

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

VOL. XII.—No. 132.

NOVEMBER, 1898.

MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

CHICAGO MARTYRS COMMEMORATION.

A Public Meeting will be held at the
ATHENÆUM HALL, 73 TOTTENHAM COURT RD., W.
On Thursday, November 10, at 8 p.m.

To commemorate the judicial murder of the Chicago Anarchists. The following speakers will address the meeting: H. STOCKTON, W. WESS, W. TCHERKESOV, F. T. del MARMOL, LOUISE MICHEL, P. KROPOTKIN, and JOHN TURNER.

THE CHICAGO MARTYRS.

Since Governor Altgeld published his reasons for releasing Fielden, Schwab and Neebe from prison it has become hardly necessary to speak even of the innocence of our Chicago comrades. It is a fact that has become historical, and will go down through all time as one of the blackest crimes in the ghastly records of the class war in America. And it is well that every year we should recall the incidents of their martyrdom, and that we should denounce the perpetrators of this crime—every year till the class war is ended and justice is done. And for this reason: that the crime of the Chicago capitalists—for it was they rather than their hirelings who murdered our comrades—had but one base and sordid motive, the preservation of their stolen wealth.

There was not the excuse that one may find for the religious fanatic who imagines himself an agent of the divine will; there was not even the stupidity of the fools who would crush humanity to maintain the "glory" of a crowned despot. It was a calculated crime in defence of the money bag, and to lower depths than this one could hardly go.

The social revolution and the economic freedom of the working people, which our Chicago friends strove to attain and in reality died for, has not yet come to pass. But some world-stirring events have happened since their deaths which prove that the revolutionary spirit is strong as ever when occasion arises. The Coxey march and the great railway strike have proved at least one thing—the growing solidarity in the ranks of the disinherited. On the other hand, the murderous spirit of the capitalists is as strong as ever; and after the massacre by Sheriff Martin and the recent shooting of the Illinois miners one can see plainly enough that the exploiter is still above the "law" and shows no respect for human life when his interests are menaced.

Well, the 11th of November comes again to remind us of two most important things. First of all, that the present system is weighing as heavily as before on the backs of the workers; that social injustice still claims its innumerable victims, sometimes condemning to a violent death, but as a rule devoting its victims to lifelong misery and suffering. And, secondly, that all our efforts are required to induce our fellow workers to study the problem which they alone can solve—which force of circumstances will compel them to solve—of how to work without being robbed, and how to live without being slaves.

THE MINERS OF ILLINOIS.

A Chapter from the labor war in America; by an American
Trade Unionist.

About sixty miles from St. Louis on the Chicago and Alton Railway, lies a sleepy little village of some six thousand inhabitants. This little village has a main street which is lined with tiny shops of a desultory character, and the square which lies opposite is usually surrounded by farmers' vans and carts. This is the business district, and also the lounging district; for it is here that the farmers, in from the country with their loads, congregate and discuss crops, the weather and the next election. The rest of the village is made up of small frame houses, all of which are painted, looking very neat in their coats of white, green or brown, as the case may be. There is also the railway station and, further down, on the opposite side of the track, are several huge coal "shutes."

This is the little town of Virden, in the State of Illinois, where "Reuter" informs us a great fight took place last week between the striking coal miners and Sheriff Davenport, assisted by his deputies and the negroes who were imported from the South to take the place of the strikers.

At the time of writing, it is reported that, on the strikers' side, ten were killed and five were fatally and five seriously wounded; while of the deputies and negroes nine were killed and thirteen wounded. Sheriff Davenport, like most officials who have charge of a battle, seems

to have taken good care of his skin, and seems, unfortunately, to be still alive.

According to the *Daily News*, there was some trouble between the Chicago and Virden Coal Company and their employees, which resulted in a strike of the latter, and the building of a stockade round the entrance to the mines by the Company (as in the case of Carnegie in 1892)—ostensibly for the purpose of protecting from the strikers the men who were imported. In this case negroes were imported to take the place of the men on strike, and when the train arrived in front of the east gates of the stockade at Virden it was met by 1,500 armed strikers. The strikers claim that they were fired upon from the stockade when they were half a mile away. Whoever began the shooting, the result was as above. The wives of some of the miners killed decline to go to their homes, being wild with grief and anger. The Mayor has asked for a special train of doctors from Springfield (the capital of the State), thirty or forty miles away. Mr. Lukens, the manager of the mines, is blamed for the trouble, and much indignation is felt. And, finally, the Sheriff has telegraphed to Governor Tanner at Springfield for troops to be sent immediately to preserve "order," and the request has been complied with. Such, in brief, is the tale that has been given us by the daily press last week.

