

Freedom

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ANARCHISM IN ENGLAND.

"ANARCHY will never take root in England," asserted an over-positive Social Democrat, not very long ago. And yet this is just what Anarchism is doing; it is taking root. The seeds of Anarchism are in the air in England, as in every civilised country. There is a distinct tendency, here as elsewhere, to dispute the righteousness and necessity of authority, and to discard it in every relationship of life. Our idea of what liberty really means is changing, just as our idea of equality has changed. We are no longer contented with "equality before the law"; we see that there can be no real equality whilst wealth is unfairly divided. In like manner, we are rapidly beginning to see that giving to each an infinitesimal share in managing the affairs of all is not real liberty; to be each free to manage our own affairs is what we want. In other words, more and more people are becoming every day inspired by the idea that the only rational and satisfying way for human beings to live in association, is by mutual agreement and help in aiding one another to secure the fullest possible scope for self-development; and further, that this mutual agreement and help can never be brought about by any system of coercion; can only be hindered by government of any sort. This idea is in the air and the Chicago commemoration meetings held last month all over the country are most significant indications of the manner in which it is taking root. They are like the green shoots that give certain proof that the seed has sunk into fertile soil and is germinating there.

Compare this year's meetings with those of the two previous years. They are not only considerably more numerous; their entire character has changed. Last year they were vague and partial expressions of Socialist sympathy with certain martyrs of the labour cause whose personal devotion no honest man could do other than admire. The Anarchist principles for which our comrades lived and died were kept entirely in the back-ground, when they were not actually denied. Attempts were even made to claim the Chicago Anarchists as Social Democrats in disguise. Anarchist speakers were actually called to order and silenced for drawing attention to the convictions openly expressed by the murdered men during their lives and sealed with their dying breath.

This year the whole tone of the commemorations has changed. Six meetings in London alone have been organised by Anarchist Groups and addressed by Anarchist speakers. And not only in these, but in the many meetings all over the country got up by Anarchist and Revolutionary Socialist Groups, the Anarchist principles of the Chicago martyrs have been put boldly forward as the main topic of the speakers. We can best honour these heroes by following in their steps and proclaiming the convictions for which they died; such has been the key note of the commemorations of 1890. Let us see to it that next year witnesses as striking an advance upon what we have gained to-day, as does this year upon our position of yesterday.

CHICAGO COMMEMORATION MEETINGS.

A most successful and impressive series of meetings has been held by the Communist-Anarchists of London to commemorate the murder of our five comrades in Chicago, and to protest against the prolonged martyrdom of imprisonment which has been awarded to three others.

THE MEETING AT SOUTH PLACE CHAPEL,

Monday evening, Nov. 10th, organised by the Freedom Groups was an unqualified success. By 8 p.m. the hall was thronged with an immense audience, whose interest and enthusiasm were unflagging throughout. Judging by the sale of revolutionary literature before the speeches began it was a most favourable occasion for propaganda. *Freedom*, *Free Russia* and the *Commonweal* found many purchasers, whilst not a few asked for our Comrade Kropotkin's "Wage System," and the "Speeches of the Chicago Martyrs." James Blackwell opened the meeting by declaring that in accordance with Anarchist ideas there would be no chairman; nor yet would there be any putting of the conventional resolution, regarded by Anarchists as a useless absurdity. He then announced, what had already been whispered through the room, that Kropotkin was unable to be present through illness. This was an irreparable disappointment, which, however, was lightened by the reading of the following letter as a preface to the speeches also given below:

KROPOTKINE'S LETTER.

Dear Comrades,—I am extremely sorry that illness prevents me from being with you to-night, and from joining my words with yours in memory of our heroic brethren of Chicago. Tell the English workers, tell again and again, of that terrible tragedy of Chicago. Tell them, how in circumstances very much like those we now have here, the toilers, the producers of all wealth—those who are reduced to misery because they create all riches—endeavoured to lessen the hours of forced labour by a general strike on the 1st of May, 1886. Tell how the American Anarchists, who did not share the illusions of the workers, foresaw that the rich ones, the exploiters, would take advantage of the strike to slaughter the workers, and warned the workers, advising them not to engage in battle unless prepared to fight to the bitter end. Tell, how their provisions were fulfilled; how the workers were slaughtered at McCormick's works, and how the Anarchists then decided to join in the battle, but how their very meetings were then attacked by the brigands in service of Capital. Tell, how then the exploiters took revenge upon those who best understood the struggle—the Anarchists—because they called upon the workers, not to spend their energies in useless skirmishes, but to strike the Capitalists to the heart: to *expropriate*—to take possession of all that makes the very forces of the rich exploiters—the factories, the mines, the railways, and so on, and to become the producers, and the consumers as well, of all that they produce.

This the Capitalists could not tolerate.

If a few Pinkerton men had been killed in a struggle for wages, or hours of labour, little importance would have been attached to the fact. The dead would have been replaced by new hirelings. But the Anarchists put before the workers a higher ideal than that of a few pence more a day. They taught them that they, the workers, had produced and were producing all riches; that they, the workers, can produce for themselves and need not be ruled by a handful of thieves. They taught them that Man must not be exploited by other men, that Man must not be ruled by other men. That teaching was too much for those who recklessly exploit the labour of the workers. A Union, never heard of before in history, came into existence, a union of all thieves of national wealth, a union of bankers, employers, money lenders, newspapers' hirelings, and so on—the Citizens Association. They swore to strike a great blow—to execute at least seven Anarchists at once, more if possible—to terrorise by the gallows. They executed our noble heroes, our brothers whom we never will cease to regret. They had the gallows. But did they terrorise the Anarchists?

You saw two years ago on this same platform the widow of one of the executed—Mrs. Parsons. She told you how they succeeded in terrorising. Hope, not despair, was the message she brought from America. Struggle—and no armistice! Struggle, struggle without rest, and the victory will be ours at the end. That was her message. That is our duty.

JAMES BLACKWELL (South London Group).

It has been said that "They never fail who die in a great cause." It was a great cause for which our Chicago comrades died—the emancipation of labour—and certainly they have not failed. The Anarchist cause, the cause for which they died, has made tremendous progress, especially in England during the past twelve months. The present meeting is one of about twenty similar meetings which are being held in England, Scotland and Ireland this year, in commemoration of their legal murder. This is a sure sign that the doctrines for which they died are making way. Our murdered comrades have contributed very largely to this result themselves. Before the episode of May, 1886, and before the Chicago trial they were unknown beyond their own locality. They only had an influence in the particular district in which they were working for the cause of the people, but after that trial, as a result of the capitalist persecution, they and their speeches became known throughout the civilised world. It is for us to carry on the work in which they have so well done their part. It is no use disguising the fact that the masses both here and in America have been by no means filled with revolutionary fervour. They have only asked for a slight improvement in their condition, a slight increase in wages or a slight reduction of the hours of labour. They have not dreamed of doing away with the present society altogether. If the workers of America had been filled with revolutionary enthusiasm as were the people of France in 1789, when the Bastille was pulled down, our comrades would never have been murdered. The people would not have stood quietly by and allowed the capitalists to commit that crime. We must do our best to rouse that revolutionary enthusiasm in the people by propagating our

ideas amongst our fellow workers in the factory and in the street, so that such a foul deed as that committed by the capitalists of Chicago may never be possible again, so that when men stand forward on behalf of the workers' cause they may have the strength of the workers behind them. I will conclude by quoting a passage from a letter addressed by Parsons to a friend a few days before his execution. "Have I one more wish? Yes I have one. It is that you will never tire in advocating the principles of Anarchism, that you will never cease from attacking the present system of society until the Social Revolution has been accomplished."

HENRY DAVIS (East London Group).

We commemorate the death of our Chicago comrades as a protest, because they did not even have that amount of fairness which is meted out to other prisoners. But it is not merely as a protest against the injustice of their fate that we hold this meeting. It is also because they voiced the workers' grievances in almost the best possible manner that they could be voiced to-day. Revenge is a bad thing, no matter from whom or from where it springs. Revenge ought not to be fostered in the breast of any man or woman, no matter what may be the wrong. It is not then in order to invoke vengeance that this meeting is held, but to urge the necessity of taking up the work where our dead friends have been compelled to leave it off. The best way to commemorate their deaths is to help to bring about that Social Revolution for which they lived and died. In our comrades' deaths history only repeats itself once more. Men have suffered before not only for their political opinions but for their religious opinions. Years ago, centuries ago, the king used to rule and used to reign supreme. He would often execute even with his own hand. To-day the monarch rules no longer, although he or she may appear as a figure-head. Something far more powerful rules and that thing is democratic government, the rule of the so-called righteous majority, which almost always means the minority. The Government with its cumbrous machinery is brought into play no longer by the king exclusively, but at the wishes of the landlord, capitalist and usurer.

