

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

VOL. VI.—No. 72.

DECEMBER, 1892.

MONTHLY ; ONE PENNY.

COMMEMORATION of the CHICAGO MARTYRS In London.

FRIDAY Nov. 11th witnessed the largest revolutionary meeting ever held within the wall of South Place Institute, with the exception of the Commune celebration meeting in '86. From all parts of London, the Anarchists flocked to celebrate, as C. Mowbray said, their Good Friday, sacred to the memory of five instead of one martyr. By 8 p.m. there was scarce standing room in the hall, and almost all of the vast audience remained to the end of the speeches. Their attention, and the tremendous applause with which they greeted the stirring sentences that touched their hearts with hope for the future, showed that the doctrines of Anarchist-Communism had spread considerably during the past year. Telegrams of fraternal greeting and commemorative of the occasion were received from Aberdeen, Glasgow, Newcastle and Manchester, and were read, as usual, when handed in, by whichever comrade happened to be speaking at the time. The speeches were agreeably diversified by the splendid singing of the Com. Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein Choir, ably conducted by comrade Flicke. To defray expenses, a collection was made amounting to £4 0s. 9d. We give below the main points of most of the speeches made during the evening.

MOWBRAY: We have met to-night to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the murder of our Chicago comrades, and further to protest against the brutal sentences passed upon our comrades of Walsall for what was really a police plot, got up by Melville aided by the two dirtiest tools it has ever been the lot of a government to use, Coulon, the notorious Dublin "Crimp," and McCormack, the London pick-pocket, and also to express sympathy with our brave Comrade Nicoll, the Editor of "Commonweal," a letter from whom I shall presently read. The gathering to-night shows that our Comrade Spies' words were really true when on the gallows he said, there will be a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle to-day; that time is come. The commemoration meetings this year prove it. These men's names deserve to be honored as names of brave, honest, determined, aye, and fearless workers in the cause of humanity. Unlike many of the supine leaders of the labor movement, they stand out in bold relief as dauntless champions, as men whom neither place nor position in the service of governments could turn from what they knew to be true. The Christians have a day set apart, Good Friday, to commemorate the death of one man who 1800 years ago led the class war of his time and was murdered by a brutal bourgeoisie, shall we not also have a day set apart as our holiday in order to meet from year to year to repeat the message given us by the five martyrs whom we honor. The government of America were panic-stricken when they heard of the murder of a few brutal ruffians, who had killed and maimed unoffending workers whose only crime was their poverty and misery; look at the murders perpetrated every day in the name of civilisation. We are called brutal dynamiters by the people who do not hesitate to use dynamite upon poor, unoffending Soudanese or Kaffirs. "Brutal!" Our message is one of brotherhood to the whole human race, the abolition of the cause of the necessity for war and all its attendant horrors. Comrades who were desirous of seeing the movement spread could do so by taking part in the organisation of the workers. (Comrade Mowbray here spoke of the propaganda work which has been going on hand in hand with the Trade Union movements in the East End.) To show our comrades in prison that through their sacrifice the cause is not dead, we ought to be able soon to send them copies of a new weekly Anarchist Communist paper. Let us see to it that we do our best in every way, to show ourselves worthy adherents of the cause for which our imprisoned comrades are suffering and for which our brave martyrs died.

LETTER FROM NICOLL.

Nov. 5th, 1892.

Dear Comrades,

My health is still good, and although there is still a long time before me, the weeks do not drag so heavily as at first. After all, perhaps the length of the imprisonment, together with the total isolation from all my friends, and the lack of news from the outside world, is the worst I have to put up with. With regard to the friends you mention who wish to see me, I should be very glad to see all of them, and shall, I hope, before the end of my imprisonment. Thank Barton for his goodness to Victor, and remember me to Kropotkin and all other friends who have enquired after me. I shall be very pleased to see Tochatti, if he comes down, and I think it would be well if he, Turner, and Creaghe settled by mutual agreement the time of their visits. I am very sorry to hear about the 'Weal'. Could it not be started again as a monthly and developed into a weekly at the beginning of the spring? If Creaghe could take the editorship I think the paper could be made a success. It would be a pity to let it drop entirely. Tell our friends that my heart will be with them when they meet to commemorate our glorious martyrs. It is strange, surely, that the rulers

of the modern civilised world can find no better means of suppressing the new ideas they dread so much than by the worn out methods of the prison cell and the gallows. Their efforts will be as fruitless as were the fires of Smithfield or the cross of Pagan Rome in crushing the revolutions of the past. The great change we are working for is bound to come, and who knows but that the closing years of this century may witness the emancipation of the people from want and misery. Only let our friends remember that a great cause needs self-sacrifice and courage on the part of all for its final victory. Give my love to Victor, and do not worry about me, as I am well enough in health, and hope to see you all by this time next year.