To the law-abiding Englishman of whom the *Daily News* is so proud, it would seem as if the coal miner of Virden was a very desperate and unruly character. Such, however, is not the case. On the contrary, he is very peaceable and very quiet, and is patient to the last degree. I have been in Virden upwards of a dozen times and can speak from experience. I have strolled up and down its streets, have had my coffee and sandwich in each of the three little lunch rooms on the main street, chatted with shopkeepers and farmers on crops, the weather and the next election. I have sat on the station platform or beside the coal chute, and eaten bread and cheese with the miners while we talked about the bad times and of our prospects for the future. I have seen that miner trudging to work with his dinner pail in hand, stop to give some bread and meat from his meagre dinner to some "tramp" (i.e. a man out of work) who lay by the roadside waiting for a train. I have also seen him when he wandered from pit to pit, searching for work he could not find, and all the time wishing that things would pick up just a little so that he might square a few debts and buy the missus a new dress.

I can say that I never saw a more peace-loving man than that same Virden coal miner. The population of Virden is made up of coal miners and farmers for the most part, and a sorry lot they are, too. The miners, however, are the worst off. To begin with, their wages are very low, fluctuating from $2/3$ to $2/10\frac{1}{2}$ a ton, so that striking an average they get about $2/6\frac{1}{2}$ a ton the year through. This wage, low as it is, would enable them to live a poor life if it were only steady. But this is not the case; for they do not average more than eighteen days work a month. So the miner is close to the starvation point most of the time. Of all the shameless exploitation that is practised upon the worker in that glorious "land of the free," that of the coal miner is the worst. Although the miner is supposed to be paid according to the weight of the coal he produces, in most cases it is not weighed at all. The miner is told to fill up a long, open car, with sides about three feet high, and that this car holds a ton. As a matter of fact, the car will hold two tons if filled level with the top, and as the miner must pile it up he gets nearly two and a half tons in a car while being paid for one. Before loading the car the miner must run his coal over a screen, and all the coal that goes through the screen is not paid for. This coal is called "slack," and a coal operator in Ohio once told me that the money made on the "slack" coal paid the entire expenses of his mine. If the miner, after all this robbery, can say at the end of the year, "I have averaged 24s. a week, the year past," he is indeed fortunate.

But the robbery does not stop here. It follows the poor wretch from the mine into his home. The coal company "owns" frame houses that the miners are expected to live in, for which a rent of \$9 (36s.) is usually charged. The profit on this can easily be seen when we hear a well known trade unionist in America, a carpenter by trade, offer to build these shanties at \$35 each, and he promises that he would make a fortune out of it. The company also has a general store where food, clothing, furniture, etc., are kept. The miners are expected to patronise this store, and should any be too independent to do so they are soon spotted and "weeded out." Such is the life of the miners who have just revolted at Virden, as well as that of other miners in other places throughout Illinois—that glorious State which has produced so many illustrious men, from Abe Lincoln to John P. Altgeld.

(To be concluded.)

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

Monthly, One Penny; post free, 1½d.; U.S.A., 3 Cents; France, 15 Centimes.

Annual Subscription, post free, 1s. 6d.; U.S.A., 36 Cents; France, 1fr. 80c.
Foreign subscriptions should be sent by International Money Order,
payable to C. M. Wilson.

Wholesale Price, 1s. 4d. per quire of 27, carriage free to all parts.

All communications, exchanges, &c., for "FREEDOM" to be addressed to

THE MANAGER, 127 Ossulston Street, N.W.

The Editors are not necessarily in agreement with signed articles.

NOTES.

THE HOUSING OF THE POOR.

How many years is it since the agitation of this question first commenced, taken up of course by the practical people who always want to go on "step by step"? One hardly likes to reckon; but when the question of what has been accomplished comes up for consideration, one wonders how the practical people can continue to hold up their heads. The County Council has had the problem before it for some years—and hasn't solved it. Well, who said it would? Why, the practical people. The County Council has pulled down slums—and the slum-dwellers have made their slums elsewhere. That is all. As to that class of workers who can afford more than one room for their wives and families, they are distracted between the misery of the crowded centres of the town, with their high rents and bad surroundings, or the lower rents in the suburbs with the torture of riding in workmen's trains night and morning. And not only that, but some of the districts in the suburbs are becoming as crowded as the city. Altogether, it is a picture of social stupidity which is simply appalling. For we must remember that 100,000 families are still living in one room.