Have we progressed? Yes, along the line of education we have, along the line of evolution we have. But in so far as we have government, in so far as we are compelled, we have not progressed and we are not progressing. I am afraid there is a spirit of coercion abroad among a large number of people to-day and I will go so far as to say that it is through this spirit of coercion that our comrades had to die. What sort of order is it that must be maintained by capitalist government? These men were told that it was in the interest of society, in the interest of law and order, that they were to be stopped in their advocacy of Anarchism. Force is an unrighteous thing, unless it be the force of persuasion, education or logic. The capitalists could not stand before men of the type of our comrades because they had not the necessary force of logic. Hence the next best, or worst, thing to do was to hang them. In this country they have not gone quite so far. They only lock people up, but there is no doubt the hanging will come later on.

If those men could speak, they would say do not speak so much of us as persons as of the cause we had at heart. Let us then speak of Anarchism for which they gave up their lives. For they did give up their lives. If they had recanted they might be living yet, but they preferred to die for the principles for which they had lived, rather than live dishonoured amongst men. Anarchism is the doctrine of liberty and persuasion. No one has a right to force another to do anything simply because, as our enemies say, we are all imperfect. You have no right to be governed by other people, you have a right to be free. We Anarchists say No government, no coercion, democratic or otherwise. We will have Freedom. But what freedom have we to-day? Even as I stand here I hear the news that Mrs. Parsons, wife of one of our murdered comrades, has been arrested for taking part in a meeting such as this. This is under the free stars and stripes of America, where democracy has reached its pinnacle. Had our comrades thrown that bomb or caused that bomb to be thrown it could scarcely have been wondered at. Why? Because that same week even little school children were shot down by the revolvers of the police in America, because men were batoned merely for asking for a higher wage and a few less hours of labour. The police came forward without any right, without any legality even, and shot down these men and broke their heads. But the State witnesses proved that our comrades were entirely innocent; and yet they were hanged. Why? Because it was said that Anarchy was on trial. "If you would preserve our society hang these men," said Grinnell the prosecuting attorney.

We have lost a number of earnest and good men; yet had they had a thousand lives each, instead of one, they could not have done more work for Anarchism than by dying for it as they did. When our turn comes, when we stand before the bar of so-called justice, when we are asked to give a reason for our opinion, when we have a false charge fastened upon us as was the case of our comrades, may we meet it as bravely and as nobly as they did.

E. MALATESTA (translated from the Italian).

Three years ago all those people in the world who have a heart were horrified to hear that four Anarchists had been hanged in Chicago, for the crime of loving the people and working for their emancipation. Thereby the middle class showed their ferocity. They wished to save themselves by shedding innocent blood. Let us speak no more of moderation, of pacific means, the capitalists are ready to do anything to prolong their own capitalistic existence. We must reply to their cannon and their gibbets by a violent revolution. Let us honour the martyrs of Chicago. Let us honour those who have died for humanity.

They have rendered noble service to the cause; for a cause which is consecrated by its martyrs is ready for victory. Sceptics may smile, cowards may deny our dead, but we honour them, because we are pledged to make their programme triumph or to perish ourselves.

CHARLES MORTON (St. Pancras Group).

We are met here to-night to commemorate the death of our comrades, but we think particularly of that better part of them, that part that Spies spoke of when he told the judge that the anarchism he believed in was a part of himself, that he could not divest himself of it if he would. And that better part of Spies lives in us all to-day. It lives in our discontent, in the desire that all people have to get a better and brighter existence than we have to-day. We do not mourn over the death of our comrades, because we know that their deaths gave a great impetus to our cause. We know that they willingly gave up their lives for their anarchist principles. We Anarchists point out this fact, and we take up the work where it was wrested from them. They now lie in their graves, but we have the knowledge that their persecutors have not been able to stop the work that they had in hand. We now gladly take it up and it is impossible to trample it out. As fast as you trample it out in one direction, it springs up in another, because the conditions which exist to-day render it impossible for people to live decent lives. And while you have this cancer in society all your miserable, petty political reforms are of no use. They are simply putting plaisters upon a deep and strong social cancer which must be cut out. A mere struggle for an extra penny an hour simply means a perpetuation of the system which exists to-day. You cannot alter the present system by perpetuating wage-slavery.

We gladly take up the work that our comrades died for. We are glad to know that we have the privilege of belonging to such a noble cause as that of these men of Chicago. They were not heroes, they were human beings who could not live in such a society as this. They were crushed out by the vice and misery around them. What the workers have got to recognise to-day is that the private property which denies them a decent existence can only be protected by government, and that once you have taken away from the individual landlord and capitalist the executive force of government, you have made him simply as one of the most ordinary beings in this hall. When once that executive force is got rid of, then will true freedom begin. Why? Because in a society where government ceases to exist there will be but one prevailing idea, one prevailing interest, that is the one common interest of all in making each other happy. Too many words on such an occasion as this are not altogether in place, therefore I shall in conclusion simply state that we here know perfectly well that the workers cannot get rid of the misery under which they suffer to-day by sending this or that individual to parliament. We Anarchists know very well that you cannot vote out the people who are living upon your hard work. What you have to do is not to send anybody to parliament, because parliament is an institution organised for the purpose of filching the results of our labour and doing away with our responsibility. Directly you trust your destiny in the hands of anybody else, you have lost your independence, you have lost all equality, and if you want people to look down upon you, you have only to go cringing to them for help. This is what our comrades taught and this is why they were murdered. I would call the attention of enthusiastic Radicals to the fact that there in America the Radical idea is realised. Whatever government labels itself its object is the same. When you have swept away private property in all that is necessary to human life, you have swept away government, because government only exists to protect private property.

LOUISE MICHEL (translated from the French).

It is a sign of our times, that death for liberty has become the thing of all others which people will meet together to celebrate, rather than any festival. Those who have come here to-night to commemorate our martyrs are some, let us hope, who will themselves one day be ready to suffer for the same cause. In the beginning of all heroic ages the reformers are fired, not only with indifference to death, but even with the idea of glorifying death; that death which implies destruction to the iniquities of the old world. In all the legendary traditions of the world is found the fundamental idea of Prometheus bound to the rock for the crime of desiring light for men. As in the ancient myths the heroes fought with and conquered monsters and dragons, so must the workers take the power into their own hands and proclaim the triumph of the Rights of Man. While the old, worn-out world is crumbling into chaos, the young, new world is forming itself amid ruin and destruction. The length of time that we shall have to continue holding such meetings of protest as this depends upon the attitude taken by the governments of the world. The more the governments oppress the people,—the worse they are,—the faster the work will go, for the patience of their human cattle is coming to an end. The more unbearably human cowardice is scourged by tyrants, the sooner will the moment of liberty arrive. For that reason, scaffolds and gibbets bring more fruit than platforms can ever do. It is not only for the sake of the Chicago martyrs that we meet to-night; it is for the sake of those of France, Russia, Germany and all the world. It is for the coming martyrs too; for it seems there is a desire to make haste to fling one's life in the teeth of corrupted society. We give our thanks to the English nation, which stands alone as the refuge of exiles and cannot be persuaded by foreign governments to give them up. Revolutionists are those members of humanity in whom the sense of justice is strongest—it is they who are the judges of the wrongs of society and will remain so until these wrongs are done away with.

Yanowsky (Knights of Liberty, Anarchist Group.)

After relating the events of the 3rd and 4th of May '86, said:—It is evident then that the bourgeoisie of Chicago meant to "go" for the workers for having the "impudence" to demand a reduction of their hours of toil. They waited for an opportunity, which they found in the 4th of May. Seven of their guardians had been killed after attacking a workmen's meeting, no matter by whom, they would have their revenge! Their rage was fearful, and they cried: "hang them!"

