

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

THE ELEVENTH OF NOVEMBER.

The speech delivered by P. Kropotkin in Athenæum Hall, November 10.

FRIENDS,—Eleven years have passed since our Chicago brothers died on the scaffold. Many events have happened since, but in the hearts of the workers of all Europe and both Americas the memory of Spies, Parsons, Lingg, Fischer, Engel and their comrades continues to be kept with the same fervour. Hundreds of meetings will be held to-day and to-morrow in commemoration of those victims of middle-class cupidity and cruelty.

Why is it, then, that this anniversary has been so much taken to heart by the workers of all nationalities? Because the workers have understood that, however much or little our Chicago brothers have done during their lives, they have fought, first, for the right cause—the Labor cause—and in that struggle they were *men*; men of a high moral standard, of a high moral character, possessed of high moral courage.

For eighteen months they lay in prison, under a death sentence, between life and death, between hope and despair; and when they came out of their cells, to be marched to the scaffold, they were the same men as when they entered the jail, with the same opinions, the same hopes, the same faith in the final triumph of the Social Revolution.

The deeds of a man may be forgotten; they may be effaced from the memory by other events of greater importance, but the moral physiognomy, the moral character of a man, when it is of such a high standard, always survives. It remains a lesson for the old, an inspiration for the young.

To-day—even now, perhaps, more than ever,—such a lesson in moral courage is necessary for all of us. We live in a sad period of depression of minds, and we have to live through a period which may even be worse than any period of reaction that we have lived through within the last five and twenty years.

Not only on account of the schemes for an international prosecution of Anarchists which are going to be forged at Rome; schemes, by the way, which were cheered yesterday at the Guildhall banquet even more wildly than the slaughter of men in the Soudan. You know the origin of those schemes. The Italian government (the worst, perhaps, of all at the present time) wants to have an international sanction for crushing down the spirit of revolt which buds at last in that unfortunate country, Italy, ruined by armaments and by the wholesale thefts of its rulers, and terrorised over for years by the most unscrupulous government in existence.

Those who lament such schemes, and those who cheer them, know better than anyone else that they are directed, not against Anarchist only, but against the whole of the Socialist and Labor movement. This is why they launch them and why they cheer them so ardently.

The five or six hundred men, women and children who were shot down at Milan during the bloody days of May last, were not Anarchists; they were simply starving workers. The peasants who were shot by the dozen every day in Central Italy and yesterday were shot in South Italy, were not Anarchists, but peasants brought to despair by sheer starvation. The Italian jails are now full with men who did their best to prevent the Milanurrection having its due importance (with Social Democrats, mean) and the islands of the Adriatic are now populated with exiles who are Democrats, Mazzinians, Republicans, Trade Unionists and simply Freethinkers.

In the castle of Antjuich they tortured, not Anarchists alone. They whipped day and night, they burnt with hot irons, they screwed metal helms on the heads of Republicans, Trade Unionists and simple Anti-Catholics with the same cruelty as if they were Anarchists.

Take it as a law of history. The so-called scientific people may ignore it, but it has not had one single exception in the past. Never has an advanced party of whatsoever name been prosecuted, without *all* more or less advanced parties, and even

mere reform parties, being included in the prosecution and a screw being put on their activities. Only those who become the tools of reaction are spared in such times.

And yet, these prosecutions are by far not the worst feature of the moment we live in. Its far worse feature is the general wind of reaction which blows in the minds all over Europe.

Who would have dared to foretell twenty years ago—nay, ten years only, when Morris wrote in *Tables Turned* that the Revolution was not “coming,” but had already begun—who would have dared to foretell then the sudden revival of militarism, of ritualism, and of Catholicism, which we now witness in Europe.

Who would have dared to say that Britain, which we considered in our youth as a stronghold of freedom, would be introducing serfdom in Africa, and would crush in blood the revolt of the Bechuanas and Mashonas, who do not want to become serfs? And who would have dared to say that those who have done that would be received in England—not as the Hungarian general was received at the “Horseshoe” by London cabmen, but as national heroes—without English society and English workers loudly shouting out their protest against such proceedings?

Such is the pernicious spirit of slave-ownership which has grown up lately in this country.

And who would have dared to predict that a nearly complete mobilisation of the navy and land forces could be made in this country without the Prime Minister even deigning so much as to say to the country at the Guildhall banquet against whom these formidable war preparations are being made?

Such is the plague of militarism which has taken hold of Europe since the triumph of Germany over France in 1871, that even these islands have been invaded by it.