Yours faithfully,

D. J. NICOLL.

J. TOCHATTI: Friends, we are met to commemorate the "Legal Murder" of the Chicago Anarchists and to protest against the brutal sentences passed upon our Walsall Comrades and the imprisonment of our friend D. Nicoll.

Last Tuesday Mrs. Maslin and myself visited Nicoll at Chelmsford Prison. We were locked in a room with an iron grating, which looked into a passage, and at the opposite side was another grating through which we could see our comrade. He was looking fairly well and in no way daunted; bravely bearing the isolation which might have told fearfully upon his active and energetic nature. He had been looking forward to the few scraps of information from the outside world to feed upon for the next three months. We asked him, if he was still "oakum picking"? He replied—No; that he had got on very badly with that, and had been put on letter bag making, but he hoped to be able to surmount the oakum picking difficulty. We asked him why? "Because I might get into trouble again," he replied. He was much gratified to learn that his boy had been well looked after by the comrades. He suggested that a demonstration should be held in February next, to demand the release of the Walsall prisoners, and to point out that they had been made the victims of a police plot. He also expressed the hope that upon our next visit we might be able to inform him that the "Commonweal" was once more being circulated.

Some challenge the wisdom of our Comrade Nicoll, who, by the way, would be one of the last persons in the world to claim infallibility for himself; but, we say, "Such men are the salt of the earth!"

We are advised by our Fabian friends to go in for the propaganda of permeation, to advocate the taxing of ground rents, one man one vote, and other palliative measures equally effective but too numerous to mention. Look at America! Votes bought and sold in the open market, while capitalism reigns supreme over a nation of willing wage slaves. What reason have we to suppose that we shall effect more with the Ballot Box than they? The advice to "permeate" is about as reasonable as to suggest the cleansing of a sewer by emptying into it a bottle of Eau-de-Cologne. "Experience," says Malatesta, "has shewn it is impossible to hit upon an electoral system which really ensures election by the actual majority." The political parties prate about the greatest good of the greatest number; they say, "You Anarchists believe in force." What is life but a game of mere force? And the "divine will" simply means "LES GROS BATAILLONS." We believe in right as against mere force. We believe in protective force, which is but the instinct of self-preservation. What is Anarchist Communism but the right of our individual liberty, limited only by the similar rights of others? But we say with Lingg, "If you cannonade us we will dynamite you." If I as a Socialist should be imprisoned or should have to die for my convictions (and I have no desire, if the death be a painful one), I shall die, not that I want to promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number, but because in maintaining my own truth I shall be allying myself to that truth which must coincide with the greatest happiness of the greatest number. This is the doctrine of progress for which our Comrades are in prison and for which the Chicago Martyrs died.

AGNES HENRY: Comrades and Friends, Another year has passed since last we met here to commemorate the legal murder of the Chicago martyrs. But I will not dwell on them personally, as after all the best commemoration of their lives and deaths is in the active spreading of the propaganda, of the principles for which they died. They said themselves that their deaths would speak more eloquently for the Anarchist cause than their living tongues could do—and so indeed it has been.

Let us for a moment review our position—the state of society around us and our position as an Anarchist party. What do we find? Still misery around us, as much, perhaps more, misery in London and in England than last winter. More unemployed, larger and ever recurring strikes. On the other hand, more capitalist tyranny and oppression, more brutal want of consideration for the workers. See, for instance, the cause of the great railway accident the other day. The signalman, worn out with the nursing of his sick child at night after his hard labor, is refused the leave of absence he applies for, and consequently the

accident! But this is only one of multitudes of cases of tyranny such as you all know and such as you read of in the papers every day.