But they soon solved the difficulty: they don't mind the body of the workers or rather they must have it, but they can't allow their wealth producers to possess any heart or mind; that is too dangerous for their abominable and merciless exploiters. And so eight of the best men were picked out, the heart, the soul, the minds of the workers were taken in the clutches of the capitalist monster brute. Five were slain, and three thrown into prison, the bourgeois class thinking foolishly they had killed their cause with them. But the truth is, the ideal of the martyrs was already in the air and no mortal being could destroy it. The best way to form an idea of the principles these men gave their lives for, is to observe each in his turn, those who joined in the chorus "Hang the Anarchists." First, the state representatives called out, Hang them, for they knew there was no room for rulers in Anarchy; the capitalists called loudly, Hang them; for they knew there was no chance for exploitation, for grinding men, women and children down, in Anarchy; the priests bawled, Hang them, for they knew there was no place for religious humbug in Anarchy; Henry George, who once posed as a friend of the workers but soon after turned traitor, joined in the chorus, for he conceived there was no place for demagogues and traitors in Anarchy; and lastly, C. T. V. Powderley, the "Grand Master Workman," brayed, Hang'em, for he knew there was no room for place hunters in Anarchy. Briefly, the ideal of the Chicago martyrs was true freedom, true equality, and true happiness for all. The realisation of this ideal is approaching by leaps and bounds, and nothing could help on the cause more than these commemorations of the 11th of Nov. Here the speaker referred to an incident he had come across that day, at the Lord Mayor's Show. Some generous capitalists were throwing half-pennies in the street, and appeared to be enjoying the sport of seeing how the miserable and wretched human beings were fighting each other and knocking each other down, in order to catch a half-penny. Well, the speaker concluded, let us do our utmost, each one of us, to help on the cause of Anarchy, when such "noble sports" will be a thing of the past, and all will be free and happy.

Walter Neilson (St. Pancras Group.)

We contend that Anarchy is the true order. What is it that causes disorder to day? what is it that causes strife between man and man to day?

It is the existence of government, the existence of law, the existence of monopoly. It is these things that we are seeking to get rid of we point out at that government of one man by another is bound to cause strife.

We believe that each individual should stand on his own responsibility, should be a sovereign unto himself, and that no man should rule or govern him, because he is the best judge of his own actions. You are told that the people are bad and wicked, and that it is necessary that government should exist in order to control them. But I put it to you, do you require laws to compel you to act in a social spirit towards your neighbour? When the advocates of government are asked this question "Oh no they say I am quite prepared to act socially towards my fellows." But, friends, they will tell you—they are so presumptuous as to tell you—that there is a bad vicious class of people in the east end of London that must be governed. Is it so?

Anyone who tries to understand the principles of Anarchism invariably comes to the same conclusion; that government is not necessary. Government is only necessary where you have inequality. It is necessary to-day if the present system is to be maintained. We tell our fellow-workers that there is no necessity why they should be governed, that government is their enemy, that it is because of the existence of government that the capitalist and landlord classes are able to live upon the workers. And it is because we tell our fellow workmen, that every government in the world is against us, and does its level best to prevent the propaganda of our ideas. But the governments cannot do it. They tried to do it in Chicago, but they did not succeed. When our comrades were murdered 1887, there was not such a thing as an English Anarchist party, but to-day what do we find? That South Place Chapel, a large hall in the centre of Commercialism, is filled with English Anarchists, and their foreign brethren. What for? To help to spread the very doctrines that the United States government killed our Comrades for. They may kill the Christs of the Anarchist party, but that will not stop the spread of Anarchy, because the disciples are ready to stand up at the street corners and preach the doctrine. We are prepared to go forward and preach the same ideas; to spend our lives in trying to bring about a better system of society than obtains at present. It is no dilettante matter with us. We don't mix up with this because it is pleasant recreation. It is our lives blood. We know that at the present time we have to suffer every hour that we live. Peter Kropotkin, who should have been here to night, is unable to come. Why; owing to the tyrannical treatment that has been meted out to him by the Russian Government and the republic in France. They between them have shattered his constitution, because he stood up for the people, because he dared to stand up and say in the face of the world that he was on the side of the poor and the despised; that he meant to spend his life in trying to make things easier for the working classes. For this reason he was persecuted, for this reason he was banished from his native land, for this reason he was put into French prisons. But

the cause of Anarchism has grown too great now to be put down by any persons. Where three years ago in England the Anarchists might have been counted on the fingers of your right hand, today there are hundreds and hundreds of Anarchists in London, Anarchists who know that they have comrades in every large centre in England. And to-night commemorating as we do the death of our Comrades in America, we earnestly appeal to the spirit of Anarchism to give us as much courage, as much determination to live for the glorious principles which we profess, as has been vouchsafed to our Comrades to die for them.

J. Casey (South London Group.)

"Do you think that this trial will be settled by my strangulation and that of my colleagues? I tell you that there is a greater verdict yet to be heard of." These words, predicting that the toilers of the world would yet declare in favour of Anarchy, were hurled by Parsons in the teeth of his unjust judges in Chicago three years ago. It depends on each individual one of us assembled here to-night to celebrate the Anniversary of the legal murder of Parsons and his fellow-Anarchists, whether this meeting shall be the beginning of that great verdict in England. There is, however, one condition absolutely essential to make this commemoration worthy of the heroes who so nobly gave up their lives for the cause of humanity; and that condition is the determination to do all in our power, each one according to his or her opportunity and resources, to realise the aims of our comrades; otherwise our assembling here to-night would be an insult rather than an honor to their memory. Remember that these men had but one aim and object in life, namely the realisation of liberty—and liberty, as Parsons said, is the end of authority, of government, and of statute laws. Mere hero-worship would be utterly repugnant to them. Living, they devoted themselves with entire single mindedness of purpose to the propagation of the principles of Anarchy and dead, it would be an insult to their memory to come together on the anniversary of their brutal murder by the governing classes of America, with any other object than to assist in the endeavour which we, Anarchists, are making to abolish government, and as a consequence, tyranny and slavery. Remember the words of Christ, "So then because thou art lukewarm, and neither hot nor cold, I will spew thee out of my mouth." The contempt and scorn conveyed by these bitter, burning words must be the portion of those who come to these anniversary meetings imbued with a vague feeling of sympathy with the martyrs of Chicago, but refusing to openly and avowedly declare themselves Anarchists. It is, therefore, to be hoped that this immense meeting, being the first distinctly Anarchist celebration in London of the martyrdom of our Chicago comrades, will mark a distinct epoch in the spread of Anarchy in England, which is the only real way of honouring their memory. Anything else would be but a sham and a mockery.

Yanowsky referred to the part, the disgraceful part taken by Henry George, to his eternal infamy be it remembered, in the savage capitalistic cry for the blood of the Chicago Anarchists. And I, as an Irishman, recall with bitter shame and indignation, the infamous conduct of the Irish so-called National Press—a "reptile press" if ever there was one—in reference to the brutal attacks of the police of Chicago on the workers on strike during the days of May, 1886. After the throwing of the bomb in the midst of the armed suppressors of free speech and free meeting, a cablegram stated that the bomb-thrower was an Irishman, a statement that was at once indignantly repudiated by the capitalistic Irish National newspapers. Nay, they even triumphantly boasted—yes, boasted—that the police who attacked the peaceable and orderly Haymarket meeting were mostly Irishmen! Remember that those Chicago police were acting in a precisely similar way—except that their conduct was far more brutal and infamous—to that of the police who are hired by the English government to suppress free speech and free meeting in Ireland, and that the perjured evidence that satisfied a packed jury in Chicago was worked up "close to the wind" after the worthy model of James Ellis French, head of the detective department in Ireland under the Gladstonian government. The explanation of this apparent inconsistency on the part of the Irish National press is that while in Chicago the meetings were assemblages of oppressed workers to protest against the degradation and misery caused by capitalism, in Ireland the suppressed meetings were for the middle-class purpose of changing the forms of landlordism, and giving political power to the capitalists, shop-keepers and gombeen-men; so that capitalism and gombeenism might have freer scope to develop on the congenial foundation of cheap labour.

It has been pointed out to you that democratic governments are not one whit less tyrannical than any of the forms of autocratic rule, and the murder of our Chicago comrades by the democratic government of America is an object lesson in confirmation of the statement. Democracy is only a form of government, and it is the inherent and inevitable nature of government to be tyrannical. As mankind progressed in enlightenment, the more naked forms of tyranny were abandoned as the oppressed became conscious of the oppression, and those forms of government that were supposed to be most efficacious, in accordance with the altered spirit of the times, in blinding the people to the inherent evils of the thing—government itself—were substituted. The governing classes gave up the shadow of arbitrary power the more effectually to retain the substance. So it is with democracy to-day. The hypocritical anxiety to secure the "welfare of the majority" serves to delude the people, though in reality "majority rule" is the vilest form of tyranny; "Give us Barrabbas," cries the majority, and in all ages the Christs of the minority—as happened to our Chicago comrades—are led to the cross, the stake and the scaffold. It is only by the realisation of what is implied by the phrase "neither god nor master" can

the oppressed wage-slaves of to-day secure for themselves that moral, intellectual and physical freedom without which life is not worth living.

Before I conclude I should like to draw your attention to one or two incidents and characteristics of this meeting, and to emphasise the lessons to be drawn from them. Anarchists may be described as people who have discarded all conventionality, and consequently we have had no chairman here to-night. But has this immense meeting been disorderly in consequence of the absence of the governmental "Mr. Chairman," or that most absurd fraud, "Citizen Chairman." On the contrary, the meeting has been more orderly and more harmonious than if we had a chairman authoritatively laying down the law for our guidance. The result of the absence of government here to-night is on a smaller scale what the absence of government would be in society. It is Anarchy in miniature.