On the other hand, who would have thought it possible that in France, the fatherland of the encyclopædists and the land of the Great Revolution, militarism, going hand in hand with Catholicism, would have such a hold of the minds that we should see the most radical amongst the Radicals and the most atheist amongst the Freethinkers call the people to believe in the justice of a martial Court, to preach a wholesale massacre of the Jews because they are Jews, and to consider as a crime not that So-and-so is a Catholic, but that he is *not* a Catholic but a Protestant and a Puritan in his manner of living! who would have foretold that in this country one of the universities should become a stronghold of Catholicism; and who could foresee that amongst the middle-classes of all nations mysticism, even in its most absurd forms of witchcraft, would take hold of the generation amongst which the “Darwin Pleiade” has lived!

But so it is. And the worst of it is that these facts are not mere accidents. They are the result of that contempt for Science and Reason which is taking hold of the minds and has found its expression a few years ago in a well-known speech by Lord Salisbury. They are the result of a general return towards *metaphysical mysticism* which we have witnessed for the last ten years.

Perhaps, after all, it is better that this intellectual failure of the middle classes and their civilisation should happen. Their intellectual failure as well as the political, their political failure as well as the economical. But, the cancer of militarism and jingoism having spread from the middle classes to the workers, will this other cancer be linked to the middle classes only?

We certainly shall have hard times to pass through, in order to carry the torch of Justice and Reason through all the pestiferous mists which combine to stifle its light.

But that torch has already been carried through very bad periods. Even during our own lifetime we have lived through periods when reaction seemed to triumph everywhere, and all life seemed fled. And each time, after each period of reaction, the forward movement reappeared stronger than ever, and went deeper and deeper to the root of the evils. And, looking backward, we find no lack of examples to follow.

(Concluded on page 3.)

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NOTES.

WHY NOT BE LOGICAL?

If the Hooley revelations have produced any good at all, it is of having wrung out admissions which could perhaps have scarcely been expected. While commenting on this now famous "English Panama," the *Daily Chronicle* of Nov. 17 acknowledges the fact that "our political system is carried on with the help of rich men's money who are looking for favours to come or paying for value received. Such a system knocks away any foothold we may have in preaching political purity to the world at large, but it is the natural result of the party chest and the wealthy candidate, and it is not confined to either party." If that be the case, then why not be logical? Why not throw over politics altogether?

NO FAITH IN THE ENTERPRISE.

One generally judges of the merits or demerits of a cause by the faith its leaders have in it. Therefore, one may well judge of the worth of the projected anti-Anarchist conference's achievements by the faith one of its most prominent leaders—Lord Salisbury—has in it. In his speech at the Guildhall, he frankly admits that he does not believe in the efficacy of legislative measures in this respect. Right you are, Lord Salisbury! But deeds of violence are simply the reflection of your own system of government; and undoubtedly you are fully aware that, without removing the cause, it is impossible to find an efficacious cure for its effects. The best plan for you to adopt is to call an anti-Government conference. D. W. Z.

LUCCHENI'S PUNISHMENT.

Terrible descriptions of the "awful fate" of Luccheni since his condemnation are being published in the press, and it is pointed out that his solitary confinement in his *oubliette* will probably cost him his sight and eventually his reason. But the press has quite forgotten all along to notice that Luccheni's fate, like the fate of so many of the disinherited, has been awful from his birth. It may, in fact, be summed up in three phrases: Outcast, starved, exploited—Blind revenge—Punishment worse than death. Society is shocked at only one of these facts: blind revenge. The man's life and suffering are none of its affairs, and it calls for "Justice"—legal Justice. Well, it has been answered; and the "awful fate of Luccheni," the last act in what has been a terrible tragedy from beginning to end, is the result. But Luccheni is not alone in his sufferings. Hundreds of Anarchists—innocent men and good men—are suffering also; in prisons, in fever-stricken islands, and by the innumerable acts of social and police persecution which follows them at every step as they try to enlighten their fellows. Surely those weaklings "with Anarchist tendencies" who hover about advanced movements ought to be content with all this punishment. We say, let those who are without responsibility in these matters cast the first stone. *We are all responsible.*

WHY ARE CHILDREN FLOGGED?