Yet if we Anarchists—sometimes called "cutthroats" and sometimes "dreamers"—were to suggest that there is room enough in England for all to live healthy and useful lives, if we but used the land as common sense dictates, we should be laughed to scorn by the practical people and told that to accomplish this would mean a revolution. Very likely; and we say: let us have the revolution and let the landlord go. The end is worthy of the means.

JUDGE AND JURY.

The trial and sentence of Dr. Whitmarsh is a disgrace even to a disgraceful judicial system. Putting on one side the so-called "crime" for which he was sentenced, we have to remember that this man was compelled to undergo the agony and suspense of two trials; that the disagreement of the jury in the first instance indicated some weakness in the case against him, and that the verdict in the second trial was only brought about by the disgustingly biased summing-up of the judge. Here is what a juror says: "At the end of the first day when we had heard all the evidence, we were comparatively light-hearted and jocular; for not one of us anticipated having to give a verdict of murder. . . . then came only the judge's summing-up, to which the verdict was solely due." All this bears out to the very letter the contention in Kropotkin's lecture on "Crime and Punishment," that juries attend less to the dictates of their consciences than to the law as expounded by the judge, and that this always has and always must inflict the grossest injustice on the victims of society.

A "BOLD CRUSADER."

There is only one idea that strikes one with regard to Wilhelm's journey to the Holy Land, and that is: what a pity he does not stop there. He has hallucinations about himself enough to ensure some startling developments, say of a messianic character, and his familiarity with the divine will ought to guarantee him a home for life in the holy city.

It is evident, however, that the noble Kaiser is killing a good many birds with one stone over this matter. In the first place, he hopes by crying "Peace on Earth," from the top of Mount Zion, to get level with the Tsar, who certainly had by his rescript taken the wind out of Wilhelm's sails, so to speak. Then, again, there is the certainty of daily reports in the press which keep him constantly before the eyes of a gaping world. But, perhaps most important of all, there is the prospect of some good paying commercial transactions with that noble brother in crime who "rules" at Constantinople. The cordial greetings of these two worthies who, theologically speaking, have vowed mutual extermination, would form a capital subject for a new Ingoldsby legend. There is no doubt about the success of the whole scheme. Wilhelm has "booked" large orders for the German capitalist, he has been well talked about and there has been a nicely concocted little Anarchist plot to add a spice of excitement to the whole affair. What does the German workman, who has got to pay, think of the business?

REVOLUTION.

The very sound of the word *Revolution* conjures up so many awful spectres in the minds of the majority of people that one is immediately regarded as an enemy of mankind to merely hint at such a thing. A glance at history, however, or a little calm reasoning over social conditions soon proves to honest minds that revolutions have always been,

if not successful, at least necessary, and that they will happen just as often as conditions make them inevitable. On the other hand there are a certain set of persons of the "superior" class who like to sit in their studios and write in a high philosophical tone of the revolutions of the past and what we have gained from them. But breathe to them of the necessity, or even the possibility of a revolution in the present day and they will regard you as a fool or a criminal. "What," they will reply, "a revolution when you have got the vote, labor members in the Commons and the County and Parish Councils? Ridiculous; it can never be; the days of those sort of things are past—at least in England." There is only one reason why these people utter these puerilities, why they blind themselves to the fact that even now the clouds are gathering on the horizon—they are comfortable and do not wish to be disturbed. The reforms they talk about may or may not come, but at any rate they afford them opportunities to parade before the public. They complacently accept the advantages reaped from past revolutions, but they would do all in their power to crush a revolution that would destroy the "rights" of property and bring justice to the workers.

"SOCIETY" AND ANARCHISM.

Does this mean that society is helpless in face of Anarchism? It is, if it possesses only the force to suppress and not the power to convince; if society is only held together by compulsion, as the present State partly is and the Socialist State would be still more, and threatens to fall to pieces if the apparatus of compulsion were given up; if the State, instead of trying to redress the unfortunately unalterable natural inequality of its members, only intensifies it by legalising all kinds of new inequalities, and if it regards its institutions, and especially the law, as instruments for the unalterable conservation of all present forms of society with all their imperfections and injustices. If justice is administered and interpreted arbitrarily, in a spirit of privilege and partisanship; if equality before the law is disregarded by those who are called to defend the law; if belief in the trustworthiness of the indispensable institutions of authority is lightly shaken by these very institutions themselves, then it is no wonder if men despair of the capability of the State to practise or maintain right, and if the masses, always ready to generalise, deny right, law, State, and authority altogether. We have already pointed out repeatedly that Anarchism cannot be explained by pauperism alone. Pauperism justifies Socialism; but this movement against authority, which certainly does not bear in all cases the name of Anarchism, but which is to-day more widely spread than is often imagined, can only be explained by a confused mass of injustice and wrongdoing, of which the *bourgeois* State is daily and hourly guilty towards the weak. The average man does not much mind his rich fellow man riding in his carriage while he himself cannot even pay his tram fare; but that he should be abandoned by society to every chance official of justice as a prey that has no rights, while justice often falters anxiously before those who are shielded by coats of arms and titles, that is what makes his blood boil, and causes him to seek the origin of this injustice in the institution itself instead of in the way it works. How many Anarchists have become so merely because they were treated as common criminals when they happened to have the misfortune to be suspected of Anarchism? How many became Anarchists because they were outlawed by society on account of free and liberal views.—ZENKER on *Anarchism*.