The absence of our choir, too, teaches a lesson urging us on to the destruction of our present system of society. Some of the members could not attend because they had to work late. No matter how willing and anxious people may be to-day to contribute to the enjoyment and pleasure of their fellow-beings, they are unable to do so owing to the grinding and exhausting toil necessary to gain a bare and wretched subsistence for themselves and their families. It is only in an Anarchist communist system of society that people will be able to contribute to the pleasure and happiness of their fellow-beings without requiring anything in return for what would be a natural and spontaneous outcome of a free social life.

During the meeting the following telegrams were received and read out:—"Wish you successful meeting. Hurrah for Anarchy! Norwich Freedom Group," "Revolutionary greetings from comrades in Hull. Let the voice of the people be heard. Vive l'Anarchie!" "Irish comrades join with you in honoring the memory of the Chicago martyrs and in working for the realization of their ideal. Dublin."

The meeting was closed by the singing of the Marseillaise and Carmagnole to English words, and to the melody of these stirring, revolutionary strains the enthusiastic and orderly crowd streamed from the hall. £4.12. was collected towards the expenses.

LONDON LOCAL MEETINGS.

Five local meetings were also organised by the London Communist Anarchist Groups.

A commemorative meeting organised by the St Pancras Group was held at the Hall of the Scandinavian Club, Rathbone Place, W.C. on Thursday Nov. 6th. It was an awful night and the hall was only partially filled. Nevertheless the meeting was not unsuccessful. The speeches which were given by Casey, Marsh, Pearson, Neilson and Gundersen, were attentively listened to and applauded. A collection of 4/9 was made.

In the Hall of the Berners St. Working Men's Club, a Meeting organised by the East End and St. Pancras Groups, was held on Saturday Nov. 8th. Excellent speeches were made by Neilson, Casey, and H. Davis in English and by Wess, Yanovsky and Kahan in Yiddish. The audience, which crowded the Hall to excess, enthusiastically cheered each speaker. A collection was made amounting to 16/6.

South London Anarchist Communist Group

A fairly good meeting to commemorate the legal murder of the Chicago Anarchists was held under the auspices of the above group, at the North Lambeth Progressive Club, 122, Kennington Road, S.E. on Sunday the Nov. 9th at 8 p.m., Davis, Casey, Mellinger, Marsh, Blackwell, and Buckeridge addressed the meeting.

Autonomie Club, Windmill St, W. C. An excellent meeting was held on Sunday, Nov. 9th. in the above club to commemorate the death of our Chicago comrades. Louise Michel, Neilson, Marsh, Mellinger, Bordes, and several other comrades spoke. The speeches were interspersed with the singing of revolutionary songs and the meeting wound up with much enthusiasm. 17/1 was collected for the propaganda.

MEETINGS HELD BY VARIOUS SOCIALIST SOCIETIES.

Besides the above distinctive Anarchist celebrations, many meetings throughout London and the Provinces were held by various Socialist bodies. The following have come under our notice.

Socialist League. Two meetings, at Milton Hall and at Kay St Radical Club. Country, at Manchester, Leeds and Yarmouth, Brighton and Aberdeen. Sheffield Socialist Society. Dublin Socialist Society. Scottish Socialist Federation at Edinburgh. Joint Socialist Societies at Glasgow.

Regents Park.

An open air commemoration was held in Regents Park, on Sunday, Nov. 9th, in which some individualist comrades took part, Speakers, Tarn, Milburn, Green and others.

COUNTRY MEETINGS.

Leicester.

This year for the first time, meetings were held here to commemorate the murder of the Chicago Martyrs. On Sunday, Nov. 9th, a well-attended meeting was held at the Vine Street Radical Club, at 3 p.m. The speakers were Pearson (London Freedom Group) and Chambers. The audience was enthusiastic throughout. A second meeting was held at the same place, at 6.30 the same evening, and again there was a good audience, who received points of the speakers (Barclay and Pearson) with applause. Our Leicester comrades were gratified with the spirit

of both meetings. An out-door meeting was also held in the morning on this same Sunday, in Russell Square, and addressed by Barclay, Chambers, and Pearson, the latter replying to several questions asked by the audience.

Hull.

On Monday, Nov. 10th, a large meeting was held at the Sailor's Institute, Hull, Sketchley, Pearson (London Freedom Group), and Smith were the speakers. Our comrades at Hull worked hard to make this meeting a success and although very little Anarchist propaganda has been done in Hull, they were rewarded by a large audience. The hall was nearly filled with strangers, and the speakers were received with continual applause. There is a good field for Anarchist propaganda in Hull.

Norwich.

Monday, Nov. 10th, a meeting in commemoration of our Chicago comrades was held at St. Augustine's School. Comrades Oldham (Manchester), Mowbray (London), Headly and Mrs Headly, Brightwell and two other comrades from Yarmouth were present. Comrade Poynts acted as chairman, and opened with a brief account of the Chicago affair. Comrade Oldham followed, and paid a noble tribute to these men, for what they had suffered. Mowbray was the next speaker and delivered a very forcible speech, pointing out the unselfish devotion to the Cause which these comrades displayed and dwelling upon each of the speeches delivered by them in Court, as plainly indicating their noble aspirations. On Saturday evening an open-air meeting was held on the Haymarket, when the audience were addressed upon the Chicago Martyrs. Sunday afternoon a very large open-air meeting was held in the Market Place, where we displayed a large red banner, with two Phrygian caps on each pole, draped with black, and bearing the following words, "Chicago Martyrs. Their silence is more powerful than speech; Hurrah for Anarchy." Comrade W. Moore opened with a short speech, giving a description of each of the men and was followed by C. W. Mowbray, who told the audience the bomb was thrown undoubtedly by a police spy. It has never been proved that it was thrown by any of these men, and they were avowedly hanged for the principles they believed in, for being Anarchists and for nothing more or less. J. Emery spoke next. He began with the words, "Their silence is more powerful than speech," and went on to explain the objects of the Chicago Anarchists. The meeting was brought to a close, by three hearty cheers from the audience for our noble comrades. In the evening an open-air meeting was held when reference was again made to this subject by Mowbray and Emery, thus bringing to a close these Commemoration meetings, which have been very successful, and sympathetic. A practical proof of this is being the way the audience have contributed to the collections, and purchased the literature which was on sale. The Norwich comrades can congratulate themselves, upon the sure if slow way in which the Cause is going on.

THE CAUSE IN MANCHESTER.

Manchester Comrades write:

Owing to the weather we have been unable to do much outdoor propaganda, but our indoor course of lectures has commenced for the winter. On Sunday Nov. 2nd Comrade Scott lectured on "Poverty. Its Cause and Cure," to a fairly large audience, and there was some slight discussion. On the following Friday a discussion in the Club on "Revolutionary Warfare; which ended in the general agreement of all present on vigorous revolutionary action as the only means of destroying our present society. Nov. 9th A good meeting was held at the Club to celebrate the death of our "Martyrs" and Bailie, Barton, Scott, and Kennedy, gave an account of their death and asked all to strive for the society of freedom and brotherhood for which they died. The following Sunday, Nov. 16th, our comrade Kropotkin lectured at the New Islington Hall to a very large audience, so that we held no meetings of our own. On the following Monday we had a social evening at the Club to meet our comrade, which passed off very enthusiastically and successfully. On the Friday, an interesting and exciting discussion took place on 'Anarchy.' The usual objections about the imperfection of human nature, &c. were brought forth, but fully answered, and the large majority expressed their acceptance of the Anarchist views. On the 23rd, Raymond Unwin lectured on 'Democracy' to a good audience. There has been a good sale of literature, and a good collection at all these meetings.

Manchester International Working Men's Club.

A meeting was held on the November 9th., at this club, in the Jewish quarter of the town. The hall was quite full, notwithstanding the miserably weather. The speeches were delivered in Yiddish to a most attentive audience and were followed by an interesting discussion.

At the same Club a large Mass-meeting was held on November the 16th to protest against the conduct of the Chief Rabbi and Mr. Samuels, M.P., in hindering the East London Meetings to protest against the persecution of Jews in Russia. It was crowded and resolutions condemning the behaviour of these so called philanthropists, were enthusiastically passed. The meeting dispersed amid shouts of "Hurrah for Anarchy."

ANOTHER NEW ANARCHIST PAPER.

