Mischeevous strangers!" said Stephen with an anxious smile; "when ha' we not heern, I am sure, sin' ever we can call to mind, o' th' mischeevous strangers? 'Tis not by *them* the trouble's made, sir. 'Tis not w' *them* it commences. I ha' no favour for them—I ha' no reason to favour them—but 'tis hopeless and useless to dream of takin' them from their trade, 'stead o' takin' their trade from them! Aw that's now about me in this room were heer afore I coom, and will be heer when I am gone. Put that clock aboard a ship, and pack it off to Norfolk Island, and the time will go on just the same. So 'tis wi' Slackbridge every bit."

Reverting for a moment to his former refuge, he observed a cautionary movement of her eyes towards the door. Stepping back, he put his hand upon the lock. But he had not spoken out of his own will and desire; and he felt it in his heart a noble return for his late injurious treatment to be faithful to the last to those who had repudiated him. He stayed to finish what was in his mind.

"Sir, I canna wi' my little learning and my common way, tell the genelman what will better aw this—though some working-men o' this town could, above my powers—but I can tell him what I know will never do it. The strong hand will never do it. Vict'ry and triumph will never do it. Agreeing fur to mak' one side unnat'rally awlus and for ever right, and toother side unnat'rally awlus and for ever wrong, will never, never do it. Nor yet lettin' alone will never do it. Let thousands upon thousands alone, aw leadin' the like lives and all faw'en into the like muddle, and they will be as one, and yo will be as anoother, wi' a black unpassable world betwixt yo, just as long or short a time as sitch-like misery can last. Not drawin' nigh to fok, wi' kindness and patience an' cheery ways, that so draws nigh to one another in their monny troubles, and so cherishes one another in their distresses wi' what they need themseln—like, I humbly believe, as no people the genelman ha' seen in aw his travels can beat—will never do 't till the Sun turns t' ice. Most o' aw, ratin' 'em as so much Power, and reg'latin' 'em as if they was figures in a soom, or machines: wi'out loves and likens, wi'out memories and inclinations, wi'out souls to weary and souls to hope—when aw goes quiet, draggin' on wi' 'em as if they'd nowt o' th' kind, an', when aw goes onquiet, reproachin' 'em for their want o' sitch humanly feelins in their dealins wi' yo—this will never do it, sir, till God's work is onmade."

Stephen stood with the open door in his hand, waiting to know if anything more were expected of him.

"Just stop a moment," said Mr. Bounderby, excessively red in the face. "I told you, the last time you were here with a grievance, that you had better turn about and come out of that. And I also told you, if you remember, that I was up to the gold-spoon look-out."

"I were not up to it myseln, sir; I do assure yo."

"Now, it's clear to me," said Mr. Bounderby, "that you are one of those chaps who have always got a grievance. And you go about sowing it and raising crops. That's the business of *your* life, my friend."

Stephen shook his head, mutely protesting that indeed he had other business to do for his life.

"You are such a waspish, raspish, ill-conditioned chap, you see," said Mr. Bounderby, "that even your own Union, the men who know you best, will have nothing to do with you. I never thought those fellows could be right in anything; but I tell you what! I so far go along with them, for a novelty, that *I'll* have nothing to do with you either."

Stephen raised hio eyes quickly to his face.

"You can finish off what you're at," said Mr. Bounderby with a meaning nod, "and then go elsewhere."

"Sir, yo know weel," said Stephen expressively, "that if I canna get work wi' yo, I canna get it elsewheer."

The reply was, "What I know, I know; and what you know, you know. I have no more to say about it."

Stephen glanced at Louisa again, but her eyes were raised to his no more; therefore, with a sigh, and saying barely above his breath, "Heaven help us aw in this world!" he departed.

From *Hard Times*, Book 2d, Chapter V.

THE LABOR QUESTION *VERSUS* ANARCHISM.

BY DR. L. SMIRNOW.

(Being an address delivered before a mass meeting called by the International Workingmen's Educational Club of Waterbury, Conn., U.S.A., revised and enlarged.)

The student of sociology must look elsewhere for the keynote to the trouble, he must look elsewhere for rational explanations and he finds them in the theories and principles of Socialism. All human efforts, of whatever degree or kind, are directed towards one great object,—the sovereignty of the individual. Therefore whatever tends to promote the interests of the individual also promotes the interests of the aggregate of individuals—Society, and whatever theory or group of theories show indubitably just how and what will promote said interests most must be accepted as the Supreme Philosophy. I will leave it for another time to finish, or rather begin, this discussion, as in this single lecture none but bare facts can be stated. From what has already been said it will be seen that Anarchism deals with the conditions that govern society, and with the natural laws that rule the universe. It expounds the causes of human misery and shows the reasons of social failures, and it teaches that life and all things pertaining to it ought to be conducted, as the rest of the universe conducts itself, in the line of least resistance. It shows that the greatest state of human happiness is attainable only in a society when all are free, when all work to advantage and all share the products equally; where the land and property is not owned by single persons, and therefore strikes and wars are left out of the question; where man-made laws and restrictions are things unknown, and where a code of ethics, altered or amended as necessary, forms the basis for human action. It teaches that the highest state of society can be *only* when the highest state of the individuals that compose it is reached, and this will be possible only when each individual is free and his own master, when everyone is not constricted or commanded in any way.

As previously stated, self-consciousness, which is a property of living matter, gives rise to greed and selfishness, therefore Anarchism advocates the abolition of the conditions under which greed and selfishness could be exercised, it advocates the abolition of private property, and it teaches that industry could be carried on to a far greater advantage without the use of capital, which too would help to abolish opportunity for stealth and fraud. These measures would abolish interest and rent, would abolish all sorts of profit and advantage taking, they would abrogate all possibilities for meanness and trickery, they would make all men equally happy, equally free, they would breed love and sympathy for the fellow beings, and would afford health and vigor to all.

The labor question, considered in a broad sense, and Anarchism are one and the same thing inasmuch as they both seek the good of the laboring people, with this one distinction that whereas the former involves only the welfare of one class of people, the lattor involves the emancipation of the entire human race; it strives for the good of all; it means to relieve the rich of their burdens and the poor of their misery; it means to improve Science and Art, and strives for improvement in general. And whoever does whatever is in his power to spread the ideas of Anarchism will feel the satisfaction of having worked in the cause of humanity.

GERMINAL.

GERMINAL! The Field of Mars is ploughing,
And hard the steel that cuts and hot the breath
Of the great Oxen, straining flanks and bowing
Beneath his goad who guides the share of Death.

GERMINAL! The dragon's teeth are sowing,
And stern and white the sower flings the seed;
He shall not gather, tho' full swift the growing,
Straight in Death's furrow treads and does not heed.

GERMINAL! The helmet heads are springing
Far up the Field of Mars in gleaming files;
With wild war notes the bursting earth is ringing.
. . . . . .
Within his grave the sower sleeps and smiles.

