

Freedom

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ANARCHISTS AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

By P. KROPOTKIN.

We are often reproached for using such a name as that of "Anarchists." "As to your ideas," we are told, "they might do; I like them pretty well; but what of this unfortunate name! How will you become a powerful party whilst keeping that name which implies disorder, destruction and chaos?"

We have told before, in the *Words of a Rebel*, why we prefer "disorder" to that sort of "order" which once "reigned" at Warsaw, or the "order" which was "re-established" at Paris by the slaughter of thirty thousand workers; that "order," the triumph of which is proclaimed each time that the beginning of a revolution has been stifled in the blood of the working men. That *order*, which is always the same eternal oppression once more re-established, we do not want. We prefer a thousand times the *disorder* of the Anabaptists in the sixteenth century, of the revolutionists of 1793, of Garibaldi, of the Commune of 1871, and of so many others to whom the bourgeois dedicate the title—quite glorious in our eyes—of "fomenters of disorder."

Moreover, we have often said that word "Anarchy"—apart from its very precise literal signification of negation of the State—has already a glorious past. It dates, in fact, from the great French Revolution, when all true revolutionists who did not stop midway but went to the root of a system, doomed to fall, were called "Anarchists."

As to all other names—"Libertarians," "Acratists" (no denomination), "anti-Statists," &c., which are sometimes used to evade the great persecutions—they have one common defect of not giving expression to our character of revolutionists—of men who adopt *revolutionary means* to accomplish *fundamentally, essentially revolutionary changes*.

A well-known pamphlet which was much spoken about at the time of its appearance—*Brissot to his Constituents*—is exceedingly interesting in this respect. It enumerates the crimes of the "Anarchists" of the Great Revolution, and each of these crimes is, in our eyes, a claim to glory and a lesson for the future.

It must be granted that those whom Brissot called "Anarchists" consisted of very different elements. They were Herbertists, "Enragés," Cordeliers, Maratists, and advanced Jacobins. But they had all in common that the bourgeois republic did not satisfy them. They demanded what was then called the "agrarian law"—that is, the restitution to the villagers of the land robbed from them under the feudal system. They advocated the "levelling of fortunes," which we call to-day "economic equality," and they did not consider the representative Government of the National Convention as capable of continuing the Revolution.

They knew that the Convention would do nothing unless forced to it by the people, and they kept the Convention under their severe control: they organised the risings of the people above the head of the Convention. In Paris, they proclaimed the sovereignty of the Commune and tried to establish national unity—not by means of a centralised Government, but by establishing direct relations between the municipality and the "sections" of Paris and the 44,000 communes of France.

Well, we are proud of men of such political intelligence as our forerunners. But listen to Brissot:—*

"I announced since the beginning of the Convention," thus he starts, "that a party of disorganisers exists in France, tending to dissolve the republic in its very infancy." And he continues, saying, "I shall prove to-day (1) that this party of Anarchists dominated and dominates nearly all the Councils of the Convention and the working of the Executive Council; (2) that this party has been and is still the unique cause of all interior and exterior evils which afflict France; (3) that the Republic can only be saved by rigorous measures to free the representatives of the nation from the despotism of this faction."

To all who know the character of that period this language is sufficiently clear. Brissot simply called for the guillotine against those

whom he calls Anarchists; who by striving to continue the Revolution and by it to put an end to the feudal system, hindered the bourgeois and in particular the Girondist representatives from making the convention subservient to their middle-class interests.

The Girondist minister takes care to define what he calls "Anarchy"; these are his terms:—

"Laws remaining a dead letter: authorities rendered powerless and humbled; unpunished crime; *property attacked*; personal rights violated; the people's morals corrupted,—neither constitution, nor government, nor justice—these are the marks of Anarchy!"

Is not all this very well, just what there ought to be during a revolution? "Authorities rendered powerless and humbled!"—this is just the way to carry through a revolution, the way which Brissot knew very well and practised himself before he got into power. For three years—from May, 1789, to August, 1792—the King's authority had to be "humbled" and "rendered powerless" until at last it could be overthrown on the 10th of August.

