

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

VOL. VI.—No. 71.

OCTOBER—NOVEMBER, 1892.

MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

In commemoration of the legal murder and imprisonment of
THE CHICAGO ANARCHISTS,
who, while working in connection with the Eight Hour Movement,
were seized and brutally hanged by the Democratic Government of
America, on November 11th, 1887,

and also to protest against the outrageous sentences passed on our

Walsall Comrades,

the victims of a police plot,

A PUBLIC MEETING

WILL BE HELD ON

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 11th, 1892,

AT 8 P.M., AT

SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE

(Close to Broad-street and Moorgate-street Stations.)

Speakers:

C. W. Mowbray, J. Tochatti, A. Henry,
J. Creaghe, Louise Michel, P. Kropotkin,
Yanovsky, J. C. Atterbury, Malatesta,
C. Morton.

AS YOU WERE!

"THE Labor Parliamentary Session is over and 'as you were' is the order of the day." Thus said the "Workman's Times," when summing up the results of the Trades Union Congress for 1882. But we were loth to think that the gathering together of so many sons of labor and their chosen representatives should have no result whatever, and preferred to believe that the man on the "Workman's Times" was but a carping critic whose wish was father to his unmannerly remark. However, the reading of the newspaper-reports and Miss Clementina Black's articles in the "Pall Mall Gazette," 13th and 14th September, wherein she gives some aspects of the Congress, which she attended as a delegate, certainly does not encourage us to think that the Trades Unions have got "much forrader." "The manners and good feeling of the Congress," says Miss Black, "were surprisingly improved, but it must be confessed that there was a certain falling off in fervour"; which being interpreted might mean that the British Workman has learned to object to the secretary of his Parliamentary Committee without throwing his boots at him, and so Mr. Fenwick's anomalous position as secretary to a committee advocating the Eight Hours Bill, which he opposes as an M.P., was discussed without breaking of heads. The New Unionism that but a short while back was in a despised minority ruled the roast and the doses of Parliamentarism, which have been swallowed by the unions meanwhile, had apparently the effect of narcotising the members with the result that almost unbroken dulness pervaded the Congress. Miss Black tells us that on looking through the resolutions put and passed she was much struck by the demand for registration, inspection, examination and prohibition of all sorts. Nine resolutions out of every ten asked for more legislation. . . . To carry out one half of these demands would require a special Parliamentary session; and the committee is bidden to promote a good deal of legislation WHICH HAS AS MUCH CHANCE OF BEING CARRIED INTO EFFECT AS A MEASURE FOR OBTAINING REGULAR ALTERNATIONS OF RAIN AND SUNSHINE. The italics are not Miss Black's, who perhaps penned the conclusion of her sentence without being fully conscious of the truth it contained. Now it is because we believe the righting of the workers' wrongs by legislation to be as impossible as the compelling of sunshine by the erection of a weather-cock that we preach so persistently the doctrine of "Put not your trusts in Parliaments." The Oriental slave bows his head meekly to the stroke of the despot murmuring "Kismet! It is fate." The slave of the West eats his bitter bread and drinks the waters of affliction saying "It is law." It is only when his burdens become perfectly intolerable that he will assert his manhood instead of abiding the scrutiny of the ballot-box.

For the good manner and the good feeling of the Congress we are grateful, but the aching of our stomachs, spiritual and temporal, which soft words fail to fill, compels us to ask for something more. Searching therefore for some crumbs at least wherewith to stay ourselves, we find only two morsels such as these. Instead of wishing to exclude foreign workmen from the unions, it is proposed to bring them in and pay them at union rates; and also that foreign goods should be excluded from

our markets not because they are foreign, but because the producers of them are ill-paid. These items show that internationalism—a most necessary and important feature in revolution—is not losing ground.

The second morsel was the motion of a woman delegate, when amendments were brought forward concerning the reconstruction of the Congress. These amendments aimed at putting "more proportional power into the hands of the stronger unions." The woman-delegate's motion represented how heavily the expense of representation presses upon the poor and small women's unions, and pleaded for terms which would allow the young and weak unions to have a chance of coming in contact with those that were better organised and more experienced. The Congress decided to demand only £1 instead of £2 as admittance fee for the first thousand members, thus making unionism more possible for those bodies of workers numbering under 1000. The brotherly feeling for the poorer worker, as says Miss Black, is surely one of the most hopeful features of to-day's Trade Unionism.

The only stir that was perceptible during this very dull Congress was over the question of Labor Representation, when an Aberdonian moved that the word "Independent" should be inserted before the word Labor. The division on this point showed 141 for to 140 against. It would have been interesting to know of what class of society were the 140 timid delegates, who feared to assert themselves even at a Congress as independent of either of the big political parties. Were they *BONA FIDE* working men or amateurs?

To the journalistic world the most interesting feature of the entire proceedings was Miss Hicks's—we mean the Duke of York's trousers. Mr. Edward Bellamy in the "New Nation," a few weeks back, said we should never get anything out of the capitalist class except through fear, and the flutter among the merchant tailors at the West End almost made one think that their panic at seeing an unpleasant truth about their methods of employing cheap labor to adorn the limbs of the gilded youth would be productive of some great and immediate change in the condition of at least one branch of workers. But so far the outcome has been only much buzzing and considerable lying. If the workers want decent homes and healthy workshops they must themselves insist upon having them. We should have liked the Trades Union Congress, on hearing Miss Hicks's statements, to have passed a resolution pledging every man and woman to combine for the immediate betterment of their own and their neighbors' domestic workshops; for although we may have inquiries made into the Sweating System *AD INFINITUM*, no one but the workers themselves either should be or really can be responsible for the sanitary condition of their lives. It is our own fault if year after year passes by and leaves us as we were.

That Trade Unionism could become an immense revolutionary force is an undoubted fact. Indeed it must and will become one, or it must give place to other forms of combination which will grasp the economic question as something of a flexible nature and deal with it accordingly. The question of the Universal Strike (such as we described recently in the articles "Reign of Hunger") or of a universal understanding and common agreement among the workers of the civilised world must take first place among the questions discussed at Trades Union Congresses. But perhaps this cannot be before officialism—the old man of the sea that hampers all spontaneity—has been thrown off; at least in so far as it presumes to be a controlling force.

The Coming Commune.

ONE looks into the future. One rubs the smoke of warfare out of eyes that would see across the turmoil of active revolution into what lies beyond.

Probably the Anarchists will gather closer than ever together. Individuals into groups, groups into larger groups, and then again into great masses of men and women linked with the living bond of good faith and comradeship. These will be able to begin their commune, unhindered, over a given territory. I do not think it can be hoped that this revolution, now beginning, will convince the whole of humanity that it had better try the great experiment. The first free commune will be local. Those who don't "see" it will be free to depart. Those who long for it and believe in it will flock to it, from the uttermost ends of the earth. Need we say whether we (Anarchists) or they (the upholders of present, capitalism and government) will be best off for willing workers, for sheer intelligence, for lofty moral ideals, for economic common-sense, for mutual good-will, and for the great social strength that comes of abundant hope? Nature—the natural "law and order" of life itself—will be on our side. The "Stream of Tendency" will make our way. Evolution will get on fastest in our society of FREED CHARACTERS.

Well; How will the commune be worked? How could it be worked? Let us see. Imagine a community, formed of existing human nature just as it is—with all its jumble of strengths and weaknesses, meanness and nobleness, virtues and vices,—to start with; and relieved from all compulsion as to what it will do next. Those who study human nature chiefly on paper, and with the help of cooked statistics, tell us that evil is checked and good encouraged by ORGANISED DISCOMFORT; a little, of some kind or other, for everybody; a great deal, of a very dreadful kind, for a large majority. We offer flat denial to this; for we don't go to books and statistics for our estimate of the common human elements, but to the open tale told us by the flesh and blood, the life and action, of the fellow creatures of all sorts and conditions among whom our lot is cast. And we don't believe in discomfort as a penance for moral or social shortcomings. And we do believe in SCOPE, as needful for the exercise of all the lurking, dormant sincerity, sympathy and power of self-government which is as yet hidden away under that colossal difficulty of securing physical subsistence.

Imagine now our community, complete within itself. A village—a city—a province—or a whole country has made up its mind to the bold experiment. Private property is abolished by common consent. Every one in the community wakes in the morning absolutely sure that he has as much right to be housed, fed, clothed, and at work, as any one else. Absolutely sure, too, that there is enough of everything for himself; and that he may take it with an easy mind, since there is also enough for every one he cares for; for every one he knows; and that every stranger he meets is the same lucky case as himself. Also he knows that, come what may of accidental misfortune, no one at all will grudge or will make difficult and expensive to him the help he needs in order to overcome the misfortune. No one grudges him anything. How civil he feels to them for it! He does not grudge them anything either. He goes off with a will, to see how he can best be useful to everybody.