During the last few weeks several cases of gross brutality to children and young people have been reported which must have aroused indignation amongst others besides professed humanitarians. To ram a cane down the throat of a crying child who has just been flogged is, we imagine, a little more than the "ordinary person" could stand. We are not astonished to learn that this happened in a pauper school, and for a time received the usual official hushing-up. These things are winked at by the "Guardians"—not "guardian angels" of the poor by any means, but rather guardian devils. We have nothing to say to these persons who are only a section of the official gang who corrupt and vitiate social life by their ignorance, stupidity and brutality. But we ask the average sensible man—and woman—why are children flogged? We answer: because priestcraft has made cowards of us all; because we dare not reason with children, whose naive logic would destroy our sophistry, but prefer to rely on "parental authority" in the shape of the rod. Of course, children are good, bad and indifferent; so are grown up people. But the former are defenceless; the latter might retaliate; so we exercise our authority (generally an excuse for bad temper) where it is least likely to be dangerous to ourselves. We emphasise this point because the pernicious influence of authority begins with the child, and the priest and other enemies of society have utilised it to maintain that control over domestic life which has had such a baleful influence in retarding education in the true sense of that word.

THE LABOR STRUGGLE IN AMERICA.

According to the *Globe Democrat* of St. Louis, Mo., the strike of miners at Pana, Illinois, is developing into an organised war between masters and men. We give the report in full as it will have interest for many friends in England.

Pana, Ill., November 12.—It has now become fully known to the operators that the strikers' new rifles arrived in Assumption from Chicago on Thursday, and were brought overland to Pana. A letter and a telephone message from Assumption verify the report. The guns, it is said, were purchased in Chicago by two strike leaders, who are known to have been there this week. A number of the strikers have new Winchesters and Marlins. It is reported that a city official, a strong strike sympathiser, was seen taking home a new rifle last night. A leading official says: "The Virden riot will not be a piece-meal when the ball opens at Pana." The friends of the operators, some prominent citizens, are very anxious that the matter be investigated, and that guns of any description be seized. They declare openly that the shot-gun business has gone far enough; that the city is in great danger from mob violence, and that the Governor should be appealed to and made to appreciate the seriousness of the affair. Pana is fairly bristling with Winchesters and Marlins.

The American capitalist has treated his workmen with the grossest brutality, and these riots prove how terrible will be the reprisals when the social revolution does come.

A "NEWS" ITEM.

The absurd statement published by the *Daily News* on Friday, Nov. 23, that a protest against the Anti-Anarchist Conference had been drawn up and sent by Kropotkin, Grave and others on behalf of the "Ideal Anarchists," received an immediate and emphatic denial by Kropotkin in a letter to the *Daily News* of Nov. 24. Grave also published a denial in the *Temps Nouveaux* of Dec. 3rd.

THE ADULT.

The December number to hand is bright and interesting, and contains some crisp comments on the recent prosecution. It is now conducted by our old comrade Henry Seymour as an unflinching and unconventional journal of advanced thought.

"HARD TIMES."

In the winter months come the hard times for many who have to struggle under this miserable system for a mere existence. It is also a hard time for *Freedom*. When outdoor propaganda has to be abandoned and our sales fall off it is hard indeed to meet our expenses, which rather increase than diminish. And sorry indeed are we to have to appear again without our Supplement; but we are hopeful for our next issue. As comrades and friends will see, we have reorganised our Guarantee Fund, and if, in addition, we can obtain a few extra donations we can rest assured of printing our Supplement for January. So we trust all will do what is possible, that *Freedom* may have a useful start for the New Year. Our enemies are strong in purse but weak in principles. With us it is the reverse, and for these reasons we need the support of all our friends. We sincerely appreciate the help of those who have already given, and trust we shall have to acknowledge many other amounts in our next issue.

THE MINERS OF ILLINOIS.

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

As a natural consequence of our present industrial system the lot of the worker in America, as in other countries, grows worse and worse, that of the coal miner especially so. The reasons can be stated in a few words. The introduction of "labor-saving" machinery into the mines; the growing popularity of electricity, natural gas and petroleum in the industrial world; and, lastly, the ever growing army of the unemployed in other branches of industry who must exist without a fire unless they utilise the fire of others to keep warm. When we consider that the unemployed number some four millions, of which at least one and a half millions are "tramps" who are wandering up and down the country warming themselves as best they can in saloons, railroad stations, missions, etc., we can safely say that there are a million fireless than are required; while the other two and a half millions unemployed have to squeeze along some way or other.

So bad are the conditions in the United States at the present time that to tell only half the truth in regard to them is to be put down as a romancer.