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

CUTTINGS AND COMMENTS.

For the man who, seeing the want and misery, the ignorance and brutishness caused by unjust social institutions, sets himself, in so far as he has strength, to right them, there is disappointment and bitterness. So it has been of old time. So it is even now. But the bitterest thought—and it sometimes comes to the best and bravest—is that of the hopelessness of the effort, the futility of the sacrifice. To how few of those who sow the seed is it given to see it grow, or even with certainty to know that it will grow.

Let us not disguise it. Over and over again has the standard of Truth and Justice been raised in this world. Over and over again has it been trampled down—oftentimes in blood. If they are weak forces that are opposed to Truth, how should error so long prevail? If Justice has but to raise her head to have Injustice flee before her, how should the wail of the oppressed so long go up? But for those who see Truth and would follow her, for those who recognise Justice and would stand for her, success is not the only thing.

In our time, as in times before, creep in the insidious forces that, producing inequality, destroy Liberty. On the horizon clouds begin to lower. Liberty calls to us again. We must follow her further; we must trust her fully. Either we must wholly accept her or she will not stay.

If we turn to Justice and obey her, if we trust Liberty and follow her, the dangers that now threaten must disappear, the forces that now menace will turn to agencies of elevation.

Beg no question, shrink from no conclusion, but follow truth wherever it may lead. If the conclusions that we reach run counter to our prejudices, let us not flinch; if they challenge institutions that have long been deemed wise and natural, let us not turn back.

HENRY GEORGE.

"Of the dead nothing but the truth."

The *Conservator*, published in Philadelphia by some disciples of Walt Whitman, that Anarchist of form as well as of sentiment in poetry, has this well balanced appreciation of Henry George in its Nov. issue:

George believed in things powerfully and so he affected others with belief. He fueled his fires with his life and others witnessing him were willing martyrs. He had the weakness as well as the strength of power. There was no mistaking his mistakes. He rebuked Huxley because Huxley in economics was a Hun. But when George spoke of evolution the Hun in him was out. And though he believed in the brotherhood of man he also believed in the restriction of immigration. And though he believed in free trade he could not altogether give the earth to the free toiler. And though he believed in liberty and hated the subserviency of courts he could not see the transgression which in Chicago mistook innocence for guilt and turned scaffold into cross again and violated the bond of the republic.

Oh! Liberty! Liberty!! how onesided.

From the same source a comparison of the press attitude in the case of the interference of the authorities with the liberty of students and workmen—of conservative cartoon papers and those of radical opinion—is worth reproducing.

In this land of liberty liberty often enough has an uneasy time of it—and yet liberty does not wear a crown. Philadelphia has labored under some football excitement for some days, and on the streets and in one of the railroad stations there were several encounters between policemen and students. If the fight in the station had been between workmen and police the press would not so diligently have applied itself to a condemnation of the police. One editor writes of the cowardice of a burly policeman who would strike an unarmed boy. And a wise citizen of known name informs us that a policeman who cannot distinguish between a criminal and a student celebrating the glory of his college has not the capacity belonging to his place. This is talk of right size and shape. But I think all these organs of protest, these exponents of order and liberty, personal and editorial, were silent or on the other side when the armed deputies at Hazleton fired upon an unarmed gathering of workmen there and when sons of wealth serving as such deputies showed utter inability to distinguish between an honest workman and a criminal. How wide open are our eyes for our own privileges and liberties! I have not yet seen one of the great dailies of America in which anything has been said in criticism of the Oregon officialism which is engaged in an endeavor to suppress *The Firebrand* for its uncommon opinions. Yet the anti-cartoon bill in the New York legislature justifiably aroused the deepest resentment in the sanctums of illustrated if not illustrious dailies. The official consciousness, whether in officials or others, feels itself exempt from ordinary laws of fraternity.

One wonders what the press comments would have been had the students of Philadelphia been like so many of the old world—ardent advocates of the most advanced ideas. Would they have been so solicitous for their welfare had it been a demonstration of sympathy with the massacred miners instead of a football scrimmage?

Another good editor gone wrong!

Probably we shall first nationalise the railways, then the land, then the Church, then the Army and so on, till amazed by the great gain thus accruing to every one, the most hostile will demand the nationalisation of the great industries. Conservatives make the best of Socialists when they see that what we aim at is not anarchy but ordered government of the most stable sort.

Weekly Times and Echo, 19 12-97.

What can one think of the above? It has always been understood that the Army—Church—and government debt, were nationalised—in the interest of the monopolists. But perhaps since the editor of the above has definitely thrown in his lot with the *scientific* social democrats and excluded anarchist notices and correspondence he has become equally silly. If the Anarchist Communist Morrison Davidson was to return to his old weekly again the above paper would soon go back to its previous dullness and limited circulation. No doubt conservatives make the best State Socialists. Just what has always been said. But better things were hoped of a liberal editor. Another proof of the reactionary effect of political Socialism.

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☞ The Editors are not necessarily in agreement with signed articles.

NOTES.

EDWARD CARPENTER ON PRISON METHODS.

We are glad to see the Humanitarian League still pegging away at the question of Prisons and Prison Reform. The address by Edward Carpenter at Essex Hall on November 10th, was very well attended, and there is no doubt public interest in the question is rapidly growing.

The address was of great interest to all thoughtful persons, the lecturer giving an outline of the evolution of the Penal system which he suggested had been much the same in all countries. It began with Revenge, from that to Punishment, then Deterrence and at the last became human and took on the form of Reclamation. This we think is rather too arbitrary a method of division so far as society's treatment of the criminal classes is concerned. What seems to us to be at the bottom of the matter, whatever stage of evolution we may be in, is the fact that our prison system is like so many other things of the present day, a system of Officialism, an Officialism that knows little and cares less for the human beings it has to deal with.

Even if every warder had to pass say an examination in criminal psychology before being appointed, it would even then be a fatal mistake that he should have the power, *as a paid person*, to deal with prisoners in our prisons. But we know that it is only the brutes that give satisfaction to the prison authorities, that the warder with a little humanity is speedily dismissed. But where you can find a sincere person who feels a human interest in those who are after all invariably the victims of our present system—and such persons have been found—such opportunity as they have had of working in prison reform has been productive of the only true advancement made in this direction. But to achieve this they have had to transform almost entirely our ordinary prison methods. Elmira is a case in point. We are glad to see Carpenter has made this clear. But after all is it not in the abolition of our prisons rather than in their reform that the greatest good would result?

KROPOTKINE'S TOUR.

All comrades and friends will be glad to know of Kropotkine's safe return after a successful and enjoyable tour in Canada and the States. His health has greatly benefitted thereby, and that is an immense gain. He has had some opportunity of studying social problems that are fast developing in those countries, and some of his impressions in relation to this we may later on be able to give to our readers. He addressed meetings in Washington, Philadelphia, Boston and New York. In the two last the meetings were especially large, enthusiastic and in every way successful, the farewell meeting in the Cooper Hall being perhaps the finest he has ever adressed. He found the American workers as desirous as possible to listen to reason and argument in the subjects upon which he spoke to them. From the scientific and theorical side there is an immense field open to propagandists, and whoever should take up this work, will receive a most sympathetic attention.