Only Brissot wanted that the Revolution, having advanced thus far, should stop on that very day.

After the downfall of the monarchy and the vesting of supreme power in the National Convention, "all insurrectionary movements," he tells us, "ought to have ceased."

By the way, this is just what the Brissotins of the coming revolution will demand of us Anarchists, and what the descendants of the Anarchists vituperated by Brissot, shall take good care not to do.

"Property attacked!" Yes, this is just what had to be done to carry through the Revolution begun in 1789, and arrested in the beginning of 1790 by the National Assembly. . . . This latter fact calls for some explanations.

After the overthrow of Monarchy—to say it was abolished would be saying too much, for its roots are even now not yet finally destroyed,—after the overthrow, then, of Monarchy, and the proclamation of the Bourgeois Republic, the bourgeois concluded that the Revolution had achieved her aims, and that consequently all revolutionary movements ought to end and all ought to be quiet again. "I believed," Brissot wrote, "that *order* alone could bring about that calm; that order consisted in a religious respect for laws, magistrates, property, personal rights."

Happily—and this is another lesson for the future—the Anarchists believed nothing of the kind. The peasants had not yet won any positive gain from the Revolution. Feudal laws, with all the numerous and onerous charges they imposed, had remained in full force. The peasants' insurrections had only obtained from the National Assembly, in August, 1782, *permission to buy off the feudal charges*. without even their value having been fixed, and the redemption made obligatory. The tithes remained. The land taken away from the rural communities by landlords, monasteries, and the Church, in the 17th and 18th centuries, had been, in part, retaken by the peasants, chiefly in eastern France, but nothing had as yet been done to sanction by law this restriction, or to make the same principle apply to all other parts of the country where nothing had been done by direct expropriation.

And worse still—in March and June, 1790, a law had been voted, about which historians, admirers of order, prefer to be silent,—a law which punished severely the non-payment of tithes and feudal charges, and which enacted death-penalty against all who propagated the abolition of tithes. Thus, when Brissot speaks of respect for law and justice, this means respect for Brissotin justice, which meant death for all who dared to speak of taking back from the landlords and the monasteries the land which they had stolen. He admits that himself in a note, as he mentions Momoro, "the same who was nearly hanged, and would have been hanged, but for Buzot, for his harangues on the agrarian law." He is in fact sorry that he had not been hanged.

Only the guillotine could satisfy the hatred of those bourgeois arrived into power against the Socialists of their time—against those who preached "the land to the peasants"—and before all against the Anarchists of those days who advocated that the peasants should seize the land themselves.

For this reason Brissot says that "the real enemies of the people and the Republic were those Anarchists, the advocates of the agrarian law, the excitors to sedition," "the fomenters of revolution;" for this reason he calls for their extermination.

We may well be proud to have had such men as our forerunners.—Translated from the *Temps Nouveaux*.

(To be continued.)

* The exact title of the pamphlet, which produced a great sensation and became the rallying point of all counter-revolutionists—for which purpose it was reprinted in England and translated into various languages—is: "J. P. Brissot, député du département d'Eure-et-Loire, à ses Commettans, sur la Situation de la Convention Nationale, sur l'Influence des Anarchistes et les maux qu'elle a causés, sur la nécessité de l'abolir pour sauver la République." This booklet of 224 pages is dated May 23, 1793.

Freedom

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NOTES.

The following quotation from *Justice*, of November 21st, is interesting. Words fail us in expressing our indignation at such treachery so we refrain from saying more than that we hope the workers will remember this when M. Jaurès and his friends next seek their suffrage.

"Jaurès' opportunism went a step further last week, when he and his fraction voted the vote for the secret police. That is certainly strong. Next we shall hear that the political police are a Socialist institution. But it is certainly among the strongest measures which our opportunist friends have permitted themselves to take in thus supporting so vile an institution as the secret political police. Our Russian Comrades have certainly much to be thankful to Jaurès and Millerand for in the support lent by these heroes to their worst enemies—the Russian Government; but this crowns all."