Here is a specimen. Two years ago, in Illinois, not far from the scene of the present trouble, three hundred miners with their wives and families offered to go into voluntary slavery for the rest of their lives to the mine owners, provided they were given food, clothing and shelter for so doing. To English readers this may seem a story, but it is true; and, to those who doubt it, I may say that a poster was posted to the office of the United Mine Workers at Columbus, Ohio, which soon convinced them. Of course, the offer was refused by the mine owners as the constitution of the United States forbids chattel slavery and a contract would not have been binding. As mine owners are very law-abiding people, when it pays them to be so, they refused the offer of one miners. The fact is, that chattel slavery never paid the capitalists America half so well as wage slavery does, and they would not return to the former system even if they could.

Some of our Social Democratic friends tell us about the mighty power of the ballot. They should live in Pana, Illinois, where the miners are at present on strike. According to the *Globe Democrat*, the leading daily of St. Louis, Missouri, on the 12th last month the Mayor of

Pana, Warren Penwell (a son of George V. Penwell, the President of the Penwell Coal Company), thought that the members of the police force of Pana were too sympathetic to the strikers, so he called them all together and discharged them, appointing in their stead deputy-sheriffs who were in the employ of the coal company. Of course, there was a howl; but, howl or no howl, the Mayor is within the law and is master of the situation. To rebel against the law is Anarchistic, and as such can not be countenanced. Despotism! some will say. Ah, that is because you don't understand the beauties of our institutions. We are a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. We are Democrats. We made a man Sheriff of Buffalo, his duty being to hang people. He did his duty and hung a man. Then we made him Mayor of Buffalo; then Governor of the great State of New York; we made him President of the United States twice, and now we have made him an L.L.D. at Princeton, one of our great colleges. The man's name was Grover Cleveland. We make men lobbyists whose duty it is to buy up legislation and corrupt legislators. While they are doing it they are called such pet names as "Dirty-work Depew." Twenty years later they become presidents of huge railroad companies, like the Vanderbilt system, extending for thousands of miles, which are worth millions of pounds, and regulating the lives of thousands of honest workmen and their families. Then we call Dirty-work Depew "Our Chauncey," and make him the pet of society. We make men corporation lawyers, whose duty it is to corrupt legislators, get laws passed for the benefit of the Sugar Trust, the Steel Trust, Iron Trust, Coal Trust, and all kinds of trusts by "protective" tariffs, etc. Then we make these swindlers judges of our supreme courts to administer the laws they have passed as corporation lawyers. We try a man for murder, and a few years later make him Governor of Illinois. His name is Tanner, and he sits in the Executive chair at the present time in that State. We send a man to prison in Pennsylvania for two years for forgery; twenty-five years later we call him "Baron Yerkes" and allude to him as "President of the Street Railway Service in Chicago, and one of our most illustrious citizens." Such is the career of this "gentleman," who is the most powerful man in municipal politics in that great city. All hail to Democracy! Democracy may be a very interesting method of organisation to live under, but that it is not the form of society for men and women who love freedom can very easily be seen after surveying the history of the United States for the past forty or fifty years.

From reports lately to hand, we are informed that the mines at Pana were on fire, and the negroes who came to take the strikers' places refused to assist in extinguishing the flames. Manager Lukens of the coal company at Virden telegraphed Governor Tanner that he would land the negro miners at Virden if every one of them were killed. Governor Tanner has ordered several companies of militia to Virden with instructions to prevent any negro miners landing. They have done so and refused to allow the negroes to get off the train; so the train was sent back. Such was the condition of affairs on October 25. Governor Tanner, in a long statement to the press, accuses Lukens of murder in having tried to import negroes to take the places of the strikers, thus causing riot and bloodshed. Lukens, on the other hand, accuses Governor Tanner of murder in not having sent the troops sooner. On the arrival of the troops, squads were sent out through the town and every man they met, citizen or deputy, was ordered to throw up his hands and his firearms were taken from him. A Gatling gun was brought up and trained on the gates of the stockade and a surrender of those within ordered. The place surrendered, and the deputies were deprived of most of their firearms. The deputy who stood guard at the stockade, not understanding the order, tried to shut the gate and was promptly shot dead by a soldier. J. F. Eyster, the superintendent of the company's general trading store (truck shop), started to get doctors for the wounded deputies inside the stockade; he was recognised by the men, who pursued and captured him. They kicked, shot and beat him so badly that he was expected to die. Such is life in the great American Republic.

The poor negroes who were imported say that they were told that miners were scarce on account of the war, and that there was no trouble at Virden.