CHOOSE!

Chains are not other than chains
though beaten of gold, I say,
Nor is liberty less than a boon, though
thou hast but a cup and a crust.
Better a bed in the fields and a man's
heart at dawning of day
Than a luxury great as a king's
where a voice ever utters. "Thou must!"

WILLIAM FRANCIS BARNARD.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

The act of Luigi Luccheni is being used by reactionists of all descriptions as a pretext for a renewed onslaught upon freedom. What was so undoubtedly the impulsive act of a single man—the protest of the poor Italian navy who slaved under the burning sun of this hot summer at the construction of the Lausanne post office, whilst he saw thousands of rich tourists, men and women, walk by in ease and comfort and make for the delightful Swiss mountains—this act, I say, is interpreted by those inseparable confederates, the police and the press, as the outcome of international Anarchism; and, consequently, the suppression of Anarchist propaganda is proposed and will be discussed at an "anti-Anarchist" conference at Rome, where delegates of all governments will meet at the invitation of the Italian government. It will be proposed first to forbid all Anarchist publications; second, to send all Anarchists back to their own countries; third, to prevent the publication of descriptions of Anarchist acts and trials. Even if the natural jealousy of the different States would make it possible for them to agree upon these measures, they may happily be considered futile

beforehand. For Anarchism is not some scheme or the other, invented for this or that purpose, but is the logical outcome of modern thought applied to the spheres of politics and economics. It is connected in a thousand ways with modern science, its methods are those of progress in general and only a return to the ignorance and primitive life of savages would stamp out the progress already made on the road to Anarchism; and, even then, the tendency of evolution towards it would remain unchanged.

Science, art, *thinking* itself will have to be declared treason and felony before the progress of Anarchism may be seriously tampered with, not checked, of course. As to the internment of Anarchists in their own countries, that will not prevent them continuing to be Anarchists. When, by the anti-Socialist law of 1878, hundreds of Socialists were driven from Berlin, Hamburg and Leipsic, they spread their gospel all over the country wherever they settled and the same was done by the hundreds expelled from Vienna in January, 1884. So these measures usually turn against their inventors, and it is not likely that this proposal will be more successful; the less so because modern industrial requirements dictate to a far greater extent the migration of working-men nowadays than the paternal care of governments so suspiciously revealed in this matter. As to the suppression of records of trials, etc., this is preposterous in an age of publicity and will only arouse curiosity which, with many, may pass into interest, sympathy and solidarity. In short, it would be as easy and reasonable to attempt, let us say, to banish arithmetic from modern life as Anarchism!

This confidence the safe future of the cause does not do away with the necessity of firm solidarity of all honest people against this ruffianly attempt against all progressive movements—for if Anarchism is left alone to be crushed in its external manifestations, Socialism and Free-thought will be repressed next and every reform movement is sure to follow. Under these circumstances the attitude of Social Democrats towards this question must generally be described as shameful; they do all they can to look "respectable," and by this they play the game of reaction. It is true that, otherwise, the bulk of the electors might forsake them, and what splendid results does electioneering, the "conquest of political power," bring about! For instance there is in Geneva a leading Social Democrat, M. Thiébaud, elected State Councillor, who, during and after the recent great strike there, replacing another Councillor, had to sign and *did sign*, as the highest cantonal authority on this question, the *decrees of expulsion* against foreign workingmen, mostly Anarchists. Is there a finer example of the creation of new masters by the ballot-box? Again, after Luccheni's act, a Social Democratic paper of Dortmund, Westphalia (a mining district), proposed *flogging for Anarchists*, and upheld this proposal when even the rest of the German Social Democratic press condemned it; the editor was a former member of Parliament, Dr. Luetgenau, the author of a book on "natural and social religion," so one of the ethical teachers of the party. He is no longer editor, I am glad to say; but he was the only man logical enough to draw drastic conclusions from the torrents of abuse uttered by all his party against Anarchists for many years.