We notice by the way that the papers state that Jaurès' card was found among the belongings of that paragon of virtue—Madame Humbert. Jaurès indignantly denies the imputation, but like the Scotch-Iman "hae ma doubts."

JUDGE NOT THAT YE BE NOT JUDGED.

Mr. Plowden has written a book *Grain or Chaff*, the Autobiography of a Police Magistrate, in which he gives some interesting reflections on his position as a magistrate. We quote the following as being remarkable both for its truth and its candour:—

"One of these is to cultivate humility, by which I mean no more than to keep constantly in mind the fact that it is nothing but accident which distinguishes me from the man I have to judge, and which determines our relative positions. Had circumstances been different our positions might have been reversed. Man for man, the prisoner standing before me is probably neither better nor worse than myself. It cannot be denied that we are all largely creatures of circumstance."

Now here Mr. Plowden is talking simple Anarchism. "Man for man the prisoner standing before me is probably neither better nor worse than myself." Precisely so, magistrate. But by what process of reasoning do you, after this, acquit yourself of being the greater criminal in daring to judge and punish your unfortunate fellow creatures? Would it not be better to come down from your unjust position and try to alter the circumstances?

IMPORTANT!

Comrades and Friends are informed that *Freedom* is printed and published at its own office, and having a plant that can turn out all kinds of work, an appeal is made to those who may have printing to do to forward it to this office and thus prevent it getting into the hands of capitalists. The work is done at a price consistent with trade union labour and a small margin of profit, which surplus is devoted to the production of propagandist literature. Address J. TURNER, 127, Ossulston Street, London, N.W.

A Coming New Journal.

We are informed that there will be published about the middle of this month (December) a new monthly journal to be called *The Voice of Labour*, which will appeal to trade unionists and workers generally. Surely a paper like this is sorely needed by the toilers of Britain and they should lend a willing hand in order to make this enterprise, whose aim will be to try to better the lot of the wage earners, both men and women, a sure and lasting success. The Editor, whose address is 3, Mitchell Street, Rutherglen, will be pleased to hear from comrades and friends willing to help. The publishing address is 126, Trongate, Glasgow, and all inquiries as to subscriptions, advertisements, &c., should be addressed there.

GEORGE MEREDITH ON THE ENGLISH CLASSES.

One night he asked me what my scheme of life was.

On the point of improvising one of an impressive character, I stopped and confessed: "I have so many that I may say I have none."

"You were about to give me the answer of a hypocrite. Was it not so?"

I admitted it, feeling that it was easily to have been perceived.

"Good. Then I apprehend that you wait for the shifting of a tide to carry you on?"

"I try to strengthen my mind."

"That is, you read and commit to memory, like other young scholars. Whereunto? Have you no aim? You have, or are to have, fabulous wealth—a dragon's heap. You are one of the main drain pipes of English gold. What is your object? To spend it?"

"I shall hope to do good with it."

"To do good! There is hardly a prince or millionaire, in history or alive, who has not in his young days hugged that notion. Pleasure swarms; he has the pick of his market. You English live for pleasure."

"We are the hardest workers in the world."

"That you may live for pleasure. . . . Yes, you work hard for money. You eat and drink, and boast of your athletics; they sharpen your appetites. So goes the round. We (Germans) strive, we fail, but we strive on, while you remain in a past age and are proud of it. Now, I ask you whether you have a scheme of life, that I may know whether you are to be another of those huge human pumpkins called rich men, who cover your country and drain its blood and intellect. . . . Here we have our princes—but they are rulers, they are responsible, they have their tasks, and if they also run to gourds, the scandal punishes them and their order, all in seasonable time. They stand eminent. Do you mark me? They are not a community, and are not—bad enough, yes!—but they are not protected by laws in their right to do nothing for what they receive. That system is an invention of the commercial genius and the English."

"We have our aristocracy."