What will be the end of this strike we cannot tell; in all probability it will be the usual defeat. However it turns out, it brings us closer and closer to the crisis which is impending. The struggle will be a fierce one; let's make no mistake about that. The American capitalist will not concede an inch of his power or what he calls "his territory." We can only urge upon the workers, again and again, to organise and prepare themselves so that labor may be victorious. Will they do it?—that is the question. Let us hope they will. Unfortunately the masses in America want that "strong man" A. D. spoke of in *Freedom*.

Since writing the above, the following news, dated November 12, has come to hand:

"During the last few days the colored men who succeeded in landing on October 12 have quietly left for their former Alabama homes, leaving the entire works without men to mine sufficient coal to run their engines. Such a condition could not last long without great loss to the company. Information from the conference in Chicago, and that which is entirely reliable, leads to the belief that the company has so far agreed to the following:

"The payment of the 40 cent scale. The appointment of a new superintendent in the place of F. W. Lukens. The appointment of a new pit boss."

The miners had demanded of the company that the stockade should be removed before the shaft set to work. On that point the company at first refused and still held out until the men agreed to do the work without expense to the company.

THE ELEVENTH OF NOVEMBER. (Conclusion)

Since the end of the last century, men, the best men of each generation, have marched to the scaffolds, casting a serene glance of confidence upon the crowds, and laying their hopes in those crowds.

The failure of the middle classes is now complete, and you, the workers, must take into your hands the inheritance. Consider all that vast accumulation of cultivable lands, these cities, these railways, these ships, this accumulated knowledge, as *yours*, take hold of them: you are called upon by history to do so—to undertake the management of all these treasures for the benefit of all.

Trust to Reason, trust to Liberty, and *don't* trust to those who already now, before you have got Liberty, scheme out measures to be taken to limit your liberty the day you have got it.

Trust, above all, to moral courage. Have the courage of your thoughts and acts in your every day life. Despise those who have it not.

And if, at times, you find the struggle too hard for you, and feel your forces weakening—think of those who have retrieved their moral force and courage in conditions still worse than yours!

Recall the courage of your brothers who died at Chicago on the Eleventh of November, 1887.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

One of the first vivid signs of Anarchist ideas pervading the minds of the workers, the Paris strike, though less successful at its end, was one of the most sympathetic labor movements of our day. A few dozen navvies began; thousands of other navvies followed, and, by and by, the connected skilled trades, the building and furniture workers joined and the strike spread to many tens of thousands. The government placed other tens of thousands of soldiers in the streets and created an unique situation which is unexplained as yet. For this massing of troops in Paris had much to do with the dark objects of politicians who would not shrink from murder and massacre. The generals who have to hide their forgeries and intrigues on one side, the satellites of the several pretenders, the professional exploiters of patriotism, the government of M. Brisson which is now defeated, all of these tried to use the situation created by the strike for their own ends and *none of them succeeded*. The workers would neither give them a chance for a massacre to uphold law and order and instal a monarchic government, nor would they be scapegoats for the ambition of Radical politicians of the Pontius Pilate type like Leon Bourgeois. Again, they managed this strike without the aid of Socialist politicians; the rhetoric of M. Jaurès and the Marxist wisdom of MM. Guesde and Zevaès were both absent. The idea of the *general strike*, first propagated—since about 1890—by Anarchists and now familiar to most French trade unionists, was on the way to realisation; the turning-point was the action of the railwaymen, many of whom had, through their society, adhered to the principle, yet when called out on strike only an insignificant number came out and their strike was admittedly a dead failure which took the spirit out of the rest of the movement, ended soon by small concessions and a return to work. This is disappointing, but who would have expected such gigantic tasks to be realised at the first stroke. In any case, the lessons of these few days are worth those of a dozen Congresses, and this attempt of large masses of workers to do something which Social Democratic politicians fought not less bitterly in France than capitalists, but for which Anarchists went in all along, will be for ever memorable. Perhaps the politicians days are gone sooner than we all believe.