Again, we see to-day more anxiety than ever among the middle classes to palliate the terrible condition of things among the poor. And almost feverish anxiety to avert the great social revolution which they so much dread. On the continent there is more and more determined persecution of all Anarchists, together with increased activity on the part of the Anarchists themselves. In Spain the execution of four and the imprisonment of others at Xeres for taking part in a righteous rebellion of the poor, in the South of Spain; in Belgium, the imprisonment of that noble man, Moineau, and his companions; in France, Germany and Italy the same. How many of our brave comrades are this moment in prison for the fight they maintained against the tyrannous oppression of governments and capitalism! But even in this country there are signs of fear on the part of the government and the ruling classes, as testified to by the outrageous sentences passed on the Walsall Anarchists. Although it was known that they had been ENSNARED BY A POLICE-PLOT, although they had MADE NO BOMB, but were KNOWN TO HAVE ABANDONED THE ATTEMPT TO DO SO BEFORE THEY WERE ARRESTED, still they were brutally condemned to ten years penal servitude!

There have been also this year several ominous signs of the great Revolution which is coming. Indications that, not base, but fine feeling and generous men will not endure ever continuing oppression for others as well as themselves, but are driven in desperation to terrible and desperate acts, as was, for instance, Ravachol. (A voice: "Let us have no Ravachols.") If it were not for the justices and police system there would be no Ravachols. And, whatever we may think of any individual act, it is well that there is a point at which all mankind will not endure injustice and oppression.

Solely and entirely, therefore, for the principles they held, for the belief that it would be right to attack by all means in their power an iniquitous system were they so condemned.

Although here we have not yet such a degree of governmental prosecution, we have, on the other hand, more economic slavery, more misery and degradation, through the tyranny of capitalism, than in any other European country.

Still, on the whole, the proverbial English love for "law and order" is believed to be strong enough to check revolution in England and is taken advantage of by the Independent Labor Party and other so-called Socialists. In my opinion, no man is a true Socialist who believes in Parliamentary government, for there can be no Socialism without equality, and where there are governors and governed there can be no equality. A Parliament resting on brute force of the army and the unjust power of the law can never free the enslaved. So long as judges, lawyers, police and jailers, who forcibly support privilege, monopoly and all kinds of injustice form the supports of governments it is impossible for governors to procure any true Socialism whatever.

Our task it is to teach the "law-abiding" Englishman that LEGAL CLAIM IS NO MORAL RIGHT, and to show society that at present "order" is not peace but merely the helplessness of misery and ignorance. We have to show that to believe in the tyranny of the civil law, upheld by force, is as much a superstition now as the belief in the tyrannous creeds of churches has been in times past.

I cannot conclude without remembering our Comrade Nicoll, who is now enduring 18 months' hard-labor. His sentence was another sign of the fear of the classes, for he was condemned for his manly protest against the inhuman sentence upon our Walsall comrades and because he is an Anarchist.

P. KROPOTKINE: We cannot better commemorate the death of our brethren of Chicago than by casting a glance on the progress of the ideas for which they lived and died, after having been so cruelly tortured for 18 long months by the American land and money grabbers.

The beginnings of the Anarchist party were very modest. It was born from a protest, which soon became a fierce struggle, against the authority constituted within the International Working Men's Association. This modest beginning concealed, however, a great principle—that of negation of authority altogether, in all relations between the members of a Society, and a high ideal—that of a Society based upon the full liberty of the individual, and the free grouping of free individuals, free groups, and free federations of groups.

The party found support for its ideas from many quarters. It proved to be in accordance with the great work, the criticism of authority, which was going on in the depths of the toiling classes. And it proved to be in accordance with the thought which has been of late occupying a more and more prominent position in the writings of modern philosophers.

The idea grew; it found support in both philosophy and science; it developed. And however few the numbers of Anarchists were, the Anarchist idea was so much in accordance with the modern progress of thought that at this moment, we may say, that it has already deeply modified the current conceptions upon many vital questions connected with the great strife for the emancipation of man.