The press of Switzerland, the oldest republic in the world, rivalled in baseness the venom of court papers on this occasion. We do not mean the condemnation of the particular act (which was to be expected), but the way some of the Swiss journals, notably of Geneva and of Berne, tortured their brains to invent reasons for Luccheni's extradition to Austria that he might be hanged there, whilst in Switzerland there can be no death penalty for him. This voluntary relegation of their independence and autonomy for which their forefathers fought and killed the very ancestors of the Austrian imperial family, completes the picture of modern Republicanism, to which the French Republic of Esterhazy and Cavaignac, Colonel Henry and Drumont contributes so many graphic traits.

Of course, Switzerland now madly expels all Anarchists it can lay hands on or who are but heard of, and even decrees the expulsion of some known to be dead. Our comrade Sanftleben, of Zurich, who enjoys Swiss citizenship, tears that to pieces in a very plucky little pamphlet, issued at the right moment: *Unser Scherb!* (Our Scherb) viz. the Swiss Federal Prosecutor, nominated years ago to hunt down Socialists and Anarchists, who have since continued to exist none the worse for him. The poor man, who lives at Berne on his £400 per annum, is now blamed by the press and public for not having foreseen Luccheni's act and he tries to raise his reputation by wholesale expulsions. Sanftleben presumes that he possesses some power over the spirits of the dead in heaven or hell even; for he decreed the expulsion of Emilio Gerli, of Bellinzona, *who happens to have been dead for eighteen months*. Nay, he must have a creative power as well; for he is still hunting for Michele Abrile, of Zurich, whom less omniscient persons know never to have existed at all. Or he expels Alfonso Oliva, who, since 1896, lives at Naples and describes himself as a pacific Socialist. In this reckless way, out of sheer official laziness and stupidity, the fate and wellbeing of over fifty men and their families are interfered with.

It was further demonstrated that denunciations against many of them were furnished to the Swiss police by the notorious Santoro, once the jailer of the Italian transported political prisoners, whom he martyred at Tonto Ercole, now an escaped thief and swindler whom even the local police of Zurich disbelieve. He invented a good many of the stories about plots for assassination which circulated the day after the events of Geneva. These are the sources of the "well-informed" press and of public opinion based on it!

Other governments follow suit. Luccheni passed a few days at Budapest, in Hungary, some years ago—forthwith all known Anarchists were expelled from that capital. France followed with about fifty expulsions

from its hospitable territory, and in London Italian refugees are molested by the police. The Emperor William—of late relegated a little to the background by the Tsar's so-called peace manifesto and the death of the Austrian Empress—gave the world a foretaste of how it would look without him by nearly falling a victim, when at Venice, in Italy, to some bombs that were supposed to exist at Cairo, in Egypt, a safe distance of several days journey. This kind of attempt at a distance is quite safe, it is true, but meets with some incredulity here and there. It does some service at the Prussian elections, however,—so what matters if a dozen persons are put in prison for some time?

Instances of all this could be multiplied; they demonstrate—if demonstration were needed—that *laws* are, as they always have been, at the complete service of those who wield the power. Laws never rule a country; but they are none the less useful to lull the consciences of those who would revolt against arbitrary acts less disguised. This is why Anarchists scorn them, both as fossilised obstacles and as sheer hypocrisy.

THE LEEDS BROTHERHOOD WORKSHOP.

Some while ago, our comrade J. C. Kenworthy came to Leeds, and in a number of public meetings tried to bring home to his audiences the possibility of living up to the ideal even to-day. This notion went home in one or two cases, and set folk thinking; with the result that a year ago G. Gibson, who had hitherto been a prosperous cycle manufacturer and electrician, decided to throw his works into the movement.

This was about the time of the engineering lock-out, and the primary idea was that by throwing open the workshop on Communist lines it would provide work for some of the men who had been victimised through their activity in the matter. However, the victimised men did not fall in with it; so it was started with a few comrades gathered from various parts.

From the outset it was decided to have the thing thorough, and to this determination is no doubt due its success. They had made up their minds that no elaborate schemes were necessary; that the essentials were truth, frankness and good fellowship,—the expressions of pure healthy life.

They have no formal membership, no rules, no formal admission. If one thinks that their place is there, they go. Only such accounts as are necessary to determine the question of weekly loss or gain are kept.

There is no recognition of "fair" or "equal" division of wages. Each man or woman in connection takes from the treasury such as they need.