On the 15th Nov. was published in London the first number of "La Tribune libre" a Communistic Anarchist journal in the French language. It is a 32-page octavo size; published at 26 Warren St. Fitzroy Square. W.

SOCIETY ON THE MORROW OF THE REVOLUTION.

Translated from the French of Jehan Le Vagre.

X. THE MORAL INFLUENCE OF THE REVOLUTION.

—o—

"Why should we occupy ourselves with what will happen to-morrow. We have enough to do in taking our share in the present struggle without considering what we shall do afterwards. Let us not waste any time in musing over utopias whilst we are being crushed as we are now. Let us first of all concentrate our efforts against the existing society; when it is overthrown we will consider what has to be done further."

This is one of the objections which have been made to our propaganda.

As we have already said over and over again we have no intention to create a new social system which is to be put into force on the day of the revolution. If we had such an idea it would be quite reasonable to reproach us with wasting our time. We do not even hesitate to say that those who have such an intention are doing the work of reactionaries, for to attempt to create an organisation all complete for the future society would simply be to try and hinder the course of its evolution, to put a limit to progress, to try and prevent it going beyond the ideas your own understanding had been able to comprehend.

We challenge anyone to prove that we have ever said or written anything which would lead them to suppose that we ever had any such idea. Far from wishing to demonstrate what the future society ought to be we desire to show those who contend that individuals would not be able to agree with each other in the absence of a governmental power that this authority on the contrary would be injurious. We have sought to show that society can easily arrange its affairs without the various accessories which the authoritarians wish to force upon it. We have tried to make it clear that individuals would be able to group themselves in order to supply their various needs without any authority being in existence amongst them. The individuals themselves ought to decide on the method of association which they may desire.

In a word we have tried to explain to our fellow workers what ought not to be, what they ought to prevent being established on the day of the Revolution if they would make the revolution real and not merely a change in the form of the fetters which bind them as slaves to the land and the machine.

The reason why we consider this discussion so very useful is that if the revolutions of the past have been pitiable failures, if the intriguers have always been able to turn the victory to their own profit it is due to the fact that the people have always been preoccupied with the struggle, paying very little attention to the end for which they were fighting. Certainly they meant to establish Liberty and Wellbeing for all but they did not give much consideration to the forms under which these things could be obtained. They were told that a republic meant all sorts of felicity and this satisfied them. They fought for the Republic, leaving to the initiated the care of organising the state of Liberty and Wellbeing, and these took advantage of their trust to rivet on again the chains which had been broken asunder. This ought not to happen any more. When the people again go into the streets we hope they will know what they want and will not allow themselves to be led astray.

Certainly it is very easy to say "We will not concern ourselves about what is to happen to-morrow, every day has its task, let us exert ourselves to destroy that which troubles us now; we will set about the rest later on." We hope our friends who take up this line of argument will permit us to say that it is not in this way that we shall make convinced adherents to our views who will know what they want and will be incapable of been turned out of their way by fine talkers. It is because revolutions are only made by the force of ideas that we wish to clear completely the ground on which we wish to fight, that we seek to remove from our path the prejudices that hinder our forward march, and try to form a firm conviction in the minds of those whom we seek to convince.

It is not desirable that in the next revolution the people should be moved by mere words, it is not desirable that under the epithet "Anarchy" they should be induced to swallow all sorts of systems. It is important that the workers should know beforehand what they should do during and after the fight—not that they should be enlightened on all points and in all details as to what should be done, that is impossible, circumstances will guide them as to the necessities of the struggle—but it is important that they should know all that they ought to guard against if they want to prevent the victory slipping through their hands again. If in the previous revolutions they were not sufficiently concerned with what was to happen afterwards we will not fall into the same error to-day. It is important that the same mistakes should not be made again, it is important that our ideas should be discussed and thoroughly elucidated so that the people will not again allow a state of things to come into existence which would be the negation of the end for which they will have been fighting. It is only when we know quite well what we desire to do that we can make a good job of it.

We have the existing state of things which we must fight with all our might. That is true and we recognise it, but in our propaganda there is room for the energies of all, for those of every variety of temperament. Let the impatient, those who burn to attack the existing organisation of society and do not want to hear anything else spoken of, act according to their temperament; we see nothing wrong in that nor shall we ever be the last to applaud energetic action. Moreover theoretical propaganda can only be a useful help to them; indeed it is indispensable.

But we regard the struggle from a wider point of view; we look upon it in all phases and are led to the conclusion that to make such a tremendous transformation as we desire there cannot be too many, of varying aptitudes and different ideas, engaged in the work, no matter what may be the form under which they appear, provided only that as an end

in view they have the destruction of a prejudice, the elucidation of a truth. It is this natural and spontaneous division of the work which permits all sorts of initiative to arise that will facilitate the destruction of the existing society by enabling us to attack it on all sides at the same time.

Other comrades say to us: "But if there is no longer anything but Anarchy how shall we prevent the former employers, landlords and governing classes from leaguering themselves together in order to re-establish private property and authority, if the revolution happens to be victorious in any one country how shall we be able to defend it against the other powers who will certainly not hesitate to attack it, if the individuals are scattered about and have no force binding them together. How shall we prevent crime, how shall we prevent madmen doing serious injury."

If the comrades who raise these objections had reflected on the matter and formed some idea in their minds of the vast amount of energy the people will have to expend in order to realise the Social Revolution; if they had but considered that most of the inconveniences they dread are only the result of the present antagonistic organisation and must inevitably disappear with it they would have understood that these objections cannot possibly stop the propaganda but as it is always a gain to elucidate a question we shall reply to it more fully.

How does anyone think that the former governing, possessing and employing classes will try to establish their authority and private property again when the force which now sustains them will have been found insufficient to prevent their overthrow and will be destroyed and dispersed so that they will have to rely entirely upon their own strength. When the workers have strength enough to destroy the whole existing organisation which now bears upon them with all its weight do you not think they will be strong enough to prevent it being reformed? Will not the danger rather be in the possibility that the retrograde socialists will try to possess themselves of power and use it for their own benefit if the workers are stupid enough to permit them? To put this question is to answer it.

As to the governments falling upon the people who do succeed in winning triumph for the Social Revolution that would doubtless happen if it was possible to localize the revolution. But as the Social Revolution can be victorious only on the condition that it is international, as the workers will be able to get rid of their exploiters, only by getting rid of their exploiters, only by getting rid of those fictitious lines which separate them and by abjuring the idiotic hatreds which their exploiters have breathed into them in order to arm them against each other, they will have to help each other in accomplishing this salutary work, the destruction of the parasites; as the Social Revolution in fact cannot be effected by one nation more than another but must extend over the whole of humanity, it follows that the revolution cannot localise itself but that it will burst out at several points at one and the same time, or one after the other, according to the circumstances which give rise to these movements. Consequently as these causes will act upon all points so as to produce the same effect each government will be sufficiently occupied at home without being able to concern itself about what passes in neighbouring states.

Looked at from this point of view the Social Revolution appears to us as a long series of battles with alternating defeats and victories for the workers, so that which is improperly called the Morrow of the Revolution will be indefinitely removed. The revolution may last a century or it may be ended in a few years (it is the revolution itself that with us takes the place of that transition period which the collectivists clamour for). But it would be a mistake to believe that the overthrow of the old world as we understand it is merely the work of a day or two. Those who believe that all that has to be done to establish the new state of things is to overthrow a government or two and issue half a dozen decrees are deluding themselves very much. The struggle will be long and painful. It will be ended only with the taking of the last piece of individual property and the disappearance of the last vestige of authority from the earth.

As to the crimes, with very rare exceptions no one is criminal simply for the pleasure of committing a crime. In the existing society most of the crimes are committed from motives of interest or from causes due to the bad social organisation. Let us get rid of the causes and the crimes which they engender will disappear with them.

As to the criminals whose acts do not appear to have any explicable motives, who seem to act as they do only for the pleasure of killing or some other sentiment of ferocity, although in some cases no appreciable trace of brain disease has been discovered it is to be found by the doctor or the savant who really desired to know and whose science consists in something more than the wish to create for himself a good position by fawning upon the existing society or making himself the servants of the hangman. The disinterested man of science is able to establish without a doubt that these individuals have simply obeyed impulses quite independent of their will and that even if they are not generally recognised by the world of science at the present day these lessons none the less exist. Such individuals should be handed over to the doctor and not to the hangman.

It is evident that if such cases arise in the future society people will always be in a state of legitimate defence against those who are likely to attack them. But then let us defend ourselves when these attacks come, let us at least have the courage of our acts, do not let us shelter ourselves behind phrases which serve only to mask cowardice and induce people to do with parade and ostentation what they pretend to punish in the individuals of whom they have constituted themselves the judges.