The conceptions as to the relative parts played by Evolution and Revolution in the progress of mankind have totally changed of late. No intelligent man can now oppose Evolution to Revolution,—it being evident that both are only two aspects of the same progress. Checked Evolution calls forth a Revolution, and the principles proclaimed by a Revolution are applied to life by subsequent Evolution. Even some prominent Darwinians recognise now that revolutions have been necessary parts of past organic evolution. The more so in human life: Revolution is a necessary part of human Evolution.

The conceptions upon authority have also immensely changed. Confidence in it is being rapidly lost. While twenty years ago the adversaries of authority were treated by Social Democrats as fools, these same

Social Democrats are brought to bend before the disrespect for authority which is felt in their own ranks. The State Socialists are now compelled to repudiate State Socialism—at least in their programs—and they are compelled every day to part with the authority which they formerly considered as a necessary condition of Socialist success. The Social Democratic groups claim freedom for each one of themselves, and the formerly autocratic leaders are bound to recognise this autonomy of the groups. The old argument as to the autonomous groups going to annihilate each other by their struggles would simply appear laughable, if it were unearthed from the Social Democratic papers of twenty years ago and brought on the platforms of to-day.

You all remember the unhappy imaginary Commune of the authoritarian's argument, which Commune was refused any independence on the ground that it would—our adversaries said—oppose any progress of the remainder of the nation. How often did we hear of this bogus Commune in our discussions! The argument would now appear simply ridiculous. The most authoritarian Socialists are bound to inscribe the municipalisation of property in their programs, and to recognise the free Commune as a necessary basis of a free nation.

In Economics the idea of an entire reconstruction of the whole system of production has become generally accepted. He who would now maintain that the Social Revolution must simply consist in every worker returning to his workshop and there sharing his part of the surplus value—he who would now repeat this formula of old Marxism—would simply appear a ghost of times past. The evil, we all know, is not in an unfair distribution of surplus value, it is not in low wages, nor in long hours,—but in the wage-system itself, in a wrong direction—given to production under the wage-system, in the very possibility and existence of such a thing as what has been improperly named surplus value. And, in proportion as these ideas spread, the Communist ideal gains ground, and no thinking man would shudder now at the idea of Communist Communes and communistically producing groups entering into free agreements for carrying on such matters as require the agreement of many groups or many Communes. Yet twenty years ago such ideas were simply looked upon as foolish.

At the same time, the impossibility of representative government is being clearly demonstrated even within the Socialist party itself, not to mention larger groups such as cities, nations, and federation of nations; the necessity of taking out of the hands of the State the functions which it has appropriated to itself, according as power fell more and more into the hands of the middle-class, becomes more and more evident. Not "limitation of power" but "abolition of power" becomes now a common watchword even outside our circles.

Another point—the free initiative of group and of individual—also becomes more and more understood, even amidst the workers grouped under authoritarian programs. It becomes evident that initiative is the only condition of progress within the Socialist party itself, and that in proportion as it is checked, regress in the party becomes inevitable. We Anarchists understand, and a number of others begin to understand as well, that it is a thousand times better that the workers, and the younger revolutionists altogether, commit the worst mistakes, or even faults, than to have the individual always guided, always directed, always obeying and never acting under his own free impulse and responsibility. All revolutions have been moments of free play of the individual, not moments of submission of the individual to an authority which may think itself very wise—but always represents only the average mediocrity of the past.

Anarchy was born as an expression of the deeply felt necessity of a thorough revising—not only of the present laws or economical relations and their principles, but also of the very forms and habits of daily life. This work is going on rapidly and extends to ever wider spheres. The moral ideals of old are submitted to a thorough revision; the sanction which they formerly received from religion, metaphysical philosophy, or custom, is attacked at its root; and the very anti-social theories which from time to time prevail in our own ranks are, for us, simply tokens of a great work of thought which is going on in all classes of society, and especially among the workers. The cowards are afraid of this work. They would gladly reintroduce the whip of the State and the stake of the Church for fear that such theories might sap the foundations of moral feelings in human society. We are not afraid of these kind of opponents, however far they would go. The moral bases of society—and each society, human or animal, has such bases—are in danger, not from those of the working classes who throw overboard the old teachings, in order to find new, higher and sounder bases for public morality, but from those who hypocritically maintain that they respect the old bases and yet undermine public morality by the acts of their false lives. The anti-social views which we now have developed among ourselves are a protest against this hypocrisy. They are a work of epuration of the stifling atmosphere of lies and sophisms which surround us, and they are the best proofs that society, as a whole, is thirsting for greater justice, for grander ideals, for more human relations among us.