THE SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION.

The "Progressives" have won a victory on the School Board. But who are the "Progressives"? We of course should like to see the better people win, even with such a poor conception of education as that which seems to satisfy the ordinary commercial instincts ef this nation of shopkeepers. But is it necessary that every three years we should have all this trouble and expense for such a small boon as the change from the Diggleites to the Stanleyites? Much as we detest the mean-souled clerical party who would if they could cramp the minds of the rising generation, it is difficult to work up much enthusiasm over people who though giving the children less bible cannot see their way to giving them—the starving ones—a little bread. Education will be a mockery, and indeed a cruelty, if while anxious for their mental culture, we give no thought to their physical conditions. Who is there then amongst the Progressives who comes forward to deal with this question of national education as it should be dealt with. Steward Headlam perhaps is one of the best and sincerest of those on the Board. And what does he prove to us? That the feeding of the little ones in a very limited way has been bravely attempted—by the Board? No.—By the State? No.—But by *voluntary agencies.*

In other words good work can be done—is being done—and an immense deal is still waiting to be done in a voluntary direction without wasting one's own or other people's time and money in sticking one's self up as a candidate.

The empty-heads who must have notoriety and authority in all they do, and who always denounce the voluntary, unofficial way of doing things, don't like these suggestions. Well it is a pity some of these people are to be found among Socialists—Socialists who are supposed to know that under present economic conditions you can never get true education. Let the Diggleites and Progressives fight it out say we: our energies have to be given to a far nobler fight; and if you mix with them in their squabbles you will meet the fate that has befallen most of the Socialists at the present election. A fall from 67,574 votes in 1894 to 49,158 in 1897 can hardly be called a rosey outlook for "practical" politics. We hope our friends are thinking it over.

SPRINGS OF ACTION.

How various are the actions of which man is capable; as much so in the moral sphere, if we may use such an expression, as any other.

While on the one hand we turn with disgust and in despair almost of humanity from some things that are done in the present day, on the other hand we see and hear of heroic deeds which prove to us what men will do when their finer impulses are stirred. Governments are building ironclads and manufacturing the most deadly engines of war; but round the coasts the Lifeboats have been out doing the good work of humanity. While our rulers stir up bad blood between the races of mankind, the heroic men of Margate who lost their lives in the recent storm, had called their boat *Friend of all Nations.* While a Lord Dudley at Quarry Bank in his infamous greed undermines the very homes of the workers, and callously and cruelly ignores their literal engulfment and destruction, the fishermen of the East Coast leave their homes, their nets, their all in all to the fury of the storm, and go forth like heroes to aid their comrades in danger and distress. These are the contrasts we see before us, and the lesson of it all is not hard to learn.

As exploiters and rulers men can act like fiends, but arouse the feeling of mutual help and comradeship and men can be all that is necessary to make what some people would call an ideal society, but ideal only in comparison to the wretched conditions of to-day.

THE ENGINEERS' LOCK-OUT.

There is little fresh to record in the struggle that still continues between Masters and Men in the engineering trade. The men are showing admirable firmness and solidarity, and the masters are showing—well, what they usually show under similar circumstances, utter indifference to the misery and sufferings they are causing those who have earned for them the wealth they monopolise. The masters, we fancy, are playing a very underhand game with their proposals and their "conferences" that continually end in smoke, and we should advise the men and their leaders to decline all further "conference" until there is something substantial to confer about. Otherwise they are playing the masters' game, as all this suspense and palaver creates a tension and tries the men's nerves. All this ballotting wearies the men, and amuses the masters, and as things are no good can come of it. As a matter of fact there is only one fault with the men: their claims are too modest. We wish they could see their way to make a bold claim for their rights—the complete control and management of the workshops which are justly theirs. The masters talk blatantly of "doing what they like with their own." The men should tell them to their faces it is *not* their own. Sooner or later the workers will have to do this, and the sooner the better. Let those insatiable cormorants who literally devour the toilers come down from their high places and do something useful for the community. They *might* be competent to tend a machine or perform some unskilled labour. *Then they would learn from experience the advantages of an eight-hour day.*

GOOD AND EVIL IN CO-OPERATION.

Co-operation has achieved an immense work in the last half century, and in its ranks are to be found some of the best workers in the cause of social emancipation. But amongst them are also to be found a class of sordid dividend-hunters who under the guise of social reformers are keeping a keen eye to the "main chance" and necessarily use all their influence to identify Co-operation with pure (or rather impure) commercialism. Some years ago Mr. Holyoake had to point out how the well to-do classes whilst ridiculing Co-operation so far as the workers' interests were concerned, were at the same time availing themselves of all the advantages its economy offered to them. Since that time some very respectable and well to-do people have become active in the movement; and one of the latest developments has been the British Produce Supply Association. All articles sold here are guaranteed of British production and manufacture. But alas for the frailty of profit-mongerers, even the "nobility" of its titled promoter has failed to save its reputation, and it is now pretty generally known that the reliability of the "Cable Brand" is about on a par with that of let us say the so-called Irish hams sold by the Junior Army and Navy Stores that have caused such a scandal. We hope the attempts that are to be made to apply Co-operation to the land will not play into the hands of the landlords as *commercial* Co-operation has into the hands of the self-seeking shareholder, who really cares nothing for Co-operation as a benefit to mankind.

THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

(A lecture which should have been delivered in Paris, on March 7, 1896 in the Mille-Colonnes Hall.)

The commune of the middle ages, the free city, takes its origin, on the one hand, from the village community, on the other from those thousands fraternities and guilds which were constituted outside territorial unions. It was a federation of these two kinds of unions, developed under the protection of the fortified enclosure and the turrets of the city.

In many a region it was a natural growth. Elsewhere—and this is the rule in Western Europe,—it was the result of a revolution. When the inhabitants of a borough felt themselves sufficiently protected by their walls, they made a "con-juration". They mutually took the oath to put aside all pending questions concerning feuds arisen from insults, assaults or wounds, and they swore that henceforth in the quarrels that should arise, never again to have recourse either to personal revenge or to a judge other than the syndics nominated by themselves in the guild and the city. It was long since the regular practice in every art or goodneighbourship guild, in every sworn fraternity. In every village commune, such had formerly been the custom, before bishop or kinglet had succeeded in introducing—and later in enforcing—his judge.

Now the hamlets and the parishes which constituted the borough, as well as all the guilds and fraternities that had developed there, considered themselves a single *amitas*. They named their judges and swore permanent union between all these groups.