It is truly a fine sort of logic, to kill an individual under the pretext of teaching him that he must not kill anyone.

For our part we are certain that these occurrences will disappear in the future society; it is not natural for men to be ill and have a dis-

ordered brain. All the maladies, all the cerebral diseases are only produced by the conditions of existence which society has created for the individual.

They will disappear when man has returned to his normal manner of living.

Certainly these anomalies will not disappear all at once with the causes which have given rise to them; heredity will continue them for a certain time, but they will gradually cease, for there again the revolution will exercise its salutary influence, although this may possibly seem paradoxical.

Doctors have in fact remarked that during periods of troubles, maladies and epidemics have much less effect on populations in a state of effervescence, and that is true. The struggle, the movement, the enthusiasm: all these things develop the vital forces of the individual and render him less vulnerable to attacks of disease.

The long revolutionary period which humanity will have to traverse, whilst arousing in the individual all the passions which give him vitality, will contribute to a very large extent in the elimination of these morbid germs which take possession of humanity in its decay. The future society in restoring man to his natural conditions of existence will release him from disease and put him once again on the path of progress.

NOTES.

ANARCHISM IN TOYNBEE HALL.

Toynbee Hall, both from its exterior and interior appearance, strikes the observer as a reflection of the "Practicable Socialism" of its Principal, Mr. S. Barnett. Here, in library, lecture hall, or concert room, one finds a mixture of extremes: landlord and laborer, capitalist and wage-slave, art and science; faces with signs of good cheer and faces with traces of tears. It purports to be a means of enlightenment to the workers, and no doubt by its public discussions, lectures and debates it affords good opportunities for the workers to improve their elocutionary faculties and debating capacities; and yet, when one looks closer, one is struck by the obvious fact that, in social and political matters at all events, the enlightenment seems to come just the other way!

The truth of this was strikingly proved the other evening, when Lord Monkswell opened a debate on "Want of work." The "Lord" naturally contended there is no chance to extinguish want of work at certain seasons, with all its consequences; all the workers can do is to save up in "better" seasons, so as to diminish its hardship. He was, of course, met with general opposition, but nothing was so well received as the Anarchist views upon the matter from comrades Harding, Pearson and another, who was probably an unconscious comrade. The "lord" in reply had to admit that he came there rather to learn than to teach.

The handbills for the 11th. of November, by-the-by, were diligently distributed and read by the whole audience, so that his "lordship" became anxious to obtain one and read over the brief statement of the Chicago affair.

THE EXTRADITION OF CASTIONI.

The extradition case of Castioni has been keenly watched by all lovers of liberty during the last few weeks. Anarchists hail his release with pleasure. The facts of the case, however, must neither be ignored or misunderstood. In our opinion the happy termination of this case in no way permanently decides the question of English extradition, as many suppose.

Had Castioni been a poorer man, and unable to obtain the "valuable services of so eminent a law authority" as Sir. C. Russell, or had the relations between the English and Swiss governments been different to what they are, depend upon it the result would also have differed.

Castioni has not been released on the sacred principle of "No extradition"; but because it tickled the fancy of the judges and otherwise did them no harm.

THE CONDITIONS OF TO-DAY.

Comrade Lorion has just been sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment at Roubaix for being an Anarchist. We have not all the details of the case before us, but we think it will interest our readers if we reproduce the following passage from his defence, which has been published in "La Révolte."

"I arrived in a Swiss village on the day when a fire had destroyed more than two hundred houses, and left without shelter a large number of persons. On the morrow I was able to write to a friend in these words: 'My dear friend, I am extremely happy. An immense conflagration has just destroyed more than two hundred houses. Thanks to this catastrophe I have been able to get work.'

"After a little time I had to leave the country. On arriving in another place I learned that an assistant in a restaurant, employed to wash the plates, had broken his arm. I came forward and asked for his job; I was accepted, but when the other young fellow was cured he came and took his job again, and I once more found myself without work. Then I understood that in the existing society the happiness of one is founded on the misfortune of another.

"Where is the lieutenant who does not desire the death of his captain in order to get his place? and how many impatient heirs do not wish the death of their fathers and mothers in order that they may enjoy the fortune?"

LOUISE MICHEL'S SCHOOL.

It is proposed to start an international Socialist School in London, with Louise Michel for directress. The French Group in the Autonomie Club are taking the initiative in the affair, both because they think

the school will be very useful, and because they desire to help Louise Michel to obtain work for which she is admirably suited.

The object of the school will be to develop in the children those principles of humanity and justice so urgently demanded by the coming Twentieth Century. Children of all nationalities will be admitted and several languages taught, but the instruction will be mainly given in French. The school will be in the neighbourhood of Fitzroy Square.

The Committee which has been formed to organise the scheme, and raise the needful funds, are getting up a concert and discussion for Tuesday, December 9th at the Athenæum Hall, Tottenham Court Road.

Any of our readers who are disposed to help Louise Michel and our French comrades are invited to communicate with the Organising Committee of the "Ecole Socialiste de Langue Française," Autonomie Club, 6, Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.

THE QUESTION OF THE UNEMPLOYED.

DARK days and foggy nights are once more upon us, making the narrow and dirty streets of the slums look even narrower and more filthy, while the dingy rooms of low dwelling-houses in which the workers eke out their miserable existence are by no means improved either in appearance or cleanliness by the damp and fog, so common in London at this time of the year. Commerce, as the workmen know to their cost, is ever niggardly in its provision of work, and is particularly so during the winter months.

Hence the cry of the unemployed, which may be confidently reckoned on as a regular accompaniment to that gigantic piece of folly the Lord Mayor's Show. Indeed, it does seem as if Nature had planned that it should be so in order to show the iniquity of conditions which display rags, filth and misery by the side of gaudy sumptuousness and pride the misery and starvation of the one being the measure of the gluttony and pomp of the other.

The unemployed question is one to which many well-meaning persons have devoted much attention. They have propounded many schemes of alleviation, all of which are foredoomed to failure, however, simply because their projectors do not gauge the economic situation with sufficient clearness. The present system of commerce is the generator of unemployed workmen, and will remain so until its destruction.

Work cannot be provided for all so long as production is carried on for profit instead of for use, i.e., until the workers are free both in production and consumption, which is the short expression of our ideal as Anarchists, and is our meaning of the so much misunderstood phrase "the Social Revolution."

There is no specially unemployed class, as seems to be supposed by many benevolent scheme-projectors. The unemployed are the workers who cannot be profitably employed by either capitalist or landlord, and regardless of the fact whether they are skilled or unskilled. They are thrown on one side when their labour will not bring the usual quota of grist to the mill.

The outcry for governmental and municipal relief works for the unemployed grows louder every year, and to a very small extent this expedient has been put into practice, without any appreciable success in stemming the flow of want and misery, and even if carried much further than has been already attempted, relief works can only succeed in proportion as it displaces similar work elsewhere, if such can be called success.

Of course it must not be thought that Anarchists do not sympathise with the unemployed. They have our deepest sympathy, only we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that the grand cause of their sufferings is the monopoly which is born of commercialism, and can only cease when that is destroyed, and the workers set free from its stifling meshes. We refuse to create false hopes in the heart of men, for helpers there are none, and this we should be guilty of doing if we pretended there was any permanent alleviation to be looked for in Government relief works.

Moreover, Anarchists are also anxious to avoid, if possible, mere hunger revolts, which are becoming so common in every country of the world. The capitalist, landlord and usurer are alike the creators of the of hunger revolutions, which are brought about by their callous attitude towards the workers during their undeserved distress, together with their stubborn refusal to look further than their noses into the evolution of thing. On the other hand, the forces of education and humanity are the factors on which we depend to bring about the desired change from misery and slavery to happiness and freedom; nor are we Anarchists merely because we may, and often do, suffer hunger and privation strong as is the reason this forms for a change but we are Anarchists because we recognise that the present commercial system is built upon the vile principle of domination which also leads the way to want and misery. Anarchy needs not hunger alone to justify it, since the natural rights of the individual form its fundamental principles; and even were hunger for ever abolished, if authority remained behind we should still work for Anarchy, because it is the expression of all that is noble and worthy in man.

H. DAVIS.

FUNERAL OF A LONDON COMRADE.

On Sunday Nov. 9th, Heinrich Reuter, a member of the Autonomie Club, and a hard worker in the cause of Anarchism was buried in Manor Park Cemetery. The procession started from the Autonomie Club and was a most impressive affair. F. Kitz; Trunk, Steinzeit, Louise Michel, and W. Neilson delivered short speeches over the grave.

LET THERE BE LIGHT!