"Your nobles are nothing but rich men inflated with empty traditions of insufferable, because unwarrantable, pride, and drawing substance from alliances with the merchant class—alien or otherwise. Are they your leaders? Do they lead you in Letters? in the Arts? ay, or in Government? No, not even in military service! and there, at least our titled witlings do manage to hold up their brainless pates. You are all in one mass, struggling in the stream to get out and lie and wallow and belch on the banks. You work so hard that you have all but one aim, and that is fatness and ease!"

"Pardon me, Herr Professor," I interposed, "I see your drift. Still I think we are the only people on earth who have shown mankind a representation of freedom. And as to our aristocracy, I maintain that it is widely respected."

"Widely!" he repeated. "It is widely respected; and you respect it: and why do you respect it?"

"We have illustrious names in our aristocracy."

"We beat you in illustrious names and in the age of the lines, my good young man."

"But not in a race of nobles who have stood for the country's liberties."

"So long as it imperilled their own! Any longer?"

"Well, they have known how to yield. They have helped to build our Constitution."

"Reverence their ancestors, then! The worse for such descendants. But you have touched the exact stamp of the English mind:—it is to accept whatsoever is bequeathed it, without inquiry whether there is any change in the matter. Nobles in very fact you would not let them be if they could. Nobles in name, with a remote recommendation to posterity—that suits you! Yes, yes; you worship your aristocracy. It is notorious. You have a sort of sagacity—you may have a political instinct. You worship your so-called aristocracy perforce in order to preserve an ideal of contrast to the vulgarity of the nation. . . . You English, fighting your little battles of domestic policy, and sneering at us for flying at higher game—you unimpressionable English, who won't believe in the existence of aims that don't drop on the ground before your eyes, and squat and stare at you—you assert that man's labour is completed when the poor are kept from crying out. Now my question is, have you a scheme of life consonant with the spirit of modern philosophy, with the views of intelligent, moral, humane, human beings of this period? Or are you one of your robust English brotherhood worthy of a Caligula in his prime, lions in gymnastics—for a time; sheep always in the dominions of mind; and all of one pattern, all in a rut! . . . Favour me with an outline of your ideas."

"Indeed," I said, "I love my country, and I do not reckon it as perfect. We are swillers, possibly gluttons; we have a large prosperous middle class; many good men are to be found in it."

Dr. Julius nodded rapidly for continuations.

"Well, we have conquered India, and hold it as no other people could."

"Vide the articles in the last file of English newspapers!" said he.

"Suppose we boast of it——"

"Can you?"

"Why, surely it's something!"

"Something for non-commissioned officers to boast of; not for statesmen. However, say that you are fit to govern Asiatics. Go on."

"I would endeavour to equalise ranks at home, encourage the growth of ideas." . . .

"Supporting a clergy and an intermingled aristocracy? Your endeavours, young man, will lessen like those of the man who employed a spade to uproot a rock. It wants blasting. . . . Forgive my irony. England has such wealth! You embrace half the world; you are such a little island! All this is wonderful. The bitterness is, you are such a mindless people—mindless and arrogant, and neither in the material nor in the spiritual kingdom of noble or gracious stature, and ceasing to have a brave aspect. Squat Goths you become. You who were the pioneers when the earth had to be shaped for implements and dug for gold, would turn upon us to stop our march; you are to be overthrown and left behind, there to gain humility from the only teacher you can understand—from poverty. In your Parliament your House of Commons shows your only real princes—your Throne merely titled ones. I speak what everybody knows—yet you, I am sure, are astonished to hear me."

"I am," said I.—From *Harry Richmond*.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Russia.

"Since July of this year a Russian Anarchist monthly paper called *Helb i Volia* (Bread and Liberty) has made its regular appearance. The leading article of the first number acclaims Anarchist Communism, saying, "abolition of private property will guarantee economic well-being of all, whilst the destruction of the State will ensure liberty to everyone; for these reasons we call our paper *Bread and Liberty*." All the articles of the four numbers which have appeared till now, are a brilliant and well-argued development of this formula.