Every one meanwhile is at liberty to retain the use of that which HE needs AS MUCH AS ANY OTHER NEEDS IT. If an object exist unused, which is exactly what A needs in order to carry on his avocation, then B, whose nominal property it was before, hands it over (having first dusted off the cobwebs which his own non-requirement of it had caused to settle upon it). C similarly concedes to B half the use of something exactly appropriate to B's need, because hitherto C has had twice as much of it as he could use, and B was meanwhile hampered by not having enough. Well now, when A has thus been helped by B and B by C, how do these aided persons feel inclined to act? We need not wait for the commune to find out! This kind of action, fortunately, goes on (in a hampered, pitious way, truly; but still goes on), in the very midst of and to the infinite discrediting of the present execrable system. It was by chance my lot once to live in a house with communistically inclined people. They were not professed Anarchists; it was only that CHARACTER was too strong for CONVENTION in their case, and of course I, as a convinced and theoretical Communist, found myself in clover. We were supposed to be on a "business" footing with one another! But we COULD NOT keep up the farce. We never knew quite what the other owed us; we felt a strong sense of general indebtedness to one another, though; and, without anything to drive us to it, we somehow got all our rights; while our duties, and monies, and necessities (of luxuries there were none possible) were mixed up; and accounts became the more difficult to keep on both sides, the easier and happier we were in consequence of the services mutually and spontaneously rendered. It was a tiny, impromptu, unavowed commune under one unpretending roof. And doubtless hundreds of Anarchists could tell the same tale. Were not mankind FORCED to keep to the artificial rules imposed by a vile system, based on self-interest and economic tyranny, nine-tenths of the many forms of social misery and of social evils would cure themselves. Human nature is not by any means perfect or "divine"; but it is also not by any means (EVEN YET, after long ages of mis-management) the desperately evil and perverse thing that governments assume it to be. Why, that tale of the Paris Commune, and of the enthusiasm even reaching to the strong-hold of hitherto-encouraged selfishness in middle-class breasts, is indication enough of the way human nature WANTS to go, and would feel happiest in going, if it were not for the curse of that vile thing—MONEY; the love of which one of old time truly stigmatised as "the root of all evil."

But to return to our Communistic A, B and C. How, when relieved themselves, do they at first feel inclined to act? If VERY miserable before, a little time will perhaps be given up to sheer, heedless enjoyment of the welcome relief. Who would grudge them the time needful for unwinding! The sense of relief WILL, with many, just at first, outweigh all else. The steam will have to be let off, before the faculties can settle down to sober work. If those who have yielded the aid are, meanwhile, communistic at heart, and have a good "bump of causality" to boot, they will not be dismayed at this nor forthwith cry back to authority, mistrusting the newly emancipated human nature prematurely. Rather, they will find some measure of reward themselves in seeing even the recklessness caused by that new thing—happiness. For, oh! the joy of beholding joy! And if they have patience the tide will turn of its own accord.

The contract having been virtually and universally made throughout the community that, in exchange for being let live, it is hoped that everyone will do what he or she can to help others to live, a feeling of being in debt will arise in all but a very few morally-crippled wretches—products of the damnable system of self-interest—and as it arises will prompt them to exertion on behalf of the community. Bob, having accepted Dick's extra pair of boots, feels his own gain; and he also feels that he wants to do Dick a turn; so he offers to shoulder Dick's spade or pick and do half-a-day's work for him, so that Dick may get a

chance of going to the dentist to get an aching tooth seen to, or attend that lecture which will be of particular use to him. At first, of course, there will be rest, rest, and little but rest, for the half-dead victims of hideous overwork and underfeeding, toilers for whom life has been hitherto one long, weary agony; and at first there will assuredly be a great deal of work left to be done for themselves by those who have hitherto had nothing to do but amuse and dress themselves, and attend drawing-room meetings; and at whose door (though they hardly realised it) the whole of the misery and nearly all the evil-doing of society has lain. They will have to work if they are to live; for, FOR THESE, the others will not, at first, particularly care to work. And so they will learn to be self-helpful, and to like the growing sense of ability and of real, individual, social value. And honor and the aid of comrades will soon become the reward of the bravest of them. The erstwhile mercenary millionaire will have to hew wood and carry water for himself and family; your sporting idler will have to groom his own horse, if so be that a horse be needed for him to work with. But after all such are not likely to join our free commune at all.

And everywhere men and women will put their heads actively together to arrange how to work things with best economy, with least friction, with utmost good-will and fair play to all. Contracts will be entered into by individuals; by groups of individuals; and to work they will go.

Who will do the dirty work? Who? Well, I, for one, if no one else will. Half-a-day of it at a time. I shall still get some time for my writing, and enjoy it all the more. And I am assuredly no exception in instantly feeling that THAT is the answer to this silly question. Those will do the dirty work who WOULD RATHER DO IT THEMSELVES THAN SEE IT GO UNDONE. And their example will draw on others; and the reward is certain. The community will honor these, and individuals will love and trust them very specially; and will fully make it up to them for their dirty work. You see, in the new community no one will have to give his or her WHOLE time to any job, dirty or clean; and that makes a great difference to the hardship of doing the world's unpleasant jobs. Those who do disagreeable work in the morning will be specially welcomed at fêtes in the afternoon; and VICE VERSA. If they have to learn the work first while those who have been used to do it look on and shirk, then I think it is the shirkers who are likely to feel queer. "Here, let me show you! It ain't half so troublesome as all that!" And I should not be surprised if skill at even dirty work after all kept the fit man in the fit place, here as everywhere else; and the more so since all CASTE distinctions will have melted into the nothingness that they really are; and no sort of disgrace or humiliation be attached ever again to any honest and useful employment whatever.

A little "hither and thither," and trying of hands at new jobs, if only for the natural longing for a change—for an UNWIND—may be common at first; but all will settle down eventually; because it will have to, at risk of the awful old system creeping into existence again.

Then as to trade, or rather exchange, with the non-communistic parts of the world? Well, that can go on much as heretofore, only the traders will have to manage without money, and take our wares in kind. Our Commune will of course have nothing to do with "protection." Everyone will be at liberty to come and exchange his products, and will get for them what the commune can spare. There will be no selling or buying in the old sense of the word; and no profit-making for individuals. I think that the outside world will find it easy, and pleasant, and serviceable to themselves to do business with us. And we shall have no interest whatever in cheating them.

Then as to war? I incline to the belief that a community behaving in the way I have described would be more likely to allure adherents than enemies. I think that if we do harm to none, no one will want to annex us in the sense of forcing their institutions upon us; and that is the only sense in which we should object to be reckoned as part of this territory or that on the maps. I think a certain amount of chivalry might actually be felt in the world at large regarding us! But if attacked, of course we should have to defend ourselves. There are many ways of doing this. The revolution will have taught us how! What says Walt Whitman?

"I dreamed in a dream, I saw a city invincible to the attacks of the whole of the rest of the earth; I dreamed that was the new city of Friends. Nothing was greater there than the quality of robust love; it led the rest. It was seen every hour in the actions of the men of that city; and in all their looks and words."

And again:—

"I hear it was charged against me that I sought to destroy institutions. But really I was neither for nor against institutions. (What, indeed, have I in common with them? or what with the destruction of them?) Only I will establish . . . in every city . . . inland and seaboard, and in the fields and woods, and above every keel, little or large, that dents the water, without edifices or rules or any government, the institution of the dear love of comrades."

And once again:—

"Is it a dream? Nay, but the lack of it a dream
And failing it life's lore and wealth a dream
And all the world a dream."

A Brighton comrade sends us the following verses:—

Oh, busy bees of England and the world!
How long will ye consent to work and starve?
Shall Freedom's banner be for ever furled,
While priestcraft prates, and tyrants scoff and laugh?
Up, up! avenge the insults! Take your own!
Behold prolific Natures bounteous spread;
Then wherefore toil and want, and sweat and groan,
Still wishing you were counted with the dead?

G. LAWRENCE.

Education.

(Concluded from previous month.)

As to the practical organization of teaching, that, we imagine, will differ entirely from the present. Let us picture to ourselves, in the first instance, what the possible and most probable course as regards a child and its parents would be, when every mother would be free to give her almost exclusive attention, for the first nine months, at least, to her infant. She would during that time study the best means of ensuring her child's welfare, dependent almost entirely at first upon purely physical care, though indeed moral considerations begin, to a certain degree, at an exceedingly early age, in so far, for instance, as to accustom the infant to regular habits of feeding and sleeping, the soothing and checking as far as possible, of outbursts of temper and so on, by judicious treatment. Much of the inherent tendencies of a child's temper and disposition are evident to a careful observer, in an infant of six months old. The first absolutely necessary condition in the training and educating of a child must be the understanding of its individual character, first of course on the part of its parents, and then of each one who takes any share in its training.

When no one is driven by necessity to choose teaching, or the care of children, merely to make a living only those will devote some portion of their time to such work as are by nature fitted and inclined for it, and such people have that sympathetic insight into character, which enables them to guide and educate without thwarting or repressing the natural bent; they know how to develop the will rationally and reasonably, without undue exercise of authority over the child.

Naturally the care of a child devolves primarily for the first three years on the mother, although it is found well both for the child and mother, that the father and also others take, by degrees, an increasing share in its education. No system for young children, even from babyhood, has been found so beneficial as the Kinder Garten. No principle of treatment succeeds so well in the harmonious development of the child-nature. And there can be little doubt that many mothers will consult together and unite to establish Kinder Garten nurseries, calling in to their assistance such young women friends as are fond of children and glad to spend part of their time in amusing and minding them. Such nurseries would be, of course, pleasant healthy places provided with suitable furniture, Kinder Garten "gifts" for play etc. conducive to the little ones' health and pleasure. We imagine that when a mother finds that her child is of such an age that it would benefit by the society, even for an hour or so, per day, of others about its own age or a little older, she would enquire and look for other mothers who have already brought their little ones together, or are anxious to do so. Among themselves they would arrange as to who would share in cultivating this infantine human garden, on account of their special ability and taste for this stage of training, or nursing. The nursery Kinder Gartens would naturally lead to the higher stages of training on the same system, carried on in pretty elementary school houses, provided with ample pleasant grassy play grounds, or fields near by, gardens, swings, jumping bars, sea-saws etc. The rooms would have no trouble spared upon them to make them beautiful in architectural design, and furniture; there would be good pictures, models, Natural History collections, curiosities and so on, all adapted to the age or stage of development of the different classes of children.