ANARCHISTS may rejoice that the situation is beginning to be clear. The more the struggle develops, the more manifest does it become that we are in the right. The workers are combining all over the world, and their action is forcing combination on the "employers," while this again reacts on the workers in wider and wider amalgamation. Soon we shall have two compact hostile masses confronting each other. So far the Social Democrats have foreseen accurately enough.

But now comes this question: What will the governments do?

They are "between the devil and the deep sea," and he who is in such a case may well look to his feet lest he trip or stumble.

There is only one logical course they can take as governments but three possible courses are open to them as bodies of fallible human beings, for your human being seldom acts logically. They can side with the employers, and this is their one logical course. 2. They can remain neutral and hold the ring. 3. They can side with the people.

In a previous article I showed that government *quâ* government—Government with a big G—always has been, and always must be merely the vigilance committee of a privileged class, aristocratic or plutocratic, or mixed—with us of course plutocratic in the main. The same article explained how a government (small g) may possibly be divided against itself into two equal portions, but how, like every house so divided, it must fall—how in fact from the moment it becomes so divided it is no longer Government (big G).

Representative government (*i.e.*, the theory that a whole nation can govern itself through representation) can never be a reality. It is in its essence a sham and based upon either a narrow franchise, limited by a property qualification or something of the kind (in which case you have again the government of the many by the few), or else upon the ignorance of the masses and their blindness to their own interests (in which case you have representatives who though elected by the many only represent the few, or perhaps only represent themselves).

Government, let us repeat (since we must always be teaching people their A. B. C.) is the government of somebody by somebody else. It is possible for the representatives of a class narrower than the whole people to represent them truly as a government, and to hold down in their names the rest of the nation. But the representatives of a whole nation could not be a government in the proper sense of the word, unless they hold down some other nation. At the most they could be a body of public servants, if they represented their constituents. "Yes," says the Social Democrat, "that is just what we want—delegates." "But," answers the Anarchist, "history shows us that they would not represent their constituents; they would not be content to be delegates; they would make themselves a Government in right earnest. Just put Mr. Ben Tillett, for instance, who says that the 'tail must not wag the head,' and a few more humble delegates of the kind in control of the means of production and exchange, and see how soon you will have found new masters."

People then elect representatives to govern their enemies and to protect their own privileges, if they have any, or to acquire privileges for them, if they have none. And what is happening in England is just this: The poor are electing representatives to govern the rich, and the rich are electing representatives to govern the poor, while the extending franchise and the growth of popular enlightenment make the contending forces more equal. The more equal they become the nearer we approach to the first *reductio ad absurdum* of all Government with a big G, and it is surprising that people do not see this simple fact, when it is always being brought home to them by the daily spectacle of a helpless House of Commons, in which parties are ever more and more neutralising one another.

However this long digression and repetition is merely intended to show how it may be possible for the government in England to fall into an illogical position. The first stage of *reductio ad absurdum* may be passed, of course, and the exoteric dream of the Social Democrats may for a while seem on the point of being realised, while their esoteric ideal of seizing power themselves may be fully realised; the so-called party of the poor may conceivably become the stronger and the poor may succeed in at least governing the rich. This is all that Fabians and such folk mean in their illogical language by the death of *laissez faire*, though it seems useless to point out to them that there never was such a thing as *laissez faire*, there was only an unjust one-sided interference.

1. The government in England, then, may forget or lose sight of its own interests as a government, *i.e.*, it may fail to see that a government of the privileged by the unprivileged, if carried out to the logical end, can only go on till the privileged are crushed and government becomes superfluous. But to do them justice, our rulers (existing and aspiring to exist) are not so blind. They would rather not carry it out to the logical end; they see a middle point, which forms a convenient halting place, *i.e.*, when the government have expropriated the privileged in their own favour, and become themselves a real government and a new privileged class. When the time comes for them, like the lord high executioner in Gilbert's play, to cut off their own heads, they will return to logic and decline to carry the illogical process any further.

To be brief, our government may conceivably take the side of the masses for a time, provided that the Social Democratic party outside and inside the House becomes quickly powerful enough to overawe the representatives of privilege. But even then it can only go on with this till really revolutionary demands (in the Anarchist sense) are raised. If it goes further it will sail hard to its own shipwreck.

2. Of the three possible courses we have taken the last first. Now let us take the second: let us suppose government to remain neutral and "keep the ring." This, oh teachable Fabians, would be that

which has never existed hitherto, *viz.*, real *laissez faire*. But real *laissez faire* means abdication. No government ever yet indulged in it, and no government ever can. It would say plainly to all mankind, "Behold we are a government elected to govern, but we cannot or dare not govern, we are useless!" Such a government could not last a year. It would go down overwhelmed by the contempt of both poor and rich.

3. Now let us suppose the government to take the side of the rich definitely. Let us suppose that, so long as the people merely make demands for reform it trifles with them, but as soon as their demands become in the least revolutionary (even in the Social Democratic sense) it takes openly the side of the exploiters. Why then every act of the government will strengthen our hands both against it and against those of the Social Democrats and Fabians who remain obstinate, for the sensible among them (except the sensible-selfish who may by that time perhaps be in office) will already be Anarchists.

There remains however apparently, but not really, a fourth possible course, though only for a very short time. Even after the demands of the people have become revolutionary (in the Social Democratic sense) the government may coquette first with one side and then with the other. This is perhaps only possible in imperialist countries such as Germany. But this game, too, must soon be played out.

I think I have shown then that the governments have come to a cross-way, where three roads meet, and that all three lead to their destruction.

We cannot tell by which of the three the government will hurry to its doom in our country. It is to some extent a question of relative speeds. If the so-called party of the poor increases in parliament and in the county councils more speedily than the development of the economic revolution, our government may take the illogical course just mentioned. But this is perhaps improbable. It seems at present as if the great struggle must be upon us before there are more than half-a-dozen Social Democrats in the House of Commons. Of course, however, we must allow for the flexibility of the conscience of members of parliament. Fear or interest might convert many suddenly.

All this, however, is of little ultimate importance, and is not worth a guess. The one thing clear to some of us is that whatever Government does it must ruin itself.

JOHN EVELYN BARLAS.

MUTUAL AID AMONGST ANIMALS.

II.

In the "Nineteenth Century" for November Kropotkin has published the second of his important series of articles upon Mutual Aid. Continuing his survey of Sociability, as it exists amongst the lower animals, he points out that association and co-operation are common, not only amongst the gentler herb and fruit-eating beasts, but also amongst those which feed on flesh. In fact only the cat tribe (including lions and tigers, etc.) decidedly prefer isolation to society. There are a few other flesh-eating creatures, such as weasels and bears, which are often found leading a solitary life, but this seems to be a result of special causes in particular cases. In places where they have been little molested by man, and where the race is in its full vigour, they have been found in groups and societies.

There are some species of animals which live in small groups at ordinary times, but in circumstances of special need or danger these groups combine and act together. The horse tribe, for example, generally live in their wild condition, in small studs; but if a beast of prey comes into the neighbourhood, or if they have to avoid a prairie fire, or take refuge in the lower ravines from a snow storm raging over the steppes, they collect in herds 10,000 strong and all act in unison. The deer tribe behave in much the same way, living in small herds, which unite in enormous troops when there is need for common action, *e.g.*, when they have to migrate.

Some of the more sociable animals associate, not only with their own species, but with others as well. Quaggas (a sort of zebra) live on first-rate terms with those excellent sentries the ostriches, and also with gazelles, several species of antelopes and gnus. Most varieties of apes and monkeys are exceedingly sociable amongst themselves and also with other varieties. The two unsociable sorts of ape, both of which are rare, seem to be the morose and isolated survivors of once numerous and, probably, sociable species.

To sum up, throughout the animal world sociability will be found, upon a close examination, to be the rule, want of it the exception. "Those species which live solitary, or in small families only, are relatively few, and their numbers are limited. Nay it appears very probable that, apart from a few exceptions, those birds and mammals which are not gregarious now, were living in societies before man multiplied on the earth and waged a permanent war against them, or destroyed the sources from which they formerly derived food." "Creatures do not associate to die," remarks Espinas.

Further, the higher the development of the species, the more various, conscious and voluntary does association become. "It loses its purely physical character, it ceases to be simply instinctive, it becomes reasoned." The higher animals associate, not blindly and continuously, but periodically or occasionally as their needs require. They associate for some special purpose, to migrate, to hunt, to defend one another, to rear their young, to play and enjoy social intercourse. These higher forms of association are complex. Individuals form families, families groups, groups herds; and the higher, *i.e.*, the more reasonable and definite, the association, the more independence does it guarantee to the individual, without depriving it of the benefits of social life. "It is not

imposed, as is the case with ants and bees, by the physiological structure of the individual; it is cultivated for the benefits of mutual aid, or for the sake of its pleasures."