It is a long time since we heard in Russian really Socialist and revolutionary language. After the desperate struggle of 1871-81, when a whole generation with Anarchist ideals perished, many secret publications in Russia itself, as well as periodicals in foreign countries, have appeared, which, under the banner of Socialism, advocated partial reforms and palliatives of the Social Democratic minimum program. The language and expressions of former days were retained in those publications, but the principles of Communism and revolutionary action had in reality entirely disappeared. During these thirty years only those moderate claims were expressed aloud, and no Anarchist periodical existed. But when a young generation under the influence of wretched economic conditions and of the ruinous and oppressive politics of the Russian Government began anew the struggle for social and economic emancipation of the Russian people, it was evident from the beginning that they could not accept the guidance of the partial reformers and moderates of Social Democracy.

When public demonstrations began in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kieff, Odessa, Rostoff, Tiflis, and other places, a secession among the Social Democrats themselves was manifest; when Balmashoff and Karpovitch shot two well known reactionary ministers, which acts were followed by a series of popular attempts on officials and land owners, the Social Democrats, in the name of Marxian and scientific Socialism, denounced those acts, and attacked the revolutionists in a manner more suitable to a reactionary than a Socialist party.

This forced the more advanced faction to declare themselves in favour of revolutionary tactics and to proclaim themselves openly in solidarity with, and responsible for, all revolutionary acts and popular revolts. Unhappily, however, they remained in their theories faithful to the Social Democratic State-reforming program. Till now it seems that they cannot realize that a great movement as that of twenty years ago can be provoked only in the name of high humanitarian ideals and not of palliatives. If the Russian revolutionary struggle of '80 produced such a number of heroic men and women it is because the whole generation was stirred by the ideal of a social, political and moral regeneration; from the beginning of the movement they had inscribed on their banner, "Land in Community to those who cultivate it; factories and workshops for the workers; abolition of the State, to be substituted by a federation of free communities of industrial and agricultural workers." Revolutionists of our days replaced this inspiring motto by "eight hours day" and other petty measures of the minimum program of German Social Democracy. This could not satisfy sincere socialists and revolutionists, and it was only natural that once the revolutionary spirit had awakened and this time was spreading much further than twenty years ago, the above-quoted Socialist formulæ became again the expression of their ideals.

The new Anarchist paper, *Bread and Liberty*, answers just to this re-awakening of the revolutionary and truly Socialist spirit, and it is therefore not surprising that its appearance is hailed with joy by every sincere revolutionist of the young as well as of the old generation.

And we can only add that our friend Kropotkin and myself are in full sympathy with the paper, and are ready to help to ensure its success.

W. TCHERKESOFF.

LITERARY NOTES.

The name of Henri Zisly is well known to French and other libertarians as an earnest advocate of rational and natural life. We have recently received a small volume of his reports and pamphlets, entitled *Nature et Civilisation*, in which he skilfully contrasts the vitiated life of the so-called civilised being of to-day with the simple life of his primitive ancestors. Without desiring a return to savagery or the unsophisticated methods of prehistoric man, the author exhorts to simple tastes and a more rational manner of living. He deplores the waste of human, vegetable, and animal life that occurs through the craze for wealth and power that to-day permeates mankind. Nature is his goddess, to live naturally his creed. He has a standing grievance against chemistry, science, machines, and the thousand so called aids to man's welfare and comfort, because they minister less to the needs of the many than to the greed of the few. Luxuries and the superfluous he would have us trample underfoot. Civilisation has brought such an increase of misery, pain, and cruelty in its train that its beneficence has become questionable. Zisly would have us realise all our dreams of artistic perfection, but not that advance should continue as now at the expense of suffering to others. He would free society from all restraints that crush out health, originality, and happiness, and expounds his views with no little imagination and ability. No man, we fear, can put the clock back, but who is there that does not groan over the dismal complexity of to-day's civilisation, and hanker after the peaceful, healthful life we might all lead did we dare free ourselves from the shackles of authority and convention? Zisly's pamphlets are to be had of the author at 14, Rue Jean-Robert, Paris.

AMERICAN NOTES.