These elementary schools also would be organized by groups of parents or friends, both men and women who would some of them like to spend, perhaps each an hour or two per day, or a half day or so per week, as might be found suitable for adults and children, teaching and assisting the children.

As the children grew older, say from eight or nine years on, they might accompany their friend-teachers in parties of six, ten or twelve into the fields and lanes, on to the hills, or down into the valleys, so beginning their first studies of physical geography, botany, geology etc. etc.; or visit Zoological and botanical gardens, museums, picture galleries, and so on. Children's workshops of every kind would be established where they might at stated times learn according to their special abilities, some handicraft, also art schools for designing, drawing, modelling and so on. All these subjects again being taught by members of the community whose special taste, or hobby lay in those particular directions.

Side by side with these practical and oral lessons the necessary drudgery of learning to read and write, when taught rationally to children whose minds were *already* awakened to a love of and desire for knowledge, would be rapidly and easily overcome. There would be small use for the many "Standard" reading-books, which now leave the ordinary poor Board school child as dull and uninterested in literary, historic, or any other kind of knowledge with which they deal, as if he had had no education at all.

Writing would be learnt in order to enable the children themselves to relate with the pen the knowledge they have already acquired. And both reading and writing would become really living language lessons, not the dull abstract or ape-like imitative work they now are. They would lead to literary composition on the one hand, and to the learning of foreign languages, so broadening and socializing as this study may become, making man realize in a nearer way the existence of his other fellow-men, like, and yet interestingly unlike himself and his country men; awaking in him the desire to travel, to become personally acquainted with these distant brethren, to know them and their lands.

The books children would then read would be probably such as, in a few directions we have already some samples—though only for the use of the children of the privileged classes—as for example, Miss Buckland's charming books "The Fairy Land of Science," "Life and Her children" etc. or books of travel, simply told, fairy tales, or books treating of social

life in different lands, or at different periods, told in a dramatic or graphic way, taking to children.

All instruction, it must be remembered would be given voluntarily for love of teaching and of the children, by people following at other hours all manner of other pleasurable and useful pursuits. None would teach day by day, and year by year, till they were wearied out by the labour of it, and the most enthusiastic of them become pedantic and machine like. Probably many would continue teaching from choice for several years, but never when their taste for it began to fail. Consequently both teaching and learning would become a pleasure, but each class would be well attended according to the ability of each individual teacher both to make his subject interesting, and to gain the personal affection of his pupils. The number of pupils to which each class would be limited would entirely depend upon the nature of the subject taught. Some might be lectures delivered to forty or fifty together, but the great majority of subjects would be taught conversationally, or, as in the case of all manual instruction, individually, and then the number would probably, by agreement, be limited to ten, or twelve, or even fewer. The ridiculous and horrible idea that children can or should be taught in droves of 50, 60, 100 or even more, would be exploded, and barrack like Board schools with their military discipline, so repressive and injurious to the development of the child-nature would be righteously abolished for ever. As also, there would be no place, nor need for a system of rigid police-like inspection and "examination" such as the present—nor would the teachers be any more educational drudges, domineered over, and hampered in numberless ways by a Board of people who would none of them teach in the schools themselves, nor send their children to them; or by a Government, a degree or two more clumsy and stupid still, through ignorance, or apathy in its mischievous control of a coerced, and to some extent, justly hated, public school system.

When education is free to be given by those who like to give it and in the way their judgment and interest guides them, to those children whose parents wish them to receive it, it will become a delight to the children themselves, as it naturally should and could be, and a real blessing to society generally. Education will become *living*, and be, under such conditions, appreciated most rapidly by all. The ineradicable instincts of love of offspring, self-betterment and social approbation will work a hundred times more rapidly and efficaciously among people not bound, degraded and inhumanized by either riches or poverty, than could any possible code of laws, coercively enforced.

Could there possibly be such abnormal human-beings as to resist such natural instincts, under such circumstances, they would most assuredly be rare exceptions, soon to disappear.

No other influences could be stronger and more certain to lead to the general welfare than the free action of these natural instincts. Consequently all that could be necessary in a free and economically equal society to encourage and establish universal education, would be the wise example of the most enlightened, leading all others from natural motives to see the advantage of it and themselves benefit from it. A. H.

AN IMPORTANT WORKINGMEN'S CONGRESS IN ITALY.

(From an Italian correspondent.)

On the 14th of August last, a congress took place at Genoa, to discuss the formation of an Italian Labor Party. It was the authoritarian Socialists, the Social Democrats, who took the initiative and called together labor associations of every sort, with the purpose of constituting a party consisting of all the organized workers of Italy. They tried, however, to exclude Anarchists by fixing terms of admission which no Anarchist could accept. For instance, they insisted, as a preliminary, upon agreement with the principle that workmen ought to take part in elections, as a means of acquiring political power. But such restrictions were so ill-received that the Social Democrats were obliged to give them up.

On their side, the Anarchists (except certain fractions who hold aloof more or less from the labor movement), decided to take part in the congress, and to enter the Labor Party which it was proposed to found; not, of course, in the capacity of Anarchists, but in that of workmen. Further, they decided that, even if their propositions were rejected, they would still stay in the congress and in the Labor Party, to exercise the influence and right of criticism proper to minorities. This main object was, of course, not to lose a wide field for propaganda and a way of multiplying their points of contact with the great mass of workers.

This did not at all suit the authoritarians, who aimed at making the new party a mere electioneering agency to secure certain seats in Parliament and on the municipal councils. In fact, being unable to exclude the Anarchists, they excluded themselves! As—in the very first sitting—the Anarchists had a majority, in the very first question put to the assembly, the State Socialist minority withdrew to hold another congress among themselves, and to constitute a secessionist Parliamentary Labor Party.

In the original congress there remained, with the Anarchists, all those delegates who, not themselves being Anarchists, yet believed that the worker must emancipate himself, expecting nothing from government, and distrusting the bourgeois element that predominates in the authoritarian party. The outcome of the congress was the formation of the "International Workmen's Party," having for its aim the expropriation, for the benefit of society, of those who at present monopolize raw material and the instruments of production. The party is constituted on the principle of the federation of all organisations belonging to it. It will stand aside from political struggles, and do its best to press all available energy into the direct strife with capital.

This event amounts to a big victory for the Italian Anarchists. Its importance has been grasped by even the bourgeois press, which has been striking against the danger of Anarchism and patting the seceding Social Democrats sympathetically on the back.

We are sure our Italian comrades will not fail to scatter Anarchist ideas broadcast among the people, and that they will know how to make the best use of the new opportunities they have just succeeded in opening out, by means of a Labor Party free from all political bonds.

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Special Notices.

As we are late in publishing this month, owing to lack of funds, we issue this number of "Freedom" for both October and November, but, trusting that those who owe us for sold papers will soon pay up, we hope to be in good time with our December issue.

"Reign of Hunger" &c. unavoidably held over until Dec.

Our new pamphlets, "Anarchist Morality," by Kropotkin, and "Anarchy," by Malatesta, 36 pages each, are now ready. Price 1d. or 1s. 4d. per quire of 25. They will be found excellent for propaganda purposes and the sale of them should be pushed well.

NOTES.

"FREEDOM'S" SIXTH ANNIVERSARY.

This month we enter upon "Freedom's" seventh year. Its circulation has of late increased considerably, and our expenses in proportion, but not, we are sorry to say, our income. Many of the groups who support us, both here and in America, have had, we know, hard struggles to keep together and to pay rent for rooms to meet in, and in consequence "Freedom's" accounts have sometimes been left unpaid for an indefinite period or forgotten altogether. But some comrades seem to be under the impression that payment for "Freedom" is a matter of no consequence, that we are a rich group, that we get our paper for nothing and our printing ditto; it has even been rumoured that we steal our paper, and so can afford to run "Freedom" cheap. Unfortunately none of these surmises are true: we are not a rich group, we don't steal our paper and we don't get our paper or printing for nothing; we pay Union rates for our paper and printing, and our postage alone means a considerable outlay. We therefore earnestly beg those of our readers who have cherished the above erroneous ideas to dismiss them once and for all and, instead, let them resolve for the future to pay for "Freedom" as they get it. We here take the opportunity of thanking heartily the friends and comrades who have never failed to support "Freedom" to the best of their ability.

A LOSS TO THE CAUSE.

We cannot let the cessation of the "Commonweal" pass without a few words in memoriam. The "Commonweal" was started in 1885 by William Morris and Belfort Bax, after the split in the Federation over the policy of opportunism. The Socialist League had been founded in Dec. 1884 and the 'Weal became the acknowledged mouthpiece of the League and preached the gospel of International Revolution. We all remember Morris's resignation of its editorship, and many were the reasons for his withdrawal assigned by gossip: the real one being that the majority of the League thought that Morris's style of writing was too much over the heads of the people. Morris, however, maintained his connection with the paper for some time afterwards, until Nov. '90, Nicoll and Kitz editing it jointly; later on Mowbray taking the place of Kitz. Since then the 'Weal has passed through stormy times, culminating in our Comrade Nicoll's arrest and imprisonment. J. Turner and a few others stepped gallantly to the front and kept the 'Weal going a while longer, but lack of funds, which has silenced many a friend of the people, and other adverse circumstances forced the 'Weal, after a run of over seven years, to drop (we hope only temporarily) out of the contest between Capital and Labor.

WHEN THE HUNGRY FELLOWS BREAK LOOSE.