A charter was hastily drawn up and accepted. In case of need they sent for the copy of a charter to some small neighbouring commune, (we know hundreds of these charters to-day,) and the commune was constituted. The bishop or prince, who had up till then been judge of the commune and had often become more or less its master, had only to recognize the accomplished fact—or else to fight the young "conjuration" by force of arms. Often the king—that is to say the prince who tried to gain superiority over other princes, and whose coffers were always empty,—"granted" the charter, for ready money. He thus renounced imposing *his* judge on the commune, while giving himself importance before other feudal lords. But it was in nowise the rule: hundreds of communes lived without any other sanction than their good pleasure, their ramparts and their lances.

In a hundred years this movement spread, with striking unity, to the whole of Europe,—by imitation, observe well,—including Scotland, France, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, Germany, Italy, Spain, Poland and Russia. And to-day, when we compare the charters and internal organisation of French, English, Scotch, Irish, Scandinavian, German, Polish, Russian, Swiss, Italian and Spanish communes, we are struck with the almost complete sameness of these charters, and of the organisation growing under shelter of these "social contracts." What a striking lesson for Romanists and Hegelists who know no other means to obtain similarity of institutions than servitude before the law!

From the Atlantic to the middle course of the Volga. and from Norway to Italy, Europe was covered with similar communes—some becoming populous cities like Florence, Venice, Nuremberg or Novgorod, others remaining boroughs of a hundred or even twenty families, and nevertheless treated as equals by their more or less prosperous sisters.

Organisms full of vigour, the communes evidently grew dissimiler in their evolution. The geographical position, the character of external commerce, the obstacles to be vanquished outside, gave every commune its own history. But for all, the principle was the same. Pskov in Russia and Brugge in Flanders, a Scotch borough of three hundred inhabitants and rich Venice with its islands, a borough in the North of France or Poland, and Florence the Beautiful represent the same *amitas*. The same fellowship of village communes and of associated guilds; the same constitution in its general outline.

Generally, the town, whose enclosure grows in length and breath with the population and surrounds itself with higher and higher towers, erected, each, by such and such a parish or such guild, and having its own individual character,—generally, I say, the town is divided into four, five or six districts or sections that radiate from the citadel to the ramparts. In preference these districts are inhabitated, each, by one "art" or craft, whereas new trades—the "young arts"—occupy the suburbs, which will soon be enclosed in a new fortified circle.

The street or parish, represents a territorial unit, corresponding to the ancient village community. Each street or parish has its popular assembly, its forum, its popular tribunal, its elected priest, militia, banner, and often its seal as a symbol of sovereignty. It is federated with other streets, but it nevertheless keeps its independence.

The professional unit, which often corresponds, or nearly so, with the district or section, is the guild—the trade union. This union also retains its saints, its assembly, its forum, its judges. It has its treasury, its landed property, its militia and banner. It also has its seal and it remains sovereign. In case of war, should it think right, its militia will march and join forces with those of other guilds, and it will plant its banner side by side with the great banner, or *carosse* (cart) of the city.

And lastly the city is the union of districts, streets, parishes and guilds, and it has its plenary assembly of all inhabitants in the large forum, its great belfry, its elected judges, its banner for rallying the militia of the guilds and districts. It negociates as a sovereign with other cities, federates with whom it likes, concludes national and foreign alliances. Thus the English "Cinque Ports" round Dover are federated with French and Netherland ports on the other side of the Channel; the Russian Novgorod is the ally of Scandinavian, Germanic Hansa, and so on. In its external relations, every city possesses all the prerogatives of the modern State, and from that time forth is constituted, by free contracts, that body of agreements which later on became known as International law, and was placed under the sanction of public opinion of all cities, while it was more often violated than respected by the States later on.

How often a city, not being able to decide a dispute in a complicated case, sends for "finding the sentence" to a neighbouring city! How often the ruling spirit of the time—arbitration, rather than the judge's authority—is manifested in the fact of two communes taking a third as arbitrator!

Trade unions behave in the same way. They carry on their commercial and trade affairs beyond the cities and make treaties, without taking their nationalities into account. And when, in our ignorance, we talk boastingly of our international workers' congresses, we forget that international trade congresses and even apprentice congresses were already held in the fifteenth century.

Lastly, the city either defends itself against aggressors and wages its own stubborn wars against neighbouring feudal lords, nominating each year one or rather two military commanders of its militias; or else it accepts a "military defender"—a prince or duke, who is chosen by the city for a year, and whom it can dismiss when it pleases. It usually delivers up to him the produces of judicial fines for the maintenance of his soldiers; but it forbids him to interfere with the business of the city. Or, lastly, too feeble to emancipate itself entirely from its neighbours,—the feudal vultures,—the city will retain, as a more or less permanent military protector, a bishop or a prince of some family—Guelf or Ghibelline in Italy, from the family of Rurik in Russia, or of Olgerd in Lithuania,—but it will watch with jealousy that the bishop's or prince's authority shall not extend beyond the soldiers encamped in the castle. It will even forbid them to enter the town without permission. You no doubt know that even at the present day the Queen of England cannot enter the city of London without the Lord Mayor's permission.

I should like to speak to you at length about the economic life of cities in the Middle Ages; but I am obliged to pass it over in silence. It was so varied that it would need rather long developments. Suffice it to remark that internal commerce was always carried on by the guilds—not by isolated artisans—prices being fixed by mutual agreement; that at the beginning of that period, external commerce was carried on *exclusively* by the city; that it only became the monopoly of the merchants' guild later on, and still later of isolated individuals; that never was any work done on Sunday or on Saturday afternoon (bathing day); lastly that the city purchased the chief necessaries for the life of its inhabitants (corn, coal, etc.) and delivered them to the inhabitants at cost price. That custom of the city making the purchases of grain was retained in Switzerland till the middle of our century. In fact, it is proved by a mass of documents of all kinds, that humanity has never known, neither before nor after, a period of relative well-being as perfectly assured to all, as existed in the cities of the Middle Ages. The present poverty, insecurity and over-work were absolutely unknown then.

A NEW YEAR GREETING.

[I would that my voice could be heard in *every* land, by *every* ear, responded to by *every* slave: for The Worker should know no racial difference: custom, language, law, tradition being secondary to FREEDOM—the wide world's slaves' desire!]

Slaves! where e'er you be I greet you,
Victimized by Greed, oppress,
Robb'd by Master—you who wither
With no wrong of yours redrest:
You, to YOU, and yours in bondage,
May this year of years be best!

—

Wisdom's robe assume, wear Honour!
Keep Right's sword beside your breast,
Never cease to crush your mongrel
Master robbers that infest
Every land *once* yours, duped Workers,
Toilers most and earners least!

—

Slaves! *one* enemy remember,—
He who hates your being free!
Slav or Teuton, Gaul or Briton
Be united! "*Liberty!*"
Watchword ever!—Let the Master
Fight each other. But not ye!