By far the most interesting news of the month for Anarchists in the "Great (?) Republic" is the arrest and detention of our Comrade, John Turner. For the benefit of those generous but misguided souls who accept as facts those picturesque lies of the daily press it may be as well to state that Turner did not call himself a "philosophical Anarchist," neither did he claim that "Anarchism was a religion." It is quite possible he did say, "Anarchism was a philosophical opinion," which is true. The error about religion, is based upon a point that Lawyer Pentecost, who is defending the case, makes. He claims that the law under which Turner is threatened with deportation is unconstitutional, and bases that claim upon the fact that "anyone who disbelieves in organised Government" can be deported, and there is an old American religious sect in Massachusetts called the Plymouth Brethren, who, as part of their religion, disbelieve in organised government. He also makes the same claim about Tolstoyans, hence his claim that this law interferes with a man's religious belief, and is therefore unconstitutional. The Central Federal Union (Trades Council) of New York City took the matter up, appointed a committee of five to investigate, and the report of the committee being favourable, they instructed their delegate to the convention of the American Federation of Labour, meeting at Boston, to bring the matter before that body.

The same committee waited on the two fraternal delegates from England, and one of them, O'Grady, together with Max Morris, General Secretary of the Retail Clerks' Union (Shop Assistants) of America, in company with Lawyer Pentecost, visited Turner on the Island, and promised to do their best in the the Convention for John. Max Morris is also a Vice-President of the American Federation of Labour as well as general secretary of his union, which is ver powerful.

Thos. J. Kidd, of Chicago, General Secretary of the International Wood Workers of America, and also a Vice-President of the A.F.L., is quite aroused over the affair, and promised his powerful assistance at the Convention. There are probably others of whom I have not yet heard, but the "Boston Boys" are sure to lend a hand, as Turner made many friends there in 1896.

In addition to the work going on in New York, a committee has been formed in Chicago, numbering among others such men as Clarence Darrow, Geo. Shilling and Thos. J. Kidd, and they mean to fight the matter.

The defence of Turner has been offered to Darrow, who is not only one of the finest lawyers in America but is also a power with the trade unions. The Single Taxers and Social Democrats (Jewish and German), especially of New York, are acting splendidly, and the *Volks Zeitung* (German) and *Vorwaerts* (Jewish), the two Social Democratic daily papers of New York, are supporting the case, and the comrades with their help have collected nearly 600 dols. to defend the case. The *Vorwaerts* and *Frie Arbiter Stimme* have each collected about 100 dols., while at a theatrical benefit for the latter Yanovsky made an appeal and 101 dols. 87 cents (£20 8s.) was collected. At another meeting, where Baroness, a Jewish Social Democrat, and one of our comrades spoke, about 60 dols. were collected—so things are on the move.

It gives me great pleasure to convey this news about our Social Democratic friends, and I hope their example may be followed in England. Meanwhile Turner is guarded as if he were a "Jack the Ripper" instead of a mild, unarmed man in a cell. He is allowed to discuss with no one except in the presence of his lawyer, barring his jailer, Captain Weldon, whom he is allowed to talk with as a privilege—ye gods!—of the Commissioner of Emigration. If the A.F.L. take the matter up seriously the law will be repealed, even if the Supreme Court decides against Turner.

All comrades in Britain, who belong to trade unions, Radical clubs, co-operative societies or literary clubs, can do splendid work by laying this matter before their societies and asking them to pass resolutions of protest and forward same to the American Federation of Labour, Washington, D.C., and the Central Federal Union, New York City, both U.S.A.

H. M. K.

NOW READY THE COMING REVIVAL OF SOCIALISM

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

Price One Penny.

FREEDOM Office, 127, Ossulston Street, Euston Road, N.W.

NOTES FROM SCOTLAND.

PAISLEY.

The Paisley comrades handed a great number of the leaflet, "The Folly of Voting," to the electors who crowded to hear "Featherstone" Asquith speak. The title seemed to stagger them, such an excellent sheet is bound to have a good effect at this time.