"A notorious [American] millionaire, when asked why he did not build a palatial mansion, said: 'I don't want a house that will be so easily found when the hungry fellows break loose.' That," says the

"Christian Advocate," "is the most fearful sentence that we have heard since the outbreak of the civil war. As certain as the earth continues, and things go on as they have for 20 years, the 'hungry fellows will break loose.' Nothing hastens it like men of great wealth, who buy up legislators, disregard private rights, live in luxury and say, 'The public be damned!'" It is not as if these millionaires with their wealth created an earthly Paradise even for themselves. But obviously their ill-gotten gains and luxury bring them no content. Their vulgar souls can only express themselves in out-lying their neighbors or in spoiling the face of the earth: therefore the sooner the hungry fellows go for them the better for themselves and everyone else.

HOW THESE MILLIONAIRES LOVE ONE ANOTHER.

Visitors to Newport, the fashionable American watering-place, find amusement in the active dispute that is being carried on between the two millionaires John Jacob Astor and W. K. Vanderbilt. The latter has built himself a white-marble cottage between Bellevue avenue and the cliffs, his estate being bounded on the north by those of the two Astors. High and unsightly fences were erected by Mr. Vanderbilt's orders all round his domain, hideous gates, backed with corrugated iron, being the only interruption. Though these interfered considerably with the pleasant aspect from the Astor windows, no protest was made until Mr. Vanderbilt proceeded to erect an artificial promontory from the cliffs out into the ocean, completely shutting out half the superb view from their estates. The Vanderbilt workmen then curved the Astor walks seaward, and down along a terrace dug in the face of the cliff, passing under a tunnel through the promontory. Active protest was thereupon made by Mr. Astor, who put up a rough board fence between the estates down the path to the cliffs. Mr. Vanderbilt's men tore up this fence some few weeks ago and moved it several feet inland. Hearing of this, Mr. Astor telegraphed that his men were to restore it to its original position and to see that it remained there. Both proprietors have ignored the State law, which declares that all land within thirty feet of high water belongs to the public and is free to all.

ANOTHER ASPECT OF THE RICH MAN.

If the millionaires would, like the famous Kilkenny cats, demolish each other only, we might, like Brer Fox, lie low and abide the issue. But unfortunately it is only now and then that we can see their funny side. The curtain is lifted but for a moment on such broad farces as "Astor v. Vanderbilt." Our serious attention is now too often claimed by tragedies like those enacted at Homestead and Idaho, and the great spectacular effects of locked-out workers and hungry women and children. The Lancashire cotton lords are preparing in the north of England for scenes of distress on a huge scale. "Their proposal for three days work per week and 10 per cent. reduction in wages until trade mends receives increasing favor." Strikes in various parts of the country are of daily occurrence, and Mr. Barnett of Toynbee Hall promises us as an East-end London winter attraction "Bad Times with Genuine Unemployed."

BAD TIMES AHEAD.

In his speech on the social condition of London, at the opening of the new session at Toynbee Hall, Oct. 1st, Mr. Barnett said to the students: "We must educate ourselves before we can help others. Half the poverty and sufferings of our neighbors is due to ignorant help. Goodwill is a force and not a guide—ignorant benevolence is as destructive as crafty malevolence." "Bad times are now, I believe, at hand, and I offer you some of the reasons for my belief:—1. The better organization of labor is throwing out from our ranks the weak, the unfit and the old. Employers forced to pay good wages are forced also to insist on good work. The general and ultimate effect will be beneficial, but one immediate effect is to drive an increasing number of the half worn-out, the weak and the shiftless to join in the hopeless scramble for odd jobs, for odd gifts. 2. The widely spreading depression of trade is at last touching London labor, and already a large number of the less active and less skilled have been driven to live on their savings or on the resources of their more successful mates. There are, for the first time in my experience of East London, genuine unemployed. 3. The opening of shelters and the bold advertisement of charity have caused an unusual number of the shiftless, ragged and vagrant class to congregate in our neighborhood. The means of relief offered do not meet their needs. Their misery, their hungry bodies and their hunted looks as they are seen on door-steps or at street corners stir up sympathy and indignation which is not always reasonable. 4. Prosperity has had a spirit of impatience. A generation which knows the triumph of machinery is impatient for a machine to deal with poverty, and a generation which has realised this great increase of comfort is impatient of any suffering. Such a spirit is that least fitted to deal with the problems of bad times, it leads to the application of remedies which are poisons and to rebellion against discipline which is necessary to all recovery. There is in the sights around sufficient reason for passion, and without passion there can be no radical reform. Passion is the cleansing fire of the world's evil, but the passion which deals with poverty must be the passion of patience. Such are the reasons for my belief that bad times are at hand. I look out with some anxiety on the coming winter."

BUT THE POOR WE HAVE ALWAYS WITH US!

The "Genuine unemployed" is then, according to Mr. Barnett, a rare bird in the East End; but no one denies the plentiful existence of poor, whose lot is harder even than that of the unemployed inasmuch as they toil as well as slave. It was to consider "the very important question,

'How to improve the condition of the poor Jews of London' that the Chief Rabbi Dr. Adler and his colleagues summoned the large meeting held Sept. 29th in the Great Assembly Hall, Mile End Road, to which Jews were specially invited "to come and do something" themselves for their poor brethren. Behold how it was considered, and what a "something" they have done! In the chair the Chief Rabbi, Sir Henry Isaacs, ex-Lord Mayor, at one side of him, a Rev. Shewzig of Ramsgate at the other, surrounded by a host of clergy of the higher and lower order, together with a number of well-known sweaters of the tailoring and other trades in East London. Rev. Shewzig takes the field. He tells his hearers how, after the last few years of close investigation, he has come to the conclusion that the condition of the East London Jews is very bad and deplorable. "There are," he said, "three classes of poor: 1. The helpless, who have no occupation, the invalids, of whom it is very unpleasant to speak—for these we can do nothing; 2. Those who try their best, but are unlucky—for these soup-kitchens might be established where they should get cheap food; with 4d. one could live well—1d. for breakfast, 2d. for dinner and 1d. for supper; 3. The workers who work and earn well, but suffer much in slack time—these also no one could help, they must help themselves, they must follow the example of their Christian brothers and join provident societies." Strongly exhorting the audience to pay up their offerings and donations to the synagogues, pointing out to the women present that they were playing with life and might have their husbands and their children cut away if they had not fulfilled their vows thereto, he then applied himself to the young men. "You want to abolish capital; my brothers, can you do away with the rain that is now dropping? No, it is natural; and so is capital. Capital has been, is, and will be. Let us pray God things should not get worse. Well, my brothers, shall you come to synagogue to-morrow? (No response.) O, woe! that is the devil in you; Judaism is dying away!" Here Comrade Mowbray sends up a polite note to the Chair, requesting permission to address a few words to the meeting. Chair rises and says graciously: "Although this is not a discussion meeting, still we shall allow Mr. Mowbray to say a few words as an Englishman, hoping he will be as brief as possible." Our comrade steps up and is recognised by the men, among whom he has worked and taught for many years, with a thunderous burst of applause, which at first astounds the Chair and the sweaters and then makes them aware of what they have let themselves in for. "Mr. Chief Rabbi and Fellow Workers," begins Mowbray. "O, Mr. Mowbray, what are you going to say?" demands the frightened Rabbi, stretching over the table and catching Mowbray's arm. "But you have only given me a few minutes to speak in, I really can't tell you what I have to say until I have said it." "Then I can't let you speak." Chorus of Platform Respectables "O, you must really tell us first, you know." Mowbray forcibly pulled back. Majority of audience want to hear what Mowbray has to say and shout from all parts of the Hall "Let him speak!" Minority mainly of Dutch Jews, regular attendants at synagogues and pickers-up-of-crumbs-that-fall-from-rich-man's-table begin to strike out right and left. Dr. Adler and the other platform respectables in great alarm produce whistles and blow them violently. A score of police rush in, but are helpless. Free fight in Hall. Dr. Adler borne out in a fainting condition. Gas turned out suddenly. Tableau. The East End philanthropists may as well leave the poor alone; their nostrums won't cure.

THE TORY TRUMP CARD.

The reports from Ireland forebode bad times there too. The Irish farmers are in dire distress owing to the complete unsalableness of cattle and the ruinous harvest weather. Furthermore, William O'Brien, writing to the "Manchester Guardian," says that the landlords are evicting hapless families all over the country, and he believes that the evictions are pressed just now by Tory landlords in order to hamper the new Government, by pretending to show that the suspension of the Coercion Act is productive of agrarian disturbances. But according to LAW these landlords are only exercising their just rights and privileges, even when, in order to evict, they tear the roof off the home of a sick man and woman. Last month, near Skibbereen, Co. Cork, this was done by a force of thirty armed police. In County Monaghan an eviction was accompanied by pulling the house down, levelling it with the ground, and breaking the furniture to pieces, whilst a man who dug a meal of potatoes for his evicted neighbor from the land which he had cultivated, but from which he was now being driven, was sent to gaol for seven days. In Co. Clare the sub-sheriff with a force of bailiffs and riflemen were engaged a whole week in wholesale seizures for rent, making midnight raids on the tenants' cattle on the notorious Bodyke estate of Col. O'Callaghan. These are but a few samples.

RETALIATION.

There is an uncomfortable suspicion evidently afloat in the minds of the Irish political leaders that the new Government may not be able to perform the many fair promises they made when they were out of office, and the Irish peasant be no whit better in condition for the recent Liberal victory. Michael Davitt, speaking at Glasgow, Oct. 1st, threatened that if the Irish landlords were allowed to put their plan of campaign into operation, i.e., the Tory plan, that the Irish would meet it by a counter plan, and that they would not confine their attack to Irish landlords: they would help the English farmers to make the Argylls, Devonshires, Balfours and Westminsters sit up. It is doubtful, however, if the English farmer would avail himself of his Irish brothers' help to do anything so rude as to ask for the revision and reduction of rents. The isolation of rural life has reduced Hodge to imbecile inaction; he needs to be stirred up by a few squads of the B.I.C., and to see his comfortable homestead razed to the ground, and his children

crying with hunger and cold by the wayside, before he realizes his actual position.