The German Social Democratic Party, at its annual congress, held at Stuttgart, managed to patch over the growing gulf between Marxism and Fabianism in its ranks; that is all. Neither side triumphs, but the future lies with the right or reformist and Radical wing of the party. For Marxism has been sterile there beyond measure; it is held up by the old survivors of earlier days, Liebknecht, Bebel, Kautsky, etc., a dying race of doctrinaires, whilst its dogmas are shattered one by one and the political element, headed by small shopkeepers, literary hacks and members of this or that elected body, predominates. Revolutionary elements are no longer tolerated; *to sleep* is the new watchword which Mr. Vollmar, amid considerable applause, declared to be the right thing which, unfortunately, the Parisians of the Commune did not do; else they might be alive and well to-day, we suppose. It is astonishing how weak and powerless this immense party, of over two millions of voters, is against all the attempts of political and economic reaction; to strengthen the economic forces of the party, the Socialist trade unions, would of course be the right thing, but this is jealously prevented by the Socialist politicians, whose only aim almost is to convince the workers of their own necessity. So that famous party turns in a circle without issue; and it is almost pathetic to observe the better elements among its older members who have grown old in obedience and confidence in their leaders and now see their old ideals ridiculed by cynics of the Vollmar type. This situation is more definitely described, with a view to increased economic action, in a recent pamphlet by Paul Kampffmeyer, *Mehr Macht* (More Power), Berlin, 1898, but we are afraid the appeal will be useless as it does not touch the root of the question.

Persecutions are unabated; the victims of the Italian courts-martial of May are still in prison or on the islands, and many have been transported to the African pest-hole of Assah, on the Red Sea. Errico Malatesta, who was in prison since January, so could have taken no part in the May riots, was sent to the island of Ustica, north of Sicily, after seven months imprisonment. In Spain, Montjuich is filling once more and some are ill-treated again amid the jeers of the jailors, who take revenge for the exposure of their tortures (see Tarrida del Marmol's letter to the *Labour Leader* of October 15). Ramon Sempau, who shot at Narciso Portas, the chief of the torturers, on Sept. 4, 1897, and was sentenced to death by court-martial, was tried again lately before a jury at Barcelona and was acquitted by the jury. But the court, at

the instance of the public prosecutor, declared the verdict null and void, and a new trial will take place. Sempau, who is serving a sentence of six years for the distribution of Republican manifestoes against the repression of the Cuban insurrection, thus remains in prison. I presume this and similar cases demanding an amnesty for Spanish political prisoners will not come before the commission of peace sitting at Paris. Conference-mongering politicians have a good time, by the way—the Spanish-American Conference at Paris, the Tsar's disarmament Conference at Brussels, the Anti-Anarchist Conference at Rome, the Venezuelan Conference, etc.; which will beat the record in feasting and expense? The peoples, as things are, are still content to pay the bill! And that will be their only outcome.

Comrade Pietro Gori, who, during his first exile, stirred up the Italian workers in the United States, is using his second exile for a similar tour in South America, where Italian emigrants are so numerous and Anarchist propaganda is both old and vigorous.

Of recent publications I mention *L'Agitateur* of Neuchâtel (July 2—Sept. 17), suppressed by the Swiss government; *Le Cri de Révolte* and *Le Misère* of Paris; *L'Esclavage* of Nice; *L'Anarchiste* of Brussels; *A Idéala* of Porto. The Dutch *An-archie* is replaced by monthly pamphlets, one of which, *The Revolt in Spain*, by Charles Malato, deals with the huge attempts at revolt occurring in Spain during May last, of which so little was heard outside that country. It was originally published in the *Libertaire* of Paris, and the description and criticisms of the attitude of Anarchists during these struggles are worth reading.

Richard Wagner's *Art and Revolution* has been published in a French translation by Jacques Mesnil in the Bibliothèque des Temps Nouveaux (Brussels, 51 rue des Eperronniers, 1 franc); it was written when Wagner took refuge in Switzerland after some participation in the revolution of Dresden in May 1849. At that period of his life he clearly conceived Anarchism as the only basis on which Art could reach its highest development in the future.

XX.

THE PROPAGANDA.

THE LIBERTARIAN LECTURE SOCIETY.