Work, if it is worth doing at all, ought to be done well, and, acting up to this, the Brotherhood make the question of profits quite secondary.

If there are any profits, they are to be devoted to extension, to add such industries as are rendered desirable by the accession of fresh comrades.

The idea of a communal home has already been attained, and an agricultural colony is possible.

At present, the efforts of the comrades are mostly centred in the making of bicycles and various electrical apparatus. One comrade makes the clothing that is needed by the others, whilst another mends their boots and soon hopes to be making them. Comrades wanting anything in the shape of bikes, etc., should make an enquiry. The address is: Brotherhood Workshop, 6 Victoria Road, Holbeck, Leeds.

The experiment is extremely interesting to us who have approached Anarchy from another road, because now, after one year's running, the workshop is a living proof that folk can live together harmoniously without the aid of law or excessive organisation. In this case, it must exercise a great influence for good upon the general movement.

W. MACQUEEN.

THE PROPAGANDA.

THE LIBERTARIAN LECTURE SOCIETY.

Three of the first series of Sunday lectures arranged by the newly formed Libertarian Lecture Society for the purpose of disseminating more light on the advanced thought, literature and movements of the day, have now taken place and proved a complete success. Each Sunday afternoon has seen the Athenaeum Hall filled with a large and appreciative audience, and there is great hope that Goethe's words heading the program, "*Light! More Light!*" may already have found a responsive echo in the minds of some who strolled into the hall, even if only out of curiosity to gaze upon the grave features of Louise Michel and Kropotkin as they stood up to propound the gospel of Progress.

On October 16, Louise Michel opened the lecture course with an address upon *The Situation in France*, which upon its conclusion was cleverly rendered into English by Mrs. M. Macpherson. Our comrade made a stirring speech, in which she showed how France during the past 26 years has been steadily verging to its present condition of chaos. The time was full of danger. An intense desire for true liberty coupled with violent party hatred was abroad. A great leader was needed if France was to be steered into the still waters of Peace; failing him things would get worse till Revolution burst upon the land. The great power in France to-day was its army, and this was now so disciplined that the soldiers when called upon to do it would slaughter their parents, their sisters and brothers, or even themselves if so ordered, as in the case of Colonel Henry. Now this was owing not to the fault of any one man or men, but solely to the institutions, the bad diplomacy and corrupt officials of France. The army was popular and the nation proud of this outward semblance of strength and solidity, but the French had no enthusiasm for slaughter, and therefore, as regarded the strained relations between France and England, she was hopeful. Badly as they were governed, the people were not yet demoralised, and it would need a military despot to force the nation into war. France, continued the speaker, was a republic in name only. Liberty as known in the city of London was unknown to Paris and France. Official brutalities occurred during the recent strikes in Paris

that would have been neither tolerated nor ventured upon in England. There was no freedom of speech in Paris. The people were deeply discontented, revolt was in the air, but they did not know whom to believe or trust; they were sick of words and sought for heroes. The very gaiety of the French people was gone; *la belle France* was now *la sombre France*, where Justice wore an iron mask and magistrates condemned without mercy. The coming Exhibition she looked forward to with great hope as a means of cementing a feeling of brotherhood and union amongst the nations, and of creating a bond of solidarity throughout the human race. The aim of the government should be not to extend its colonies and expand its army, but to make the people content and happy; otherwise the entire nation will revolt against its oppressors. Throughout her lecture our comrade protested not against individuals singly or collectively, but against institutions. Human stupidity, however, had to be overcome before material reforms could be expected. In the meanwhile the only hope out of the dark condition of things, was to fight shoulder to shoulder for the realisation of the beautiful dream of true liberty. A century ago the people bravely stormed the Bastille. To-day there was a greater Bastille to be attacked—the human fortress, which must be taken for humanity.