THE REAL RULERS—SUPERSTITION AND IGNORANCE.

There is really no comparison between the life of the English and Irish farmers. Hodge may have to bow to his landlord, who is as often as not kind and considerate, and to vote as he directs or to pretend to do so; he has to pay tithes to a parson he often despises, but that done he can attend what form of religious ceremony he chooses, none at all if he prefers. Poor Pat has to live from hand to mouth, not knowing what moment he may be driven from his poor holding, by order of a landlord he has never seen, and driven out it may be at the point of a bayonet. Even if he escapes the horrors of eviction, he is never free from the terror of his priests, who despotically limits his field of thought and are as ready to damn a man's soul and blast his body for his venturing to differ in political opinion as they were for a religious heresy in the Middle Ages. The "Irish Independent" has bravely undertaken the task of showing up the tyranny and absurd pretences of the Irish priesthood. It is a difficult task, but it has to be done. The people who have yearned after political liberty for so many centuries will, as we have said before, find that liberty but a hollow farce if they obtain it and leave their intellect in the bonds of a creed outworn.

TAKING HIM AT HIS WORD.

An evolutionary Anarchist, who believes that "We must go through some sort of Social Democracy first, you know," was canvassing for a friend ambitious to figure at Westminster. "You will give your vote for Mr. S——, won't you?" he said calling upon a workman who sometimes attended his lectures. "I am going to take your advice," replied the man. "That's right, I am very glad you will support Mr. S——," said the gratified canvasser. "Not quite," said the elector; "I shall abstain. You've advocated that policy so long and so forcibly that I believe it is the only effective weapon at present during elections." Exit canvasser—somewhat abruptly.

GOING BACK TO FEUDALISM.

The great landlord proprietors in Germany have never got over the effect of the freedom granted to the poor, of recent years, to move and live where they may choose. They are losing all their virtual serfs. So the reactionary press are taking advantage of the cholera to advocate the return to old domiciliary laws. For the sake of the poor, OF COURSE. If they move about they may carry the epidemic from place to place—how much better it would be if they were chained to the land.

THE MODERN HOLY TRINITY.

The following parody will amuse those of our readers who know the awful rigmarole repeated in Protestant churches on high holidays, under the name of the Athanasian Creed:—

THE ANATHEMASIAN CREED.

Whosoever will be damned, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Capitalistic Faith.

Which Faith except everyone do keep whole and unqualified, without doubt he shall progress indefinitely.

And the Capitalistic Faith is this: That we worship one Mammon in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity.

Neither confounding the monopolies nor dividing the substance (especially not dividing the substance).

For there is one monopoly of the Money-Bag, another of the Statute, and another of the Holy Church.

But the Mammon of the Money-Bag, of the Statute and of the Holy Church is all one; the vainglory equal, the majesty co-infernal.

Such as the Money-Bag is, such is the Statute, and such is the Holy Church.

The Money-Bag indiscriminate, the Statute indiscriminate, and the Holy Church indiscriminate.

The Money-Bag indefensible, the Statute indefensible, and the Holy Church indefensible.

The Money-Bag infernal, the Statute infernal, and the Holy Church infernal. And yet they are not three infernals but one infernal.

As also there are not three indefensibles, nor three indiscriminated, but one indiscriminated and one indefensible.

So likewise the Money-Bag is almighty, the Statute almighty, and the Holy Church almighty.

And yet there are not three Almighty's, but one Almighty.

So is the Money-Bag a god, the Statute a god, and the Holy Church a god. And yet not three gods, but one god.

Likewise the Money-Bag is Law, the Statute is Law, and the Holy Church Law.

And yet not three Laws, but one Law.

For like as we are compelled by the Capitalistic Verity to acknowledge every (privileged) personage by himself to be God and Law.

So are we forbidden by the Capitalistic superstition to say there be three Gods or three Laws.

The Money-Bag is made of none, neither earned nor fitted.

The Statute is of the Money-Bag alone, not earned nor fitted, but purchased.

The Holy Church is of the Money-Bag and the Statute, neither earned nor fitted nor purchased, but resulting.

So there is one Mammon, not three Mammons; one Statute, not three Statutes; one Holy Church, not three Holy Churches.

And in this Trinity none is afore or after other, none is greater or less than another.

But the whole three Jingos are co-infernal together and co-equal.

So that in all things as is aforesaid the Unity in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped.

This is the Capitalistic Faith, which except a man believe faithfully he may possibly be saved.

Glory be taken from the Money-Bag, and from the Statute, and from the Holy Church.

As it was in the beginning so it is now, nor ever will be again. Progress without end. Amen.

L. S. B.

THE CONQUEST OF BREAD.

By PETER KROPOTKINE.

I.—OUR RICHES.

(Continued from previous number.)

We in civilised societies are rich. Why then are the many poor? Why this painful drudgery brutalising the masses? Why, even to the best paid workman, this uncertainty for the morrow, in the midst of all the wealth inherited from the past, and in spite of the powerful means of production, which could insure comfort to all in return for a few hours of daily toil?

The Socialists have said it to weariness. Daily they reiterate it, demonstrating it by arguments taken from all the sciences. It is because all that is necessary for production, the land, the mines, the highways, machinery, food, shelter, education, knowledge, all have been seized by the few in the course of that long story of robbery, enforced migration, wars, of ignorance and oppression—the life of the human race before it learned to subdue the forces of nature. It is because, taking advantage of alleged rights acquired in the past, they appropriate to-day two-thirds of the products of human labor, and then squander stupidly and shamefully. It is because, having reduced the masses to a point at which they have not the means of subsistence for a month, or even for a week in advance, the few only allow the many to work on condition of themselves receiving the lion's share. It is because they prevent the workers from producing the things they need, and force them to produce, not the necessities of life for all, but whatever offers the greatest profits to the monopolists. There you have the whole message of Socialism.

Take this picture of a civilised country: The forests which once covered it have been cleared, the marshes drained, the climate improved. It has been made habitable. The soil, which bore formerly only a coarse vegetation, is covered to-day with rich harvests. The rock-walls of the Southern valleys are terraced and covered with vines bearing golden fruit. The wild plants, which yielded nought but acrid berries, or uneatable roots, have been transformed by generations of culture into succulent vegetables, and trees covered with delicious fruits. Thousands of highways and railroads furrow the earth, and pierce the mountains. The shriek of the engine is heard in the wild gorges of the Alps, the Caucasus, and the Himalayas. The rivers have been made navigable; the coasts, rounded and carefully diked, are easy of access; artificial harbours, laboriously dug out, and protected against the fury of the sea, afford shelter to ships. Deep shafts are sunk in the rocks; labyrinths of underground galleries spread where coal may be raised or minerals extracted. At the crossings of the highways cities have sprung up and increased, and within their borders are to be found all the treasures of industry, science and art.

Whole generations, that lived and died in misery, oppressed and ill-treated by their masters, and worn out by toil, have handed on this immense inheritance to the nineteenth century.

For thousands of years millions of men have labored to clear the forests, to drain the marshes, and to open up highways by land and water. Every rood of soil we cultivate in Europe has been watered by the sweat of several races of men. Every rood has its story of enforced labor, of intolerable toil, of the people's sufferings. Every mile of railway, every yard of tunnel has received its share of human blood.

The shafts of the mine still bear on their rocky walls the marks made by the pick of the workman who toiled to excavate them. The space between each prop in the underground galleries might be marked as a miner's grave; and who can tell what each of these graves has cost, in tears, in privations, in unspeakable wretchedness to the family who depended on the scanty wage of the worker cut off in his prime by fire-damp, rock-fall or flood?

The cities bound together by railroads and waterways are organisms which have lived through centuries. Dig beneath them and you find, one above another, the foundations of streets, of houses, of theatres, of public buildings. Search into their history and you will see how the civilisation of the town, its industry, its special characteristics, have slowly grown and ripened through the co-operation of generations of its inhabitants, before it could become what it is to-day. And still to-day, the value of each dwelling, factory, warehouse, has been created only by the accumulated labor of the millions of workers now dead and buried, and is only maintained by the efforts of the legions of men who now inhabit that corner of the globe. Each of the atoms composing what we call the Wealth of Nations owes its value to the fact that it is a part of the great whole. What would a London dock-yard or a great Paris warehouse be if they were not situated in these great centres of international commerce? What would become of our mines, our factories, our workshops and our railways, without the immense quantities of merchandise transported every day by sea and land?

Millions of human beings have labored to create this civilisation on which we pride ourselves to-day. Other millions, scattered through the globe, labor to maintain it. Without them, nothing would be left in fifty years but ruins.

There is not even a thought, or an invention, which is not common property, born of the past and the present. Thousands of inventors, known and unknown, who have died in poverty, have co-operated in the invention of each of these machines which embody the genius of man.

Thousands of writers, of poets, of scholars have labored to increase knowledge, to dissipate error, and to create that atmosphere of scientific thought without which the marvels of our century could never have appeared. And these thousands of philosophers, of poets, of scholars,

of inventors have themselves been supported by the labor of past centuries. They have been upheld and nourished through life, both physically and mentally, by legions of workers and craftsmen of all sorts. They have drawn their motive force from the environment.