—

Children of one mighty Mother!
Claim the Earth, the Land, the Sea!
Not for self alone, each other
Let the wide creation be—
EARTH FOR ALL AND ALL FOR EARTH,
This my New Year wish to Thee!

REAN.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

The year 1897 closes in a gloomy way, having unfolded three of the most serious problems, vic. the capitalists' fight against organised labour (the Engineers' lock-out), the revival of Mahometan fanatism (a sequel to the Greek War and the Indian Famine, the Indian Revolt) and the scramble for plundering China with the prospect of an international war in no far distance ahead. Capitalism and the State are hard at work to win new grounds and yet it would seem that unconditional victories are henceforward impossible for them; a new factor, the initiative of individuals or minorities makes itself felt where but a few years ago dumb submission would have prevailed. This initiative, the recognition of the sacred right of revolt is certainly due to the slow but steady transfusion of anarchist ideas into almost every sphere of social life. The adoption of any settled economic theory of anarchism proceeds slower and leads to continuous discussion and revision—so much the better; the political side of our views—no State interference, no majority rule because we reject both State and authority—is however felt already as a factor of equal weight than organised State power and it rapidly increases in strength.

One example is Angiolillo's act, the death of Canovas which set things moving in Spain and everything that happened there since that time, the liberation of part of the prisoners of Montjuich, the recall of general Weyler from Cuba, the apparent peace with the insurgents in the Philippine Islands, all this is a consequence of one man's act; how long would it have taken to achieve this by the usual political machinery, the ballot box?

Another example will show that even the most fanatic adherents of majority rule and the miracles of the ballot box, Social Democrats, when seriously pressed throw all theorical considerations over board and act as men, revolting against what is put in their way be it ever so strongly founded on majority rule. In the Austrian parliament the Slavonic and Clerical majority upholds the infamous languages ordinances of the late prime minister, count Badeni; the German minority with which the socialist deputies finally co-operated, resolved to make parliamentary sittings abortive and impossible until the cabinet fell and the ordinances were withdrawn. This was carried out regardless of all conventional rules of proceeding and the scenes which happened are to well known to need description. The population of Vienna was stirred up as never before since 1848 and on the day when the minority in parliament was almost crushed, being faced by armed police inside the house, the street demonstrations increased enormously; the next day, Sunday November 29, 50,000 people crowded the streets before the Emperor's palace at noon; the government reflected that if 50,000 people were in the streets at noon, some hundreds of thousands would follow as the day grew on and—they resigned or were dismissed. This was really a victory of popular feeling of right and justice over all the power of the State supported by a parliamentary majority. And one of the leaders in that struggle of a minority was the Polish Socialist deputy Daszinsky, the same who, in 1896, at the Austrian Socialist Congress held at Prague, moved the exclusion of Anarchists from the London International Congress. Both times he acted in good faith, no doubt, but ought not such an action set Social Democrats thinking on the soundness of their political views: is it logical to revolt when being in a minority and to appoint a Singer, another kind of Abrahamovitch (the Austrian speaker) as chairman when they are in a majority? Is this exclusive recognition of brute force their last word or will experience teach them to be more tolerant?

The events at Vienna had a pityful sequel at Prague when the Czechs began to plunder and destroy the houses of Germans and Jews. This can only be compared to the infamous persecution of Italians all over Lyons on the evening when Caserio had killed Carnot. The rest of Austria jubilated when count Badeni was got rid of, towns were illuminated, fires were lighted on heights—only the Czechs, the Poles and the Slovenians mourned and, at Prague, expressed this in a truly bestial fashion. At Krakau some deputies of those three nationalities have since proclaimed a new Slavonic brotherhood to which the Socialists replied by holding a meeting of as many of thousands as the other meeting counted hundreds, in favour of international solidarity.

The fact underlying these miserable quarrels is that the Slavonic nations of Austria— if we except the Socialists and Anarchists among them—have not yet risen to any conception of humanity; it suffices them if their purely national ambitions are fostered: for this they sell their vote to every government and the Clerical and Conservative-Aristocratic parties of Austria make use of this and since 1848, with but 18 years exception, ruled the country supreme. Of all Slaves who dealt with these problems it was only Bakounine who had the real emancipation of the Slavonic peoples at heart, and he worked hard in 1848 and 1849 to unite the Czechs, the Poles, the Germans, the Hungarians and the Italians to common revolutionary action; but the Czechs preferred to become the tools of reaction.

The Hungarian problem which is also rolled up consists in this: the Hungarians, although defeated in the revolution of 1848-1849, by passive resistance wring from Austria the recognition of their independence to a certain degree and complete home rule in all but military affairs and foreign relations; the Austrian reactionists want to degrade Hungary again to the level of an Austrian province and for this purpose raised an agitation against Hungary on the occasion of the renewal of the treaty concerning military and foreign relations, and the portion of their cost to be alotted to each country. Their tools in Austria are the Antisemites, lead by the Catholic clergy, in Hungary the Slavonic and Roumanian nationalities who already in 1848-1849 were let loose against the Hungarian and Vienna revolutions.

The Anarchist movement in Italy made great progress this year. Whilst it lost the help of Dr. Merlino who is leaning more and more towards parliamentarism, it gained great support from a well-conducted paper, the *Agitazione* of Ancona, which survived many seizures and arrests of editors and is to be enlarged in January next. It is no longer a secret, henceforward, that comrade Errico Malatesta has been for the last nine months in Italy and, after twelve years of exile, resumed work with his old energy. In the *Agitazione* of Sept. 2 he explained why he did not choose to live there openly: although by prescription no longer liable to any prosecution, he knew too well the Italian police methods as to imagine that they would leave him alone and so he kept his incognito. On Nov. 15 the police discovered his house and arrested him; but he was set free again after they had examined all his papers. All over Italy the new bill on the *domicilio coatto* (transportation of political suspects) is strongly opposed by meetings and special publications; this infamous measure (described in *Freedom* some months ago) is already adopted by the Senate and is now before the Chamber of deputies. The text of the bill will be found in *Il Domicilio Coatto*, a special number issued by the Socialists, Anarchists and workingmen's societies of Forli, Nov. 14; similar publications are *La Protesta* (Terni, Dec. 8) and *Per la Liberta'!* (Pistoia, Dec. 12); also *Primo Marzo* (Macerata, March 1) dedicated to the memory of Argante Salucci, killed at Tremiti in 1896; eight others died too—all men who could not be sent to prison because they had done nothing to "deserve" it and so were transported without trial.

Besides the *Agitazione* are now published *L'Avvenire sociale* (Messina), *Il Nuovo Verbo* (Parma), *Il Ribelle* (Reggio, Calabria) and *Per l'Ideale* (Rome); new pamphlets are various translations from Kropotkine (*Le nostre ricchezze*), Most (*La Pesta Religiosa*) and Jean Grave, published at Torino; also pamphlets by D. Zavattero, Pasquale Pensa, V. Buttis (*Carceri e Domicilio Coatto*), the facts about transportation by a transported comrade, etc.