In Science, in Literature, in Art, and in Philosophy, we now see going on a great movement of thought which gives further and wider support to the bases of that grand idea, Anarchy, which certainly will be the leading idea of the Evolution already spreading in the civilised world.

European thought, in all its branches, proves the correctness of the principles which were laid down by our predecessors in the Anarchist branch of the International Working Men's Association. It proves that they had struck the right key, and had inscribed on their banner such principles as really have become the basis of further Evolution among mankind. But what is to be done now in the practical field for a further development of our ideas? The results hitherto achieved are

grand. But much remains to be done, and what is the next task before us?

To tell my thoughts in a few words, I should say that the chief point to be achieved now, is to make the Anarchist ideas permeate the great labor movement which is so rapidly growing in Europe and America; and to do so by all those means, and only by such means, which are in strict accordance with our own principles—without any concession to the present authoritarian or narrow tendencies of the movement. To be in the movement, BUT YET ALWAYS REMAIN OURSELVES, without making any of those concessions which often seem to be expedient, but in the long run always prove to be an abandonment of true principles for a mere shadow of momentary success.

No one can underrate the importance of this labor movement for the coming revolution. It will be those agglomerations of wealth producers which will have to reorganise production on new social bases. They will have to organise the life of the nation and the use which it will make of the hitherto accumulated riches and means of production. They—the laborers, grouped together—not the politicians.

The importance of the movement is so well felt that you see now, especially in this country, how all parties court it in order to take possession of it.

By all means,—let us NOT join in this struggle for supremacy. We cannot, we must not, nourish any such ideas as that of taking possession of the movement. We should cease to be ourselves the day that any such plan would be born in our minds. We do not want to take possession of anything, just as we ourselves will surrender to none. And the more we keep aloof from any such dreams of ruling, the more ascendancy our ideas will have in the movement.

But to bring our ideas into that movement, to spread them, by all means, among those masses which hold in their hands the future issue of the revolution, is our duty—a duty which we have not yet taken sufficiently to heart.

After having had our period of isolation—during which period we have elaborated and strengthened our principles—let us now enter the "wide, wide world" and propagate among the masses the ideas which we consider as the bases of the coming development. If we had no choice between either to cease to be ourselves or to remain isolated, we most certainly should choose the latter, and lay our hopes on the mere infiltration of right ideas which always succeed in the long run. But great obstacles always yield before the firm will of resolute men, and the obstacles which we now meet in our way will yield to us, being resolved. The collective intelligence, the individual initiative, and a firm will must break the walls which are now skilfully erected by political intriguers between the toiling masses and the teachers of Anarchist ideas. But these walls will be broken just as the walls which formerly separated us from the Social Democratic masses have been broken! And it is only in the great working masses—supported by their energies, applied by them to real life—that our ideas will attain their full development. And the more we remain ourselves, the less we let ourselves be influenced by the surroundings, the purer we keep the grand ideas which humanity has always endeavored to realise and which we, having learned them from the unspoken ideal of the masses, now strive to bring to life within the masses—the purer we keep these ideas, the greater will be their effect.

Our aim is very grand, and the very obstacles must stimulate the energy to realise it. History shows us that the Anarchists have now remained the sole bearers of the Socialist ideal which inspired the great movement of the International twenty years ago. All parties have deserted the red flag, in proportion as they felt themselves nearer to power. This red flag—the hope of the toiling and suffering masses—is now our inheritance. Let us keep it firm, unstained; and let us live for it and, if necessary, die for it as our brethren of Chicago did.

LOUISE MICHEL: On the 11th of November, 1887, there was a crowd in the streets of Chicago. They were going to murder our comrades, who came out to the gallows singing, as Ravachol did when he went under the guillotine.

All the night long they had heard the machine with a new kind of trap, by which they were to die, being put in order in the prison yard. Months before they had read in the papers how the rope was already made for their hanging and their shrouds sown . . . But these modern methods of persecution did not diminish their energies or courage.