The genius of a Séguin, a Mayer, a Grove has certainly done more to launch industry in new directions than all the capitalists in the world. But men of genius are themselves the children of industry as well as of science. Not until thousands of steam-engines had been working for years before all eyes, constantly transforming heat into dynamic force and this force into sound, light and electricity, could the insight of genius proclaim the mechanical origin and the unity of the physical forces. And if we, children of the nineteenth century, have at last grasped this idea, if we know now how to apply it, it is again because daily experience has prepared the way. The thinkers of the last century foresaw and declared it, but the idea remained undeveloped, because the eighteenth century had not grown up like ours side by side with the steam-engine. Imagine the decades which might have passed while we remained in ignorance of this law, which has revolutionised modern industry, had Watt not found at Soho skilled workmen to embody his ideas in metal, bringing all the parts to perfection so that steam, pent in a complete mechanism, and rendered more docile than a horse, more manageable than water, became at last the very soul of modern industry.

Every machine has had the same history—a long record of sleepless nights and of poverty, of disillusion and of joys, of partial improvements discovered by several generations of nameless workers, who have added to the original invention, these little nothings without which the most fertile idea would remain fruitless. And furthermore, every new invention is a synthesis, the resultant of innumerable inventions which have preceded it in the vast field of mechanics and industry.

Science and industry, knowledge and application, discovery and practical realisation leading to new discoveries, cunning of brain and of hand, toil of mind and muscle—all work together. Each discovery, each advance, each increase in the sum of human riches owes its being to the physical and mental travail of the past and the present.

By what right then can anyone whatever appropriate the least morsel of this immense whole and say, this is mine, not yours?

(To be continued.)

Enemies of Progress.

(No. 2.)

THE "PHILANTHROPIST."

WHAT is a philanthropist? Well, let us see. According to the dictionary, a philanthropist is one who is "a lover of mankind at large," and, from this, one might perhaps gather that suffering humanity was always the uppermost question with which the sort of personage now-a-days puffed as a philanthropist dealt. I shall endeavor to show in this article that the very opposite is generally the case, that, instead of being a benefactor or lover of mankind, the so-called philanthropist is very often the enemy of progress.

It has been argued, times out of number, that, if there were not so many "philanthropists" in our midst, many of our great institutions in this country would be in danger of extinction or bankruptcy. It is asserted that, if it were not for our so-called "good and great men" of to-day humanity, with all its aches and pains, would have to commit in its afflictions. Here are great fallacies which can soon be cleared up and explained. Let us first examine the latter part of this question. Let us suppose, for instance, that all such philanthropists ceased to exist after the publication of this article. Would our Infirmarys, Hospitals, Dispensaries and such like charitable(?) institutions be closed? Not a bit of it. People would begin to see (and that very quickly too) that these institutions are of the utmost necessity to society in all its forms and grades, and that it would be next to an impossibility for humanity to exist at present without them. This being the case, the workers would soon recognise the fact that these institutions would have to be maintained by those for whom they are supposed to be built; and the advantage to be derived from this mode of procedure would have good results. For the manhood of Man—which has lain dormant so long—would assert itself, and he would enjoy the knowledge that the help which he was receiving was the outcome of collective effort for the good of the individual and for the society of individuals. But man has not yet recognised these facts, and he goes on his way rejoicing, singing the praises of some person who is dubbed a "great philanthropist," who has perhaps just graciously given a portion of his ill-gotten gains to some local "house of mercy." Oh, the ignorance of our fellow workers! Did THIS PHILANTHROPIST GIVE THAT AWAY WHICH HE EARNED HIMSELF BY THE SWEAT OF HIS BROW? OR DID HE BUT GIVE BACK A VERY SMALL PORTION OF THAT WHICH HE HAD ROBBED OTHERS OF—directly or indirectly? Did he give it from pure motives or did he give it for self-aggrandisement and self-interest? These are questions to which in most cases the unhappy answer is but too plain. But the average workingman does not grasp it, he is too blinded by his own ignorance, and the sham charity of these "lovers of humanity." The worker at present is satisfied to eat the crust, which the philanthropist benevolently throws to him, and by the acceptance of this crust he loses his dignity, and thereby allows the enemy of progress to triumph over him.

That the philanthropist is an enemy of progress there can be but little doubt. Whenever there is a great depression in trade, or a strike, or a famine, the philanthropist steps to the front with a hundred or a thousand pounds, which he gives to those in distress. He knows well enough that, if no sop was thrown to the worker, matters might come

to a crisis, and the hungry worker perhaps might take that which is necessary to keep life in the body of himself and children and wife. In this alms-giving, the class-interested philanthropist hinders progress, and prevents the worker seeing that one class has no right to be monopolising wealth while another is starving. By the giving of soup and loaves and cast-off clothes, the hunger of the crowd is somewhat alleviated the striker is not so desperate, ninety per cent of the crowd bow to the "goodness" of the philanthropist, calling him a little "God," and never see the injustice which he is shielding and perpetuating. They never inquire how much love for suffering humanity and how much policy or fear played a part in what he did. Doubtless there are some genuine philanthropists, but these one very seldom hears puffed in newspapers and fêted at public dinners, and they are people who work to help others, not just hand alms about. A man who ostentatiously doles out coals or blankets or small parcels of groceries generally gets repaid, perhaps in the shape of high office, parliamentary seat, or municipal honors. It's a case of throwing a sprat to catch a mackerel.

In whatever light the position of the philanthropist is looked at, his place in society is a menace to the best interest of the worker. He is a monopolist possessing wealth for which he himself has not worked. To create that wealth others have been robbed of their share of the results of labor. And when the philanthropist gives a very small portion of these ill-gotten gains back to the workers in the form of charity he thereby blinds and deludes them by a sham generosity, and strengthens himself in his false position in their foolish eyes. Thus he nips in the bud any desire the worker may have for freedom and justice. The work of this sort of philanthropist has a tendency to keep matters at a standstill, staving off the day of revolt with a loaf of bread; hindering the onward march of the people. Society can and ought to exist without such "lovers (?) of humanity," if only simple justice were done to the cause of labor. What an anomaly! The worker who produces all that we see around us, practically speaking, possesses little or nothing of the world's goods, whilst a philanthropist, who has perhaps never labored a day during the whole course of his life, can give away hundreds or thousands of pounds. Is this system of things to last? Is it reasonable to hand over the lives of men to the mercy of a few others?

Man ought to consider his manhood and dignity a little more, and not accept an unbrotherly charity rooted in injustice. If but justice was done to the producers, such charity would be unnecessary; there would be no room in society for such charity mongers. Naturally this sort of philanthropist tries to keep the present society together; he well knows that when a new society of justice and equality springs up, his works of charity will not be wanted, and he will not have any more opportunity of robbing those less clever than himself.

G. E. CONRAD NAEWIGER.

Reviews & Notices.

"THE REFORM OF LONDON."*

This pamphlet, which is a useful summary of the same writer's "London Program," is published by the Eighty Club—the organisation of Orthodox Liberalism in which Sydney Webb plays the part of *enfant terrible* with increasing success. The central idea of this famous Program is briefly to remove the fetters from the London County Council by the abolition of all vestries, corporations and monopolies, which at present cross and thwart its action. The decentralisation which would of course be necessary under a Council controlling the whole Metropolis, would be carried out by District Councils, elected for the various smaller areas, according to some ersily arranged system of division. When once the central authority and its subordinate branches are thus organised, it is proposed to place under their management all the great necessities of modern city life, now held for the most part practically as monopolies by large companies of shareholders, narrow corporations, or landlords. The new Council would then control the Water and Gas supply, the Markets, the Docks, the Tramways, the Poorhouses, the Hospitals and the Asylums. It would also provide Municipal Dwellings and well-regulated "doss-houses." And as to finance, it would equalise the rates throughout London, to the great relief of the poorer districts; it would halve the incidence of rates between the occupier and the landlord, and would raise a new rate by the taxation of ground-values; and it would cover the cost of improvements by some equitable system of "betterment," the difficulties of which are fully admitted by the writer. He also adopts the very dangerous proposal of taxing vacant land in London as though it were occupied, thus imposing a penalty on landlords who leave healthy open spaces and squares among the sheets. But of course the new Council's chief source of revenue is to be the "unearned increment," the extra £4,000,000 a year which London pays to her landlords at present as a tax on her own prosperity. The writer points out one or two methods by which this large and ever increasing sum might be retained for the advantage of those who really produce it. Like all Fabians, Sydney Webb has of course an exaggerated belief in the powers of social machinery and government to make men and women better; but in the last two or three pages he denies with some indignation the common charge that his party is only framing another comfortable Utopia, another Pigs' Paradise of material good. "The material side of the London program," he says, "is, indeed, less important than its moral aspect." For which concession we must be thankful.

"THE SOURCE OF CAPITALISM AND THE BREAK-DOWN OF DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES."—Under this title "Solidarity" Pamphlet No. 1 appeared. It contains 32 pages of *Plain Facts and Figures for Workingmen*, and will be found to be both instructive and interesting by all our readers. The price is 5 cents (2½d.) and it is to be obtained from *Solidarity*, P.O. Box 2618, New York City, U.S.A.

"THE WANTS OF MAN AND HOW TO SUPPLY THEM."—The result of this work will furnish constant agreeable and remunerative employment, and supply the best food, good clothes, and beautiful houses to the masses. Price \$5. 17s. per 100. Address, J. H. Donlevy, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.

* "The Reform of London," by Sydney Webb: one penny.

THE PROPAGANDA. REPORTS.