They also intend running a journal along with Glasgow comrades, entitled *The Voice of Labour* this is an intimation to all comrades in Britain to look out for it about Christmas.

THE CHICAGO MARTYRS.

The opinion seems to be unanimous among all those who participated in the meeting on November 11th, at the New Alexandra Hall, that it was one of the most enthusiastic and inspiring meetings held in recent years. The hall is estimated to hold seven hundred, and as it was packed it is certain that, if the estimate be correct, we surely had that number present. This, despite the fact that among those who were unable to be present were Kropotkin, Malatesta, Turner, and Withington, shows a healthy feeling among the comrades if there is something to bring them together. H. Kelly took the chair, and the speakers addressed the meeting in the following order:—F. Kitz, Louise Michel, E. Shepherd, R. Rocker, W. Tcherkesov, T. del Marmol, G. David, E. Leggatt, W. Wess, — Wilkes. Kitz was in his old-time form and spoke splendidly. Louise Michel received quite an ovation and, as is always the case with her, delivered a beautiful speech in French, which was translated into German by Comrade Rocker amidst great enthusiasm. E. Shepherd spoke well and to the point, and urged upon his hearers the necessity of cheerfulness; that if the cause was just and inspiring as ours was there was no need to fear a dearth of martyrs. Men could always be found willing to die for Anarchism if they had imbibed the principles deep enough, and there was no need to despair. T. del Marmol told of the deep struggle now going on in Spain and the enormous growth of the ideas of Anarchist-Communism and the General Strike. He drew his moral from this great movement, and, while lamenting the attitude of the labour leaders in the country to revolutionary ideas, he told how gladly the new paper, *The General Strike*, edited by our old Comrade S. Mainwaring had been received by the masses both in London and the provinces. It was glad tidings gladly told and gladly received. E. Leggatt spoke with old-time vigour, his references to Turner and his imprisonment in America being particularly well received.

Judging from the applause that greeted the remarks of W. Tcherkesov, R. Rocker, W. Wess, G. David, and Comrade Wilkes, they conveyed messages of hope and inspiration to their hearers.

An appeal was made by the Chairman to the meeting for a collection to send a cablegram to the Convention of the American Federation of Labour in session at Boston, U.S.A., protesting against Turner's arrest and threatened deportation. The meeting responded splendidly, and the following message was sent "A.F.L., Fanieul Hall, Boston. Crowded meeting, commemorating death of Chicago Martyrs, protests against Turner's arrest and deportation," signed "Kelly."

Although unable to be with us, Kropotkin sent a telegram to say he was heart and soul with us in commemorating our heroic brothers.

It was a splendid meeting, and must have reawakened more than one tired heart and lit anew the enthusiasm of days gone by.

Another meeting took place on November 13th at 107, Charlotte Street, with a number of well-known comrades as speakers.

TESTIMONIES.

The human race for ages upon ages has been enslaved by ignorance and by interested persons whose object it has been to confine the minds of men. At this hour, out of thirty-four millions who inhabit this country, two-thirds—say twenty-two millions—live within thirty years of that abominable institution the poorhouse. That any human being should dare to apply to another the epithet "pauper" is, to me, the greatest, the vilest, the most unpardonable crime that could be committed. Each human being, by mere birth has a birthright in this earth and all its productions; and if they do not receive it, then it is they who are injured, and it is not the "pauper"—oh, inexpressibly wicked word! it is the well-to-do, who are the criminal classes. It matters not in the least if the poor be improvident, or drunken, or evil, in any way. Food and drink, roof and clothes, are the inalienable right of every child born into the light. If the world does not provide it freely—not as a grudging gift but as a right, as a son of the house sits down to breakfast—then is the world mad. But the world is not mad, only in ignorance—an interested ignorance kept up by strenuous exertions, from which infernal darkness it will, in course of time, emerge, marvelling at the past as a man wonders at and glories in the light who has escaped from blindness.—*The Story of My Heart*, by Richard Jefferies.

Overthrowing society means an inverted pyramid getting straight.
—James Hinton.

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