More judicial atrocities are committed in Spain. Francisco Callis (one of the tortured prisoners of Montjuich) and Manuel Enrique were tried for having caused an explosion on Sept. 1,—1886! the only evidence being the affirmation of Ascheri when he was tortured and the confirmation of Callis, under torture; on Callis a local paper writes: "on his face one sees very conspicuous cicatrices at the junction of the lips, under the right eye and on the front" (*El Diluvio*, Nov. 26): this is where the apparatus compressing his head was applied. Other tortured comrades, Sune and Oller, appeared as witnesses but the judge repressed all reference to their tortures; Callis was sentenced to prison for life! Eurique was acquitted.

At another trial, for distributing manifestos to the soldiers embarking for Cuba, Ramon Sempau (the same who shot at Portas, the torturer) was sentenced to six years of prison, and six other comrades to six years, two years and four months and six months. Sempau was away from Spain at that time, yet the government wanted his condemnation; for he will be placed before a jury for the attempt on Portas and might be acquitted, and so he is in prison in any case!

In Portugal, in spite of exceptional laws, anarchist publications are numerous again; of this more next month. In Roumania the *Miscarea Sociala* (Social Movement) is regularly published and one of its editors, Panaite Zosin, delivered a new address before the Roumanian students Congress: *Medicina Sociala* (a pamphlet, Bucharest, 1897). In Bohemia papers and pamphlets appear, e. g. *Anarchia* by A. P. Kalina (Prague, Zhizhkov, 1897), the first edition of which was seized. In the Argentine Republic Dr. E. Z. Arana published *La Sociedad* and *La Mujer y la Familia* (two pamphlets, Rosario de Santa Fé, 1897); new papers are *Germinal* (Buenos Aires, Nov. 14) and at Montevideo, Urugay, *La Verdad*. A Flemish translation of Malatesta's *A Talk between Workingmen* (Brussels), *L'Inquisition espagnole*, by Omar Boulanger (Haine-St-Pierre, 1897), a reprint of Kropotkine's articles on the London Dockers strike of 1889: *La Grande Greve des Docks* (Brussels 1897) are new Belgian publications. In Holland, Alexander Cohen makes things lively by a bimonthly pamphlet *De Paradox*, published at the Hague.

The most welcome literary event of the end of the year is Elisée Reclus' new book *L'Evolution, la Revolution et l'Ideal anarchique* (Paris, P. V. Stock, 290 pp., 3 fr. 50), a fine outgrowth of the tiny little pamphlet *Evolution and Revolution*, the reprint of a lecture delivered at Geneva on Feb. 2, 1880; this volume calls for special notice in another issue.

Of recent French publications I will mention *Education et Autorite paternelle* by André Girard (Paris, aux *Temps Nouveaux*); *Le Dogme et la Science*, by Emile Janvion; *Les Crimes de Dieu*, by Sébastien Faure, and a satirical pamphlet on Félix Faure and his pretensions (all three published by the *Libertaire*, Paris); the report on boycotting and ca'canny (*Boycottage et Sabottage*), refered to in last month's *Freedom* (Paris, 15 rue Lavieuville, two copies for halfpenny) and the *Almanach du Pere Peinard* (same address, two pence halfpenny). A sharp author and a brillant artist co-operate to bring out *La Feuille* (Paris, at irregular intervals), each issue containing a drawing by Steinlen and a page of text by Zo d'Axa, the former editor of the *Endehors*

So everywhere there is life and action. Anarchists are to the front in the labour movement as well as in artistic and scientific circles; our ideas are large enough to give scope to every variety of action; free and independent action, unhampered by authority and prejudice—this is what science and progress demand and with this the anarchist ideal coïncides. X.

REVIEWS.

Isabel's Intention, by Mariette P. (Mardock & Co, 26 Paternoster Square, E. C.)

The heroine of this little story is a noble-minded English girl of the upper classes whose mother, disapproving of her work in connection with the reclamation of fallen women, tells her one day the rude "truth" that these women are a necessity, that society could not get on without them, and that Isabel's own honour is secured only through their existence. The girl is horrified, but conscious of her mother's knowledge of the world, she does not question the association. Thinking it over, however, and being strictly logical as well as highly conscientious, she decides that honour secured at such a price is honour too dearly bought. She will take up the cause of her despised and persecuted sisters, but on other lines. She will take her place beside them first of all. Her intention is to enter a brothel herself and take the place for a while of one of its inmates who will thus obtain a temporary release.

The intention is frustrated but her logic is unassailable, her mother's assertion being granted. Of course, the intention of the author is to startle the thoughtless with this bold conception into reconsidering the basis of our present sexual morality. As a pamphlet (it was first printed in the columns of *Lucifer*) and from the propaganda point of view, it might have been better had some solution been indicated. Nevertheless it will prove highly useful. *Cheap* literature, penny pamphlets especially, on this question is badly wanted. This one is well written and we are glad to see it coming from the pen of an Englishwoman.

Suitable Food, wise Sex Love and Immortality. T. L. Fowler and Co, Ludgate Circus, E.

The writer, Fraulein Lepper, is a well-known hygienist and dietetic reformer. It is significant of the times that she should speak out on the subject of sex-love, a subject hitherto too generally tabooed by hygienic reformers. Some of her theories in regard to sex-intercourse will, no doubt, cause many of her non-faddist readers to smile pretty broadly; but she is free from the old superstitions in regard to it and says so very plainly. In one point, however, we find her badly inconsistent. Speaking of what she herself calls "the prevailing childish custom of asking permission for sex-intercourse from the State or Church" and hoping "that society will soon outgrow this antiquated institution," she speaks nevertheless with approval apparently of submission to it when children are desired, on the ground that "you consider it selfish in men and women to force their advanced ideas upon innocent children, which might spoil their future life." As an excuse this is, of course, utter rubbish. Unfortunately, we must admit, such rubbish serves only too often amongst Freethinkers and Anarchists.

ANARCHIST COMMUNIST CONFERENCE.

The Conference, which was almost exclusively attended by London comrades, met from 3 to 6 on Dec. 26 and 27; the proceedings were conducted on the first day by Frank Kitz, on the second day by Herbert Stockton. Letters were read from Gorrie (Leicester), a Manchester comrade (on an Anarchist-literature depot) and the Manchester group; the latter is printed at the end of this report.

Of the Agenda—to which the questions of circulating book boxes, organising educational lecture courses and of co-operation had been added —only the first and third subject (correspondence between groups and foundation of a weekly paper) were fully discussed, owing to want of time; but it was considered that if these questions were satisfactorily solved, a proper basis would be created to arrive at an exchange of opinions and an understanding as to the remaining questions.