It is a noteworthy fact that the rudiments of free association, of Anarchist Communism, are to be found growing up in the animal world even before we come to primitive man, and that the higher the development of sociability the nearer does it come to this ideal.

In the latter part of his article, Kropotkin goes on to draw some general conclusions as to the relative importance of mutual aid and mutual struggle as factors in evolution.

The phrase "struggle for existence," is used by evolutionists, and by Darwin himself, in two senses. Firstly, for the direct, personal struggle between individual and individual for food and safety and mates, or between rival species for living room and life; secondly, for the persistent effort to exist and develop in spite of all adverse circumstances, which is made by every living organism. This last Darwin called the "metaphorical" struggle for existence, and its universality and persistence no one disputes. The question is: What part does mere competition play in this ceaseless struggle of the living being to hold its own amidst all the tremendous forces of nature, and what part is played by association and mutual help?

"That life in societies is the most powerful weapon in the struggle for life, taken in its widest sense . . . could be illustrated by any amount of evidence. Life in societies enables the feeblest insects, the feeblest birds, and the feeblest mammals to resist, or to protect themselves from, the most terrible birds and beasts of prey; it permits longevity; it enables the species to rear its progeny with the least waste of energy and to maintain its numbers albeit a very slow birth-rate; it enables the gregarious animals to migrate in search of new abodes. Therefore, while fully admitting that the force, swiftness, protective colours, cunning, and endurance of hunger and cold, which are mentioned by Darwin and Wallace, are so many qualities making the individual, or the species, the fittest under certain circumstances, we maintain that under *any* circumstances sociability is the greatest advantage in the struggle for life. Those species which willingly or unwillingly abandon it are doomed to decay; while those animals which know best how to combine, have the greatest chances of survival and of further evolution, although they may be inferior to others in *each* of the faculties enumerated by Darwin and Wallace, save the intellectual faculty. . . . As to the intellectual faculty, while every Darwinist will agree with Darwin that it is the most powerful arm in the struggle for life, and the most powerful factor of further evolution, he will also admit that intelligence is an eminently social faculty. Language, imitation and accumulated experience, are so many elements of growing intelligence of which the unsocial animal is deprived. Therefore we find at the top of each class of animals the ants, the parrots, and the monkeys, all combining the greatest sociability with the highest development of intelligence."

"Moreover, it is evident that life in societies would be utterly impossible without a corresponding development of social feelings, and, especially of a certain collective sense of justice growing to become a habit. If every individual were constantly abusing its personal advantages without the others interfering in favour of the wronged, no society-life would be possible." And accordingly we see a group of sparrows interfering to prevent a lazy one stealing materials from the nest an industrious comrade is building; separate groups of penguins decide on and keep separate resting places and fishing abodes without fighting; and indeed without such mutual arrangements it is evident that the nesting associations of birds, the villages of gnawers, or the herds of grass-feeders could not exist.

Now let us glance at the part claimed for competition in securing by natural selection the survival of the fittest.

It is a well-known fact that amongst animals in a wild state large numbers continually perish of hunger, cold, etc., and it has too readily been assumed, even by Darwin, that these deaths from privation occur in consequence of the stronger or more cunning or better endowed individuals or species starving out their weaker fellows, there being too many of them on the ground for all to exist in comfort. We have had this "Malthusian" view of the cruelty of nature so dinned into our ears that we scarcely believe it open to question, and Darwin, the careful fact-collector, hardly troubles himself to seek instances in proof of this assumption. Kropotkin believes, however, that it is a radically false one.

"We have good reason," he writes, "to believe that want of animal population is the natural state of things all over the world, with but a few temporary exceptions to the rule. The actual number of animals in a given region are determined, not by the highest feeding capacity of the region, but by what it is every year under the most unfavourable conditions. So that, for that reason alone, competition can hardly be a normal condition; but other causes intervene as well to cut down the animal population below even that low standard." The herds of wild horses and cattle in Transbaikalia are a good example. They are weak from want of food every spring, not because there is not enough for all, but because every single beast has the heavy labour of getting his food from under the snow, and the weaker die under the strain at last, whilst those who live to breed in the better weather produce a small and feeble offspring. Thus the numbers are always below the food-producing capacity of the district. Almost all wild grass-eating animals and many rodents in Asia and America are much in the same condition, and of them "we can safely say that their numbers are *not* kept down by competition, that at no time of the year can they struggle (with each other) for food."

Nothing like enough importance has hitherto been given to the mani-

fold checks to overcrowding which are of daily occurrence in the animal world, and many of which are far *more* important in their effects than competition. The "staying power" of individuals and species, their endurance and ingenuity are more shrewdly tested by cold, heat, damp, gales, tempests, hurricanes, floods, diseases, and foes of quite other tribes, than they are by direct competition. And it must be borne in mind that the action of all these checks in thus eliminating all but the fittest under the hard conditions they impose does not by any means invariably tend to the highest development. For instance, no where are horses more rigorously weeded out by nature than in Siberia, and Siberian horses can exist upon birch twigs and stand fearful cold, but they cannot carry half the weight that an ordinary European horse could.

Therefore the tendency of animal life in its struggle for development is to avoid all these violent hindrances as far as may be, and amongst them, to avoid competition.

"In the great struggle for life—for the greatest possible fulness and intensity of life with the least waste of energy—natural selection continually seeks out the ways for avoiding competition as much as possible." Natural selection picks out the species which learn how best to avoid competition and preserves those species. Animals which combine, which aid each other to get and store up food, to migrate, to select and keep distinct abodes and hunting grounds without fighting, or animals which seek new forms of food rather than compete with others—these are the animals which live and replenish the earth.

THE PROPAGANDA. REPORTS.

LONDON—

St. Pancras Group.—The Group have been so actively engaged in organising the Chicago commemoration meetings reported on another page, that they have had no time to arrange any discussions and the weather has been too bad to allow of open-air meetings.

East London Group.—Weather too bad for Victoria Park meetings. Busy with Chicago commemorations.

South London Group.—Oct. 26, T. Pearson, finding the audience in the S.D.F. Hall left without a lecturer, adjourned thither from the Progressive and delivered his speech on "Organisation Free and Unfree," to some attentive Social Democrats, who asked many questions, and a spirited discussion ensued. Nov. 9th, Chicago commemoration. Nov. 23, W. Neilson on "The Ethics of a Worker."

PROVINCES—

Manchester.—Comrade Kropotkin lectured in the New Islington Hall, Ancoats, to a very large audience, Sunday afternoon, Nov. 17, on "Brain Work v. Manual Work." He advocated with his usual eloquence, the combination of both kinds of work in the education of children. Such an education has been already realised in the Moscow schools of Russia, in Chicago, in Boston, in many schools in Paris and in Aberdeen. He pointed out that if all boys and girls were taught to *produce* something useful there would be a tremendous increase in the wealth of the community, and many social and mechanical and scientific problems would be rapidly solved.

Leicester.—Tuesday, Nov. 18, Comrade Kropotkin lectured in the Co-operative Hall, his subject being "Is Socialism Practicable." Full report next month.

Dundee.—A discussion class has been formed at the suggestion of our Comrade Cameron, which meets Sundays at noon. The first class was held Oct. 26th.

Persecution of Jews in Russia.—Nov. 1st, at the Great Assembly Hall, Mile End, a mass meeting was to have been held to protest against the persecution of the Jews in Russia, but at the last moment the Chief Rabbi and Mr. Montagu, M.P., prevailed on Mr. Charrington to refuse the hall for that purpose. The demonstration took place in the open space outside the hall, and a resolution was passed condemning the action of the Russian Government. Amongst the speakers were W. Neilson, William Morris, Stepniak, and Mrs. Marx-Aveling. The meeting terminated with cheers for "Free Russia" and groans for Charrington. Since then Comrade Wess has had a correspondence with Mr. Charrington resulting in a little cheque for £20 from that gentleman as fine for breach of contract.

Comrades and friends are requested to send communications for use in this column not later than the third week of every month.

NOTICES.

St. Pancras Communist-Anarchist Group will hold a discussion in the hall of the Autonomie Club, 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, at 8.30 p.m., on the first and third Mondays in December. Openers W. Neilson and T. Pearson.

East London Communist-Anarchist Group will hold a series of discussions on Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m., in the hall of the International Working Men's Club, 40 Berner's Street, Commercial Road. Dec. 9th, subject, "Names and Opinions." Opener, T. Pearson. Dec. 16th, "The Ethics of a Worker," W. Neilson. The usual open-air meetings at 3.30 p.m. on Sundays, in Victoria Park, will be held, weather permitting.

Kropotkin's Lectures.—Jan. 9th, Ayr, N. B.

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