Kropotkin's able lecture on *Crime and Punishment*, upon the following Sunday, evoked frequent bursts of applause. Beginning with the early ages of the world he vividly contrasted the punishment for crime in the tribal and so-called barbaric periods, with the purely vindictive and repressive penalties of to-day. Then, punishment took the form of compensation in money or kind to the aggrieved tribe or family, and the sin, so to speak, was wiped out and forgotten. The culprit was still a man who could look his brother man in the face, and not, as to-day, be hounded down, thrown into prison, set to degrading because useless tasks, and leave it a moral wreck with a name stained for ever. When towns with their guilds came into existence, the compensation idea still lingered in society. Guild power as against State power was sharply defined. When a crime was committed, its author was tried by his Guild, all men outside soldiers and the peasantry being enrolled in some one or other such corporate body. Gradually, as the State grew and guilds declined, the punishment of crime fell into its hands, until now there is no appeal from the State. What the law and lawyers decree the State upholds. Alluding to the jury system, the speaker said that, when first introduced, the object of the people was that the jurymen should be drawn from the masses. Now the juries were taken from the middle classes, who troubled little about justice but much about points of law. The result was that the nation had become impregnated with the lawyer's system and the jury was becoming a sort of legal institution. Russia was ahead of England here. The severe sentences now passed upon criminals did not diminish crime to any appreciable extent. Murders were no fewer because capital punishment existed. In Russia there was no death penalty for civil crime and there were fewer murders comparatively in Russia than in England. The State provided that all who broke the laws of the land should be punished, and a judge would send a man to prison with callous indifference because such was the law, and without a single thought as to what was to become of the prisoner's wife and children. These might starve; and a system which compelled innocent persons to starve showed how wrong must be the institutions that prevailed. Every prison was an university for crime. The man who entered one was a marked man for the rest of his life. Progress was to be seen in human thought and in most institutions, the world has advanced by strides of late, and yet outside the material condition of prisoners there had been little thought for and no advance made towards removing vindictiveness and the spirit of revenge from the punishment meted out to evildoers. Was the world still to advance towards Progress and this foul blot to remain untouched, unthought of by the enlightened minds of the day?

W. F. Barnard's topic on October 30, was *Civilisation and Freedom*. He pointed out that, from the earliest ages, once a people became consolidated there was always some central principle which influenced their actions. With ancient Rome it was Conquest; with Greece, Art; in the Middle Ages, Religion actuated and controlled the impulses of men; in modern times, Civilisation. To-day men seemed to consider that Civilisation had some divine right of way; before its march all men must bow. Was it well that it should be so? Let us take the thing up and look at it; for if a factor that does not bring happiness and wellbeing to all, that works imperfectly, then let us not work with it. The common interpretation of existing social conditions, is, that they are the outcome of Civilisation; existing social conditions were anything but perfect. Intrinsicly Civilisation was simply a condition existing where the people are substantially one, where they are organised and labor is specialised. Beginning with ancient history, we find that coincident with the civilisation of Rome there was indiscriminate slaughter of all who were considered superfluous. The Aztecs lived under a high degree of civilisation; they formed an organised State, yet such organisations consisted mainly of slaves and masters. Can Civilisation be a good or perfect thing where men die that it may live? Yet the cry to-day is ever for more civilisation. A people that will not lie or steal is a people with magnificent possibilities. Such were the Esquimaux, the Dahomeyans, the Mexicans, the Fijians before Civilisation reached them. Now the three last have become highly civilised people; they have government, laws, police,—and they have learned to lie, to steal and to be false; whilst the Fijians quickly developed into one of the most bloodthirsty races in the world. To-day Civilisation organises vast standing armies; for what? To secure scientific frontiers at the expense of frightful injustice and bloodshed. The march of Civilisation is along three paths: 1. Missionaries; 2. Traders; 3. Machine guns. Rum and the Bible advance together. We have but to look into the inner life of London or of any great city to see the havoc and suffering that is coexistent with the so-called "blessings of Civilisation." No; it is not more Civilisation that is needed, but rebellion against it by the individuals who make up the races that suffer. Things should not be estimated by the amount of wealth, construction, agriculture or art that a country produces, but should be tested by the amount of happiness they bestow on the individuals living under that civilisation. There is land tenure: Civilisation says that the land shall remain in the hands of those who have got it, and the law which so ordained it shall continue. Who profits most by inventions? Not the people nor yet the inventor, but the capitalist. Marriage under civilisation becomes a yoke where love, freedom and individuality alike are extinguished. What alone can grapple with the baneful results of civilisation? The realisation of the truth, the assertion of freedom, and rebellion. As men develop and advance their ideals grow; once they see the disadvantages of the institutions under which they live, once the spark of manhood is fanned into a flame by the evils which press upon them, they must revolt. The cry must be *No Compromise!* A higher type of organisation, unity and labor must come; the test demanded must be: Does Civilisation bring to the units living under it the benefits to which their ability entitles them? If not, rebel.

The first Social organised in connection with the Lecture Society took place on October 25th; and, thanks to the energetic efforts of comrades Turner, R. Zolzman and others on the Committee, was a success although we hope that on the next occasion, November 22, more dancers will turn up. "We are young, but our feet are old!" many seemed to say, like the man in the pantomime, as they sat round the four walls of the hall and watched the gyrations of the couples who valed to the spirited strains of the musicians. A little dancing (like a little wine) is often good for the digestion, comrades; try it next time; to wrestle with a polka is not half so hard as to peel potatoes. Some good singing and recitations by various friends who kindly assisted towards the success of the evening were much appreciated.