The *correspondence between groups* it was suggested that a committee should collect the necessary addresses for private communication to those interested. Against this the principle of publishing these addresses wherever possible was upheld by most of the speakers. The purpose of the whole point in question is to enable groups and comrades to enter into direct communication between themselves, saving time and trouble to procure each time the necessary addresses. It was pointed out that in most places one or more comrades lived who would have no objection to have their addresses published or an address might be given where the group could be communicated with. To carry this out it was agreed that an appeal should be made in *Freedom* that groups who were able and cared to do so, should send their addresses for publication.

As to London, the meeting agreed that comrades Rochelle Zolzman and Stockton should act as joint correspondents for the present; the greater part of those who attended the meeting constituted themselves as the "West London Anarchist Group", which will meet on Sunday, January 9th and on every second Sunday following at 6 p. m., at the Communist Club, 57 Charlotte Street, W. C.

The second question: *the necessity of a weekly Anarchist paper and means of ensuring its publication*, first led to a long discussion on the merits and demerits (chiefly the latter) of *Freedom*. Since on the second day a more fraternal spirit seemed to prevail, many hot assertions and bitter personal remarks made at the first meeting will not be recorded here. The summary of the criticism of Stockton, Percy, Kitz, W. B. Parker, O'Shea, O'Mally, Banham, Quinn and others is that *Freedom* was described as a philosophical middle-class organ, not intelligible to the working classes, not up-to-date in late information and, in O'Shea's eyes, less revolutionary than "Comic Cuts," "Ally Sloper" and Sam Weller. It was edited and managed by an inaccessible group of arrogant persons, worse than the Pope and his seventy cardinals, and written by fossilised old quilldrivers, etc.

The serious arguments underlying this often grotesque criticism were that there is, and has always been, a necessity for a weekly popular anarchist paper and *Freedom*, being monthly, etc., never pretended to fill this want. A few comrades (Lexden, of Canning Town, Feinstein, of Portsmouth and Dr. L. Gumplowicz) defended *Freedom* as a serious paper appreciated also by workingmen; another comrade rejected the *Clarion* as the highest ideal some seem to have of a paper and preferred the serious character of *Freedom*; but the great majority of the meeting was hostile to *Freedom* because it was not what it never claimed to be. By and by the illogical character of this position was pointed out and now the right idea prevailed: to publish a weekly paper themselves and to let the bickering about *Freedom* alone.

Such a new weekly paper ought to contain the latest labour news, to expose acts of injustice done by the law, to give expression to all shades of opinion; it would enjoy the collaboration of many latent Anarchist writers who were said to be afraid to address themselves to *Freedom*, etc. As to the means to bring it out, some suggested the collection of funds and the publication by an outside printer—others proposed to get type and set it up by volontary labour. The second course was decided upon and as it was said there was superfluous type at the *Freedom* office, two comrades connected with *Freedom* were asked to invite this group to consider in what way they are prepared to help the new venture; a reply is expected for the next fortnightly meeting and the names of those forming the new group were forwarded together with this request.

Frank Kitz insisted on the usefulness of a *leaflet propaganda* by which the modern Socialist movement in England was begun nearly twenty years ago; it reaches those who cannot buy a paper and might be started at any moment without causing the constant anxiety and hard work connected with the production of a paper. The meeting was in full sympathy with these remarks.

If a really good and serious weekly paper comes forth from these meetings, the many—in my opinion—harsh and unjust remarks made will be forgotten and the propaganda may greatly benefit: its needs and demands are so manifold that it is absurd to expect that one method must be the right one to the exclusion of all others. N.

A few words from us seem necessary in reply to some statements made at the Conference which practically take the form of accusations against *Freedom*.

The absence of several members of the Freedom Group was purely accidental, and no one at the Conference had a right to assume it was due to a spirit of antagonism, when it is well known that the Freedom Group did what it could to help on the Conference.

As to the assertion that the Group is "isolated" and "inaccessible," we can only say it is ridiculous. Is there any group in London whose address is better known, whose members are more active, whose work is more effective? Those who make the charge are themselves the "isolated and inaccessible," who have been appealed to by us to help in the propaganda, but who have stated their inability to do so. Short-handed and overworked as we are, of this we do not complain; each can only do what he can. But if comrades are sincere we at least expect that whatever are our faults we shall be justly treated. Yet the truth is that all the discouragement, all the apathy, all the discontent that is to be found in the movement is to be laid at the door of the only paper that has managed to struggle through these trying times.

The columns of *Freedom* have been open to all to express their views; but not one word of criticism, friendly or otherwise, has reached us for publication. We should, indeed, have been glad to have had our faults pointed out; it would have shown if not sympathy at least interest in the paper that costs us so much time and trouble.

Leaving aside the remarks of O'Shea who, we understand, finds his intellectual cravings better satisfied by "Comic Cuts" and "Ally Sloper" and who therefore must, figuratively speaking, be living in a land of plenty, we say in conclusion that all comrades who are sincere in the cause, will not care to waste time over the mere personal bickerings which lead us nowhere and end in nothing. While *Freedom* can find good work to do we shall struggle to keep it going, knowing from hard experience what that struggle is. But for all that our heart is for the cause, and the publication of a bright strong-principled Anarchist weekly would give as much satisfaction to us as it possibly could to any others in the movement. If there is the true grit at the back of this undertaking we shall be the first to wish them success and the Conference will not have been held in vain.

HINTS FOR PROPAGANDA.

Manchester comrades sent greetings of sympathy and encouragement, regretting inability to send a spokesman. The following suggestions which they forwarded will be of interest to all. We give the main points raised.

"1. As to correspondence between groups it seems to us that while this is a good thing it can hardly be organised; to appoint correspondents is not necessarily to make correspondence. It would be a good thing, however, if groups would sent round to other groups samples of bills, leaflets and pamphlets they issue; even newspaper cuttings of local and general interest. It would be of great use and help to keep them in touch."

"2. As to lecturing tours, this implies lecturers and money. When these are redundant no special discussion is needed; until they are, it is useless. The same applies to free schools."

"3. Leaflet fund and weekly paper. If there are groups in London capable and willing to issue them, comrades everywhere will, we think, do their best to push them. It cannot be concealed, however, that provincial groups have little faith in the possibilities of the London movement, and for our part we should not care to pledge ourselves or make any definite promises on these matters."

"We consider too, especially as regards leaflets, that they need to be adapted to local needs, and we advise that local groups instead of waiting for London, should issue their own as they find them necessary."

"As to a paper, Manchester comrades propose to issue one of their own as soon as they are able, but they have much to learn and do as yet. Of course it is intended for local purposes only (or mainly), as we feel that local circumstances and temperaments vary so largely that only a paper in touch with local needs is likely to succeed."

"4. Educational lectures are also of great utility. We should recommend discussion meetings of comrades at each other's houses or other convenient places. Often enough those meetings fall through because nobody has a paper prepared, or because two or three turn up. This should not dishearten however. Let it take place if only two turn up, you will find it useful and interesting. Do not have long, or necessarily written papers. Let it be more like an informal chat. The good that results, especially if you can get someone to write reports and distribute them amongst those not present, is very great. We shall be glad to hear suggestions of the comrades on this point."