LONDON—

The usual open air meetings have been held during the month, in Hyde and Regent's Parks, Comrades Samuels and Cantwell speaking every Sunday in the latter Park to good audiences. On the 18th, Samuels debated with a Radical, the debate, however, was not finished, as after a little the Radical retired, discomfited. In Hyde Park the Sunday speakers were Barker, Tochatti, Fox, Cantwell and Atterbury. We have had good audiences, and splendid sale of *Freedom* and general literature. Barker has also held several meetings on week days. We have had some opposition of the usual style from parliamentarians, etc., which was easily answered. We have also opposed on the S.D.F. platform. Their man did not seem to object to the principles of Anarchy, but could not stand the idea of a revolution, and so goes in for parliamentary reform to avoid it. Indoor lectures have been arranged for the winter months at the Berner Street Club.

I. W. M. Club, Berner-st., E.—The indoor lectures began in September, and were given twice a week—Sundays at 7.30 p.m. and Tuesdays at 8 p.m. All have been very successful, evoking much discussion and attracting several local Social Democrats and Trade Unionists regularly. Among the lecturers were C. W. Mowbray, J. Turner, H. Samuels, Legatt, Fox (S.D.F.) and W. G. Pearson (S.D.F.). The sale of *Freedom* has increased. Mowbray also had a lively debate in Christ Church Hall on "Anarchism versus Social Democracy" with Kahan, a Social Democrat from New York, who came over evidently with the intention of smashing up the Anarchists, but, unluckily for him, Comrade Mowbray got much the best of the argument.

Harlesden and Environs.—We are glad to say this corner of London is not being left altogether to the teaching of Social Democrats. Comrades C.C. Davis, Oldman and Samuels have during the month of August attended Sunday gatherings at Kensal Green and at Fifth Avenue, Harrow Road, and managed to get in seasonable words. C. C. Davis was even challenged by an S.D.F. man to a debate on the subject of Anarchism one night. The S.D.F. man got up and defined Anarchy in the usual S.D.F. manner, with one original touch in declaring that the Norman Conquest of England was a fine example of Anarchy. The old absurd charges of Anarchists objecting to organisation or education having been refuted by our comrade, the S.D.F. champion tried to get out of his mistake by graciously remarking that if Anarchists believe in organisation, co-operation and Communism they must be Social Democrats. It was very kind of him to say so. This same S.D.F. champion, by name Kohler, was tackled on August 21st by Comrade Oldman, who asked how the Social Democrats were going to get possession of the land and was told "By the Ballot-box." But, said our comrade, have you not any way to dispossess the present owners? This Kohler admitted, but did not say how it was proposed to be done in S.D.F. circles. Oldman then made an eloquent speech, and recalled to his hearers the fact that when he helped to free several commons in Norfolk physical force was used, and used with good effect. On the 28th, Comrade Samuels made effective opposition to the S.D.F. doctrine at the Plough Inn, Kilburn Lane. Any comrades who can manage to attend meetings occasionally in this neighborhood might communicate with C. C. Davis, 148, High Street, Harlesden.

On Sunday Sept. 18th, in South-place Institute, Kropotkin gave an instructive lecture on the subject of "Mutual aid in the Mediæval Ages," of which we give a brief abstract. It was shown how communes were formed and how townships grew out of the desire for mutual protection. In the Middle Ages there existed a spirit of fraternal equality, and also a life of free organisation. The craftsmen then labored for love as well as for a livelihood, and the master-craftsmen were no more than the most skilled whose knowledge and experience made them valuable to their fellows, by virtue of the instruction and advice they could give. It was proved clearly that the freedom of these communes was lost through the blighting influence of Christianity.

On Sunday Sept. 25th, Kropotkin lectured at the same place on "The Poetry of Nature." The poetry of Greece, he pointed out, derived its beauty and force from the fact that the Greeks thoroughly identified themselves with nature. Great poetry had been written in which nature had been treated as something distinct from men; but we are now returning to a condition of life in which men, owing to the discoveries of science and the general advance in ideas, more and more regards himself as at one with nature. Byron, Shelley and Goethe, and more recently Walt Whitman, were imbued with this idea. The "humanity" of Comte was too abstract: it was necessary that each one of us should feel the concrete importance of each one of his acts and its influence on the circle which surrounds him. There were times when man could not find in the society of his fellow man the solace which he needed; there were times even in which the disappointments in comradeship left wounds which nature alone could heal; and if man turned to nature, by her at least he was never disappointed. The audiences at both lectures were very large and appreciative of our comrade's eloquence. Good sale of *Freedom* and other literature.

PROVINCES—

Brighton.—Our open air meetings here have twice been broken up during the past month by the aggressive action of those who persist in believing Anarchists to be public enemies. The first disturbance took place on the 8th September. The meeting was nearly over; it had been a good one; Comrade Lawrence spoke first, and a little discussion with a clergyman in the audience had attracted further listeners. Comrade Reed then spoke; the crowd being quiet, interested and sympathetic. As ten o'clock approached, an unusually large policeman roughly pushed into the midst of us, and ordered Reed to get down and move off. Comrade Reed protested against unmannerly interruption in the midst of a sentence, from a "clodhopper in blue." In a twinkling, the policeman kicked away the chair on which Reed stood, throwing him violently to the ground, and arrested him. Naturally Comrade Lawrence defended his friend, and seizing the chair hit the policeman with it. A second member of the "forc" therefore arrested Lawrence, and they were both marched off to the Town Hall. A bystander was heard to remark: "Well, that may be 'law,' but it certainly isn't justice!" The crowd followed, apparently sympathising entirely with our comrades. At the Town Hall no case could be made out warranting their arrest. The big policeman admitted having kicked the chair from under Reed's feet and thrown him down, but gave it as his reason that our comrade was "speaking about capitalism" and "constructing (sic) the roadway," and had called him (the policeman) a "countryman." The word "clodhopper" had escaped his memory. The authorities found nothing serious in all this. And as to Lawrence's offence, it was admitted to be but natural that a man should resent seeing his friend assaulted. For nearly two hours the ridiculous episode was discussed, and then our comrades were let go; though, to save its dignity, "law and order" promised them a summons (of which nothing has been heard so far), and detained the chair, which we still have to do without. This small *contretemps* made a useful preface for Comrade Lawrence's speech on the following Sunday. He gave the audience a full account of it; one policeman and two town-councillors among the listeners. Such incidents are perhaps useful as reflecting the general situation in miniature—the cause of industry peaceably and reasonably putting in its claim for public attention: interruption by brute force in the interest of that law whose chief office is the

maintenance of the existing system as such, and when it comes to the point, by no means the maintenance of order and justice as such. And then, the usual welcome signs that after all the bystanders are vaguely aware that all is not as it should be!

The second disturbance was occasioned by rowdyism instigated "in the name of Christ." An aggressive cripple is at the trouble three times on every Sunday to hurry on his crutches from one of the permitted public-speaking places to another, till he has found the wicked Anarchists. He used to content himself with such interruption as he could affect by abusive remarks, and the repeated interjectional utterances of the word "dynamite!" But lately he has enlisted in the pious warfare twenty or thirty boys of all sizes; half-starved inhabitants of one of the poorest quarters of the town. The office of these misguided street arabs is to keep up such a noise (by dint of yelling, hooting, and shouting "dynamite!" to order) that our speakers cannot possibly make themselves heard. On the occasion in question, Comrade Reed was at his best, and the audience, as usual, orderly and interested, when this gentle follower of the Lamb appeared with his mob of young "roughs." The noise was deafening; Comrade Reed had to desist. The boys ducked a chair we had with us in a neighboring horse-fountain. A policeman looked on and, needless to say, made no remonstrance. Presently two of the boys took to fighting like bulldogs; the crowd swayed about to let them out. The smaller of the young combatants, a mere child, had, it appeared, his own independent view of the situation. He had been heard to say, when the chair was ducked: "This isn't fair"; and, presently, when one of the bigger boys used rough language to one of our group (a woman) this little slum-dweller—brought there by a Christian on purpose to insult the Anarchists—forgot orthodox instructions for sake of fair-play. Off went his ragged jacket, and, like a chivalrous little knight, he "went for" the big lad whom he considered to have insulted a woman. Such at least is the account given by an observer in the crowd. The meeting was of course broken up. During the fight two more policemen came up and helped to—look on! But that little boy! whose feelings and whose instinctive morality were too much for his church-and-state instructions, duelling single-handed in the cause of the persecuted heretics! It made one long, not for the first time, to trust slum human nature with more happiness and more liberty. Priestcraft, governmental physical force, and legal artfulness make cowards, and pat them on the back when made. From the Christian cripple's point of view this young pugilist was doubtless regarded as the one bad boy in his mob.

Aberdeen.—Good meetings continue to be held in Castle Street, despite all opposition, and the Links meetings are still well attended, notwithstanding the cold weather which is much felt at this exposed station. Literature sells very well, and since last report we have increased by nine new comrades. We have engaged the large Oddfellows Hall for Sunday evenings during the winter months, and commence indoor work on Sunday October 1st. The Hall holds over 400, and we intend to fill it every week. Everything looks hopeful here. Since July we have gained in all 20 new members, and in that time have sold more literature than in any previous nine months. The large crowds that attend our meetings are to all appearance in sympathy with us.

Bristol.—The attendances at the autumn course of lectures, both indoor and out, keep up well. But nothing of striking interest has occurred here.

Dundee.—Our correspondent in this town writes:—"We are doing good work here now. We have started singing revolutionary songs at the West Port, and this seems to be highly appreciated by the people. Comrade Cameron, Harper and Clark keep up an active propaganda at the West Port and Barrack Park, and they are mapping out a plan of campaign for the winter. The Press has been condescending enough to notice 'the oratorical flights of these disciples of chaos' as it is pleased to style our comrades. The sale of FREEDOM and other literature is steadily increasing." Dundonians are beginning to wake up!