Our lecturer on November 6 was T. Taplin, of the London Society of Compositors, who in his address, *Why I am not an Anarchist*, logically and clearly explained why he was a Socialist. He was in sympathy with Anarchism in so far as it meant betterment in the condition of the workers, and detestation of autocratic government and oppression in any and every form; but as a permanent workable force or social condition under which to live, he as a thinking man did not see his way to it. Naturally, as a Socialist, he argued from the one standpoint he had thoroughly studied; but he pointed out, and this was the basis of his argument against Anarchism, that its exponents had no well-defined scheme to lay before the average workingman; they spoke as dreamers and poets, not as practical men who had to face the practical facts of everyday life; systems of exchange at home and abroad, the organisation of labor, the providing of food for a city such as London, were problems calling for detailed treatment; on these and kindred points the Anarchists were silent or vague. They offered no sound economic basis to work upon. If the authoritarian principle is to be eliminated from, say, organised labor, how is that labor to be adjusted and controlled? Men, as free agents, will not wish to perform the unsavory work of the world, such as cleansing sewers, etc.; how, minus compulsion of some sort, is the present vast army of the unemployed to be readjusted should revolution break out tomorrow? No Anarchist writer had yet touched upon this point. Yet it was one of the first that faced a commonsense worker. He expected no revolution, however, such as Anarchists spoke of. They had prophesied it ever since their inception, but it came not, nor was likely to come; the workmen did not want it; were not thinking of it; they were an inert, irresponsible mass. To some of the younger, inexperienced ones the thought of action might appeal, but sensible men knew that social and economic changes were the slow growth of years, of experiment, of deep study. Anarchists were ready to overthrow every institution and form of government, but were practically silent as to how they meant to replace such as were necessary to the natural growth and spread of a people. Naturally the comrades in the Hall were pretty restive by the time the speaker ended, and lively discussion followed. T. Taplin is a Socialist, but when he recommended the budding Anarchist to study political and social economy before he girt on his revolutionary sword, he said a wise thing.

J. C. Kenworthy on November 13, in *Tolstoi and the Anarchist Movement*, spoke on a subject that none could handle better than himself. Tracing up Anarchist Communism from its roots he showed how inevitable it was that a mind and man like Tolstoi should be at first attracted and then convinced by the idea of Liberty and the common brotherhood of Man that were the motive power of the movement. Tolstoi was fifty years old before he threw in his lot with the advanced thinkers of the day, and from that hour had hewn and walked in a path of his own, a path that was laughed at as visionary and illogical, and yet in which many noble and independent spirits trod to-day with but one ideal before them—the spiritual and personal perfection of themselves and their fellows. The Brotherhood of Man was the keynote of the Tolstoian as of the Anarchist movement. Born to a princely fortune, living through youth and manhood in luxury, Tolstoi finally gave up all in pursuit of truth. The two great principles underlying the Anarchist movement were the economic and the sexual; these Tolstoi made his own. The fundamental idea ever before the mind of man was Liberty; Anarchism was Liberty. Tolstoi, the man of peace, the man with the reputation of a saint, was yet not afraid to denounce institutions that stood in the way of the full manhood of men. The Anarchist movement was not new, it was as old as Civilisation; wherever the State pressed upon individual liberty, there in some form or other rose the Anarchist spirit. Two thousand years ago the Roman empire had subdued the world by conquest—Caesar dominated; to-day the Caesars are changed but in name, we remain the slaves of Landlords and Capitalists. But Time with its slow evolutions sides with Progress against Conquest. To-day the ever-widening idea of the solidarity of the human race is leading men to sentiments of brotherhood; a mighty force is evolving, destined ultimately to sweep oppression off the earth. Wherever there is tyranny (as in Russia), there is corruption, vice and degradation; consequently Tolstoi's mind reverted to the principles of early Christianity, to the communism practised by its first followers and the asceticism which then seemed inseparable from a spiritual and quiet mind. Tolstoi largely discussed the property and sex questions, but teaches that discontent and an aspiration for liberty are not enough; we must develop the spiritual side of our nature before we can be ready for a new Society. A hot discussion ensued upon the merits and demerits of some of the Tolstoian theories.

In *A Restless and Critical Century*, on November 20, W. Platt traced the modern progressive movement from the French Revolution, and spoke of Beethoven's Heroic Symphony as showing how the cleansing fires set alight the torch of Truth and Liberty throughout the world of Art, Music and Poetry, and were not merely confined to the burning up of moribund governments. All the good things of modern times dated from that Revolution; he had no faith in

the "good old times" of the past about which many people prated; to him there were no times like the present, where Thought ranged uncontrolled and Liberty was in the air, where Manhood and Brotherhood were the passwords to a closer bond of unity between the nations, and where men were not content to sit still under oppression but had imbibed the spirit of the age in which they lived and would resist tyranny to the death. Touching upon the advance in the sciences and arts and the liberal spirit permeating these, the lecturer had a word on the organised States of the day. Wherever there was a rigidly organised State, there beside it was awful misery. Scientific improvements would do more to remove the evils of labor than any State organization of it; wherever there were officials, there as a rule was stagnation; the movers of the world are its rebels. He was not an Anarchist; he wished to see Socialism and Individualism working together; there must be elasticity in whatever form of government men ultimately decided to adopt. The dying century was full of friction, but to him that was its most hopeful sign, friction meant power and life.