"5. Book boxes would seem a fruitful idea if worked properly, but but we know little or nothing about them, and must leave it to those who do."

"6. Co-operation. We are very much interested In this matter, as you will see by the Summary. We feel that attempts at Anarchist Communist co-operation, when they do not take away energy from the general propaganda, are exceedingly useful, both as a help to the comrades participating, and an object lesson to outsiders; and even if they do not succeed the efforts are far from being lost. As far as we are concerned however, we do not like the idea of collecting or borrowing large sums to buy land and capital to provide comrades with work from the start; we feel that first attempts should be of a tentative nature; those taking part continuing at first to earn their living in outside in-

dustry, and undertake matters on a larger scale as they feel more competent and acquire a larger capital. We also consider it advisable that members be carefully selected. Of course these considerations may not apply in every case. They would vary with different local requirements,"

"In conclusion we would like to say that a great lack amongst many groups is that of mutual intercourse and comradeship. To meet at each others houses, or places for the purpose, to hold occasional social gatherings, is we think one of the things most adapted to keep up the spirit of mutual help and sociability which is needful to the building up of our ideal."

"We have finished our message, and if some of the statements appear too dogmatic in form it is entirely due to the necessary brevity of the letter and not from a desire to be unduly preceptorial."

"In the hope that the Conference may be fruitful of unexpected good, above all that it bring sympathy and fellowship and mutual encouragement in the great striving for life and good, of which we all are part, we conclude by sincerest wishes for your success, and greetings to you all."

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP.

Because They Were Asses.

The Monkeys, being lazy, learned to ride the Donkeys. A big Monkey would ride in front of the herd, this he called "being the leader." Although, since the Donkeys were obstinate, he had in the end to go the way the Donkeys wished.

Sometimes the Donkeys wished. Then the Monkeys called them "Anarchists."

The Monkeys got so fat and heavy that the Asses had no strength left to get their own food.

They began to complain and to seek for causes and cures. A sweet girl Donkey said, "I will take them some flowers to allay their discontent—we will establish a Flower Mission." The Monkeys subscribed quite liberally.

A dear little Donkey added, "I will hold a Charity Fair, which will raise enough from the Benevolent Apes to send some of the young Asses' Colts to the fields for a week." The Monkeys called that "enlightened Charity." A long-eared Donkey cried, "No, preach temperance; these Beasts of Asses drink so much that they have no time to eat and nothing to eat in the time if they had it." The Monkeys restricted the sale of Drink—to Asses.

A big Ass said, "What we need is a high wall round so as to keep our pauper hay—then our Masters will give us employment cultivating hay fields, and pay us with some of the hay." The Monkeys made a wall so close that the Asses could not see through it. Said a small Donkey, "We need cheaper money so that we can buy some leisure time from the Monkey that makes the money." The Monkeys did not like this—they were only Monkeys.

"Now," said an Ecclesiastical Ass, "Sin is at the bottom of all this. These Monkeys are on top of you because your hearts are corrupt." So he preached to the Monkeys.

"I have discovered that it is because lower class animals are lazy—too lazy to graze," said a Mule, "that all this want and suffering exists." (The Monkeys made that Mule a professor.)

Still the Asses kicked.

"Have we not done all we could for you?" said the Monkeys. "What you really need is a strong Government, to provide formidable Arms for us, and to ensure the stability of Social Order." And the Asses voted additional appropriations for all these things.

The Monkeys spent the Money.

MORAL.—This fable teaches that if you put a Monkey on Horseback he will ride——

You must be either a Monkey or a Donkey.

BOLTON HALL.

(*Journal of the Knights of Labour*, 12-11-97.)

NOTICES.

On Sunday, January 9th, at the Progressive Club, 8 Mayall Road, Brixton, John Turner will lecture. Subject: "The Difficulties of Democracy," at 11 a. m.

FREEDOM PAMPHLETS.

No. 1. THE WAGE SYSTEM. By PETER KROPOTKINE. 1d.
No. 2. THE COMMUNE OF PARIS. By PETER KROPOTKINE. 1d.
No. 3. A TALK ABOUT ANARCHIST-COMMUNISM BETWEEN TWO WORKERS. By E. MALATESTA. 1d.
No. 4. ANARCHIST-COMMUNISM: ITS BASIS AND PRINCIPLES. By PETER KROPOTKINE. 1d.
No. 5. ANARCHY. By E. MALATESTA. 1d.
No. 6. ANARCHIST MORALITY. By PETER KROPOTKINE. 1d.
No. 7. EXPROPRIATION. By PETER KROPOTKINE. 1d.
No. 8. ANARCHISM AND OUTRAGE. By C. M. WILSON ½d.
No. 9. ANARCHY ON TRIAL—George Etiévant, Jean Grave and Caserio Santo. 32 pages; 1d.
No. 10. ANARCHISM: ITS PHILOSOPHY AND IDEAL. 1d.

Other Pamphlets.

LAW AND AUTHORITY. By PETER KROPOTKINE. 2d.
EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION. By ELYSEE RECLUS. 1d.
AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG. By PETER KROPOTKINE. 1d.
THE CHICAGO MARTYRS. Their speeches in Court and the record of their trial, with the reasons given by Governor Altgeld for pardoning Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe; price sixpence. Spies speech in pamphlet form, 1d.
GOD AND THE STATE. By MICHAEL BAKOUNINE. Price fourpence.
AN ANARCHIST ON ANARCHY. By ELYSEE RECLUS. 1d.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

On Monday, January 24th, 1898,

PETER KROPOTKINE

Will deliver a Lecture at the

MEMORIAL HALL

(LARGE HALL)

Farringdon Road, Ludgate Circus, E. C.

SUBJECT:

"The Development of Trade-Unionism."

KROPOTKINE WILL ALSO DELIVER

a MESSAGE from the Workers of New York to the Workers of Europe.

JAMES MACDONALD

Secretary London Trades Council, will preside.

Admission: Body of Hall 3d., Gallery free.

All Comrades should make this Meeting known.

Tickets and all enquiries of J. Perry, 53 Fleet Street, E. C.

Door open at 7,30 p. m. *Commence at 8 p. m.*

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

Donations Publication Fund.—Milburn 1s., Delorme 6d.
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Sales of FREEDOM.—Office 9½d., Delorme 1s., Lowe 4s., Manchester Group, on account, 5s., Swenson 1/4, Newsagents 1/8.
Sales of FREEDOM *Pamphlets.*—Edwards 2/8, Shilling 4/2, Boekenkamp 8/3, Bourey 2s., Rudash £ 1-0-2½, Nelson 3s., Legitimation League 5/4.

[*Will comrades in the London and provincial Groups make a point of furnishing us with reports of their meetings and progress by not later than the 20th of each month.*—ED.]

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