Great Yarmouth.—The propaganda has been carried on as vigorously as ever during the past month. Valuable services have been rendered by our Comrade Agnes Henry, of the Freedom Group, who delivered two addresses on the Hall Quay on Sunday, Sept. 4th, assisted by Alexandra, of the S.D.F., Arnold and Headley. The audience listened with the greatest attention to A. Henry who had something quite new to tell them. The evening meeting was cut short by a heavy shower of rain, so that we lost our usual discussion at the close. On the 8th, in the Club Room, address by A. Henry on "The necessity for more united action," not very large attendance. On the 11th A. Henry again delivered two addresses on the old spot, the evening meeting was very well attended, and greater attention shown, if possible, than on the previous Sunday. Our comrade spoke for an hour and 20 minutes, and was followed by Arnold. Interesting discussion at close. Other Sunday meetings addressed by local comrades. Arnold, who has done great service for the local propaganda and the cause generally, left for London on 12th September, after winning the esteem and lasting friendship of all the Yarmouth comrades, by his kind and frank manner. His visit to Yarmouth has been the means of changing him from a Social Democrat to an Anarchist Communist. Good sale of papers and literature.

Leicester.—Since our last report we have had a visit from Chapman of Liverpool, on Sunday August 28th, who delivered two fine lectures, and also met the Social Democrats in good style and routed them. On September 11th, Barton of Manchester spoke at the usual three Sunday meetings; his evening speech being one of remarkable eloquence. A very good meeting was also addressed by him in Humberstone Gate on the Monday evening. On September 4th and 18th, our local speakers, Stanley, McQueen, Bent, Glassman and others, took the field and addressed good audiences; at the first meeting on the 18th our Comrade Emma Lewin made her maiden speech. During the month we have had two very well attended debates with the Social Democrats, in the Vine Street Radical Club, which have been well reported by the local newspapers. On the 28th, McQueen lectured, in the same Club, on "The Fraud of Politics." On Tuesday the 20th, we had great pleasure in welcoming Comrade Henry of the Freedom Group, who came here from Yarmouth and Norwich. Very well attended outdoor meetings were addressed by her in Infirmary-square, Russel-square and Humberstone-gate, and indoor lectures in the Radical Club and in the Board School, Anstey. A meeting and conference of the Anarchist Group was held on the 26th. We anticipate very good results from this visit, both as regards the "unconverted" part of the population and in stimulating and encouraging to renewed exertion those who here profess themselves Anarchists.

Hull.—During the last month we have held very successful meetings each Sunday on Drypool Green. The last Sunday in August we held very good meetings, having Comrade Hall here from Chesterfield. The other Sunday mornings Comrade Sketchley has addressed the meetings at 11 a.m., and in the afternoon at 3 he has addressed very good meetings in the Corporation Field. On Sunday October 1st he lectured in St. George's Hall, subject "The Paris Commune, 1871."

Glasgow.—Splendid meetings have been held in and around Glasgow during the past month. Over and above our ordinary open-air meetings, we have been successful in doing good work in some of the small towns round about. Even in the villages the people are beginning to bestir themselves. The minister and capitalist press, by their denunciations, advertise us. Comrade Glasier, when he can summon up enough courage to drag himself out of town on a holiday, carries with him a keen commercial eye for "business." Being on a visit, from

Saturday to Monday, at a small town called Auchtermuchtie, in Fyfe-shire, he thought this a fit and proper occasion to do a little for the cause. Accordingly, the dour, honest folk o' the loon were amazed, on Sunday morning, by reading little hand-printed bills, pasted up by Glasier during the previous night, intimating that "a meeting would be held at the end of the town, when an address would be delivered on Socialism." At the appointed hour, the number of people who gathered round was beyond all expectation. After the address some heckling took place, which was satisfactorily dealt with, and the audience dispersed feeling that they had learned something which even the "minister" didn't know. Some 15,000 workmen are said to be idle on the Clyde, and as a consequence our Govan meeting is large and attentive. Now is our best time to stuff it into them. They see that it is hopeless to resist with success the big reduction of 10 per cent. contemplated by their masters. By the way, Mr. Albert Tarn, Individualist and editor of "Free Trade," has been here for about six weeks. He has apparently done so well in London that he wishes to extend his work. During his first week here, he held meetings every night, but so great was the opposition encountered that he was obliged to abandon them entirely. From reports, we thought Mr. Tarn was a "tough un," but—on sampling him—oh, what a surprise! The utter nonsense he talked—the base and vile misrepresentations of the teachings of Kropotkin and Morris are too absurdly contemptible to enumerate. Mr. Tarn and his two supporters here are under the impression that they pose on the pinnacle of wisdom—which enables them, when heckled, to smile down on us with humiliating pity and tenderness. We are pleased to state that an International Workingmen's Club has been started here among our Jewish comrades. They will have our warmest sympathy and support, hoping that they may be influential in spreading our ideas among their fellow countrymen. We are making arrangements about renting a hall to use as a meeting place for our members, of which something further will be said next month.

Birmingham & Walsall.—Although no report of the propaganda work in Birmingham and Walsall has been sent to FREEDOM for a couple of months, comrades must not conclude that the cause of Anarchy has been a failure hereabouts. With the exception of one or two weeks, the meetings have been regularly held at the Bull Ring, Birmingham, and at Park Street, Walsall. Unfortunately, beyond an occasional interruption, opposition is entirely wanting. Audiences have been good in size and attention. Nearly all the speaking has fallen on Cores and Rooke; and any comrades visiting this neighborhood are always welcome to "take a turn." We hope to make the conference of Midland Socialists (Anarchists?) next spring a successful one. The Walsall "bomb" business has in no way injured our cause. It has rather attracted public attention and sympathy to it. Walsall will yet be what people have hitherto, erroneously, supposed it to be—a "hotbed" of Anarchism. We are receiving very strict and regular attention from members of the Walsall "force." We are expecting some "converts" from amongst them shortly. The second in command has even given up peeping round corners now.

Norwich.—The comrades here have been agreeably awakened from their lethargy by a timely visit from Comrade Agnes Henry of London. Meetings have been held Saturday Sept. 17th on the Hay Hill, Sunday at 3 p.m. and 7.30 p.m. in the Market Place, and on Monday evening in St. Augustine's Board School. Although the Laborers' Union, with special speakers, held meetings on Sunday afternoon in the Market Place and in a near school on the Monday evening, the gatherings at all our meetings were large, and by their attention and the purchase of a goodly supply of literature showed that our Comrade Henry but gave expression to hopes and desires cherished in the minds of many of her listeners.

NOTICES.

LONDON—

I. W. M. Club, Berner-street, E.—Free Lectures every Sunday, at 7.30 p.m., and every Tuesday, at 8 p.m. Oct. 9th, "The Philosophy of Evolution," H. S. Cook; Oct. 11th, "Protective Forces," T. Cantwell; Oct. 16th, Concert and Ball in aid of propaganda fund; Oct. 18th, "Natural living," H. Shakwitz; Oct. 23rd, "The Sacred Literature and Poetry of Ancient India," J. Prelooker; Oct. 25th, "Physical Regeneration," W. Westwood.

Essex Hall, Essex-st., Strand.—On Friday Oct. 21st, at 8 p.m., S. Stepniak will lecture on "Anarchism, Social Democracy and the English Labor Parties."

A preliminary Conference will be held at the International Club, 40 Berner-st., Commercial-rd. E., on Sunday Oct. 23rd, at 3 p.m., to discuss details of starting a weekly Journal of Revolutionary Anarchist Communism on May 1st 1893.

PROVINCES—

Hull.—Business meetings every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., at the Cafe, Low Gate, opposite the Town Hall.

Great Yarmouth.—Meetings are held every Sunday as follows:—At 11 a.m. and 7 p.m., Hall Quay; 3 p.m., Fish Wharf. On the 9th Oct., Demonstration, N.S.S. Excursion; return tickets 4s. from London, in time for morning and afternoon meetings. C. W. Mowbray, J. Weakly and others expected.

Bristol.—The following lectures are announced to take place:—Oct. 11th, "Christian Socialism," R. S. Gillian; 18th, "Women and Socialism," Countess Schack; 25th, "Economic Socialism," W. S. M. Knight; 30th, "Mutual aid among Primitive men," P. Kropotkin; Nov. 1st, "Revolutionary Poets," E. J. Watson.

Aberdeen.—Sunday, at 3 p.m., Castle-street, open-air propaganda; at 6.30 p.m., Large Oddfellows Hall, lecture; at 8 p.m., 46, Marischal-street, educational meeting for members.

All correspondence to be sent to Eglan Shepherd, 1, Mitchel-place.

Brighton.—The Crown Assembly Room, in Jubilee-st., has been engaged for our Sunday evening meetings and lectures, until further notice. The lectures will begin at 7 p.m. All seats free. No collection. Discussion invited. The room will seat about 250, with a sandiag room for about 50 more.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

FOR SUPPORT OF LITTLE VICTOR NICOLL.

RECEIVED UP TO SEPTEMBER 26th:—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Ward	...	...	9	Anonymous	...	1	0
Joy, 2 lists	...	...	3	Leicester Anarchists	...	8	0
Leeds Anarchists	...	...	4	Hyde Park Collection	...	5	6
Galbraith	...	...	2	A. L.	...	1	0
R. Wernick	...	...	2	Primmer, list	...	1	0
Gutzkow	...	...	6				

M. GALBRAITH, Sec.

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