The final November lecture was delivered on the 27th by Charles Charrington the well-known actor and Fabian, who spoke on *Municipal Theatres*. He pointed out how greatly behind the times and needs of the times the English nation is satisfied to remain. Continental nations are far in advance of us in respect to Art, Education and provision for the drama in the shape of theatres. Our theatres are run purely for the sake of gain, with no thought for the elevation of Art or that of the people. Laws seemed framed simply to keep people out of the theatre. As a point of law the recent action of the County Council in refusing to permit Sunday concerts in London was correct, but it only emphasised the want of moral courage, public spirit and honesty of purpose that prevailed among the so-called Progressives to whom the votes of the people had been given; justice and equity here as elsewhere were forced aside before a mere point of law. It was this same lack of public spirit that kept the stage down at its present level. In early Greece the drama was one of the fine arts; the Romans, a practical, rigid people, whom we closely resemble, cared like ourselves only for spectacular scenes of the circus or Barnum type; later, the Romish Church saw how vital an aid to power the theatre might become, and for centuries so-called Sacred Plays were performed under its fostering care; as the power of this last declined, the drama threw off the garb of religion and began to wear its human aspect of to-day and to hold up the mirror to passing events. In Germany great advance had been made; the Germans loved the theatre; prices were within the reach of all and comfort was thought of; here the theatres were not built for the workingman, prices were prohibitive and his comfort unthought of. Theatres were built by architects without conscience for managers without conscience and with an eye to private gain alone. The drama no longer appealed to Man's reason or ennobled his nature; the play that drew and paid appealed to all that was lowest in him. Cheap theatres under present conditions must be bad theatres; the way to revive true drama and to arouse a love of the art among the people was to have Municipal Theatres. The drama could belong to no one individual, it belonged to all—was communistic. Questions and a discussion followed.

CHICAGO MARTYRS COMMEMORATION.

On Thursday, November 10, in the Athenæum Hall, Tottenham Court Road, comrades and friends gathered to commemorate the Chicago atrocity of Nov. 11, 1887. Stockton was chairman and persuaded Marmol to speak in English, which resulted in his giving us one of the best speeches of the evening. Louise Michel spoke in French and Tcherkesov in Russian, and Kropotkin translated both; we print his speech on page 77. The other speakers were Shepherd, Kelly, Rean and Wess, all of whom acquitted themselves well. The collection, £1-6-6, which covered expenses, showed that the audience were appreciative and did not lack enthusiasm.

SOCIAL AND DANCE.

A most enjoyable evening was spent at the Athenæum Hall on Tuesday, Nov. 22, when the second social of the Libertarian Lecture Society was held. C. Morton organised an excellent program and worked hard all the evening to ensure the dancers their share of enjoyment. The next Social will be held on Tuesday December 20, and we trust as many comrades as possible will come and bring friends. They can be assured of an evening's enjoyment, besides which they will be helping our funds—a happy combination of usefulness and pleasure.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

Freedom Guarantee Fund.—N. 5s., A. M. 5s., C. R. 5s., Kampfmeyer 5s., D. 5s., H. K. 5s., N. W. T. 5s., S. K. 5s., W. T. 2/6.
Donations Publication Fund.—A. C. 2s., Glasse 10s., Brodman 5s., Oxford 5s., Eley 2/6, R. C. M. 2s., MacQueen 1s., Part profit on Chartist Jubilee Commemoration 10s.
Annual Subscriptions.—Bingham 1/6, Keppel 1/6, D. Zhook 1/6, N. W. T. 1/6, Young 2/6, Ebenhoh 1/6, Blatt 1/6, Allen 1/6.
Sales of FREEDOM.—J. B. Smith 2/8, Newsagents 5/1, Bird 1/6, R. Lowe 2s., Office 2s., MacQueen 1 1/4, P. J. Kelly 3s., Sheffield 2/6, Edwards 5/4, Ruderman 4s., Wess 2/8, Duff 4/8.
Sales of FREEDOM Pamphlets.—R. Lowe 2/8, Ebenhoh 4/8, P. L. 2s., H. K. 5s.

THE LIBERTARIAN LECTURE SOCIETY,

Lecturers for December are:

- Dec. 11 Sydney Olivier "The Dreyfus Affair."
 Dec. 18 Mrs. Mills Carver "Mutual Baking."

A Social and Dance

(under the auspices of the above society) will be held at
ATHENÆUM HALL, 73 TOTTENHAM COURT RD.,
ON TUESDAY, DECEMBER 20,

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. MALATO. 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.

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