Liverpool Anarchist Group.

Two Meetings will be held in the
ODDFELLOWS' HALL, St. ANNE STREET, LIVERPOOL,
ON SUNDAY NOV. 13, at 3 o'clock and at 7 o'clock, p.m.
In commemoration of the murder of the Chicago Martyrs. Speakers from London, Manchester and Liverpool. Admission 6d. and 3d.; a few seats free.

THE LIBERTARIAN LECTURE SOCIETY,

Lecturers for November are:

Nov. 6, T. Taplin (L. S. C.), "Why I am not an Anarchist."

Nov. 13, J. C. Kenworthy, "Tolstoi and the Anarchist Movement."

Nov. 20, W. Platt, "A Restless and Critical Century"

Nov. 27, C. Charrington, "Municipal Theatres."

A Social and Dance

(under the auspices of the above society) will be held at

ATHENÆUM HALL, 73 TOTTENHAM COURT RD.,

ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22,

COMMENCING AT 8.30 P.M.

Tickets: Sixpence.

FREEDOM PAMPHLETS.

- No. 1. THE WAGE SYSTEM. BY PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
- No. 2. THE COMMUNE OF PARIS. BY PETER KROPOTKIN. 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 KROPOTKIN. 1d.
- No. 6. ANARCHIST MORALITY. BY PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
- No. 7. EXPROPRIATION. BY PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
- No. 8. ANARCHISM AND OUTRAGE. BY C. M. WILSON. 1d.
- No. 9. ANARCHY ON TRIAL—George Etiévant, Jean Grave and Caserio Santo. 32 pages; 1d.
- No. 10. ANARCHISM: ITS PHILOSOPHY AND IDEAL. 1d.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

In future we must request that all orders for pamphlets be accompanied with cash. We are compelled to adhere to this as we need funds for reprinting.

A NEW WORK BY KROPOTKINE,

THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE,

A splendid propaganda pamphlet. Now Ready.

Neatly bound in cover, 48 pp. Price: 2d.

Orders with cash should be sent at once to ensure prompt attention.

THE EAGLE AND THE SERPENT, JOURNAL OF EGOISTIC SOCIALISM
Price 3d. Malfew Wilkes, agent;
Issued bi-monthly; No. 4 now ready. Adult and Lucifer supplied.

THE TRUTHSEEKER, A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF EGOISTIC SECULARISM
Price one penny. Publisher, J. W. GOTT, the
great clothier, 2 Union Street, Bradford. Malfew Wilkes, 87 St. Ann's Well
Road, Nottingham, will forward both these journals, post free, for 4d.

"FREEDOM" CAN BE OBTAINED AT:

- London,** Otto Matthias, 20 Little Pultney Street, Wardour Street, W.
Heiligenstein, 39 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square.
F. A. Jones, 9 Little Queen Street, Holborn, W. C.
W. Reeves, 185 Fleet Street, E. C.
B. Ruderman, 71 Hanbury Street, Spitalfields, E.
E. Pelletier, 56 Charlotte Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.
Glasgow, W. Duff, 9 Carfin Street, Govanhill.
Manchester, J. Welsh, 37 King Street, Ardwick.
Bradford, Can be seen at Laycocks Coffee House, Kirkgate.
Nottingham, Malfew Wilkes, 87 St. Ann's Well Road
New York, A. Levin, 555 Stone Avenue, U. S. A.
Philadelphia, H. Weinberg, 50 South and 2nd Street, Pa., U. S. A.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

W. F. Barnard has finished his summer tour, and is leaving England till October, when he will return and lecture throughout England and Scotland. Societies and groups in and around London desiring to hear him may communicate with W. Wess, 15 Whitechapel Road, E. For engagements in the Midlands address R. Bingham, Wicker, Sheffield. W. Duff, 9 Carfin Street, Glasgow, will arrange for Scotland. A list of Barnard's lectures is appended. Terms on application.

LECTURES:

Religion and Freedom. What is Anarchism? Civilisation and Freedom. The Destiny of Society. The Lessons of History. The Evolution of Love. Socialism. What is Government? Why we want Liberty. Love and Marriage. Herbert Spencer on Government. The Scope of Free Thought.

[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.]

Printed and Published by J. TURNER, 7 Lambs Conduit Street, London, W. C.