And in the crowd around the scaffold stood young men, who founded new Anarchist groups devoted to their memory.

One of them exclaimed on the scaffold: This is the best day of my life! Long live Anarchy!

And Anarchy still lives since then, and will live.

It must live, but what it wants is to create a reign of Justice on Earth. Harmony is its goal.

No more murders such as there were in Paris in May, 1871, when in the city the blood of the citizens was running down the street, but Peace and Universal Happiness!

Since those hecatombs what have we seen in the world? Misery—everywhere. Men, women and children dying from hunger. Old men compelled to lie down to sleep upon the cold ground—often to sleep for ever.

The crowds again and again raise their voices, but in vain.

The generous hearts who wish for the happiness of mankind come now to the front in thousands, nay millions, ready to march forward.

The idea of general happiness ripens—the well-being of the body and of the intelligence of everyone, no longer looked for in the sky as formerly, but here upon the earth, which is rich enough to support all its children, and to be covered as a bee hive with contented workers.

It was of this that the Chicago Martyrs dreamed.

They said that their voices would be stronger after death, and so it is. Those who sacrifice themselves often obtain greater victories than any one else.

At times the struggle for liberty takes a more violent character, and strange fatalities occur such as the self-destruction of those policemen in Paris. They are searching for those who were guilty of their deaths. But there are none others guilty than those who are rich and leave their fellows miserable.

None others but those who take their wealth from the mouths of starving children.

The world is wide enough for all, but there are some so greedy that they would like to put even the sun in their pockets if they only could.

Only they—just they themselves—are guilty, so that they live always under fear of being deprived of what they know themselves to be unjustly possessed. If they did not feel the injustice they would not tremble so much for the possession of their riches.

They crush any attempts of the multitudes to revolt, and reckon on the easy temper of the people who are always ready to pardon the crimes of their oppressors.

But it should be remembered that the multitudes, if they are thrust into a corner, will fight and become terrible at such moments.

YANOVSKY: This extraordinarily crowded meeting to-night shows the growth of Anarchism. Our Comrades in Chicago were denounced by the reptile press of America as criminals. Well, if it is a crime to love the downtrodden and oppressed, then certainly they were so. We ask you to remember "Chicago," not merely as the only isolated instance of cold-blooded murder of the workers' champions committed by the capitalist class there in 1887, but also to remember the continual murders and persecutions of Anarchists by the hands of the capitalists in other "Chicagos" in all parts of Europe—London not excluded. It is a shame, but still a fact, that our comrades of Walsall and our Comrade Nicoll are suffering now in prison because spies had to "make their living." The bourgeoisie are attacking now all rebellious workers, and make no exception even when such go by the name of Social Democrat. However, so far from intimidating us workers, it rather serves to the contrary. At most they would hang us, but our lives to-day are worse than death. Just think of the death of our Martyrs in Chicago, the last moments of whom they declared to be the happiest of their lives. Yes, this was their happiness—to fight and die for humanity. Is it not a glorious example for us? When we ask you to "remember Chicago" we don't invite you to come here and applaud the speakers once in the year, but we ask you to act, as our comrades in Chicago did, throughout the year. For it is only by working earnestly for Anarchy that you prove yourselves worthy of such a cause. We are told we preach violence; but are we not surrounded by violence every day? We are called bloodthirsty; but are not those sweaters bloodthirsty, who sit in the great mansions and drink our blood? We are robbed and murdered in fact every day of our lives. In conclusion let me just say a word about police spies. Some seem inclined to apologise for them on the ground that they have "to make their living." But let us remind these easyminded apologists that those who seek to make their living by selling their fellows' flesh and blood put themselves outside the range of common humanity, and deserve to be treated like all beasts of prey. Let us remember, friends, that our aim is not to find ready apologies for crimes committed against humanity, but rather to do away with all crimes, iniquities and murder, and to establish universal brotherhood.

Comrade Barker also spoke, but we were unable to obtain a report of his speech.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WALSALL ANARCHIST CONFERENCE.

Comrades,—It was decided by the Midland Anarchist Conference at Rowsly, on August Bank Holiday last, to hold an Anniversary Demonstration and Conference at Walsall on Easter Sunday, 2nd April, 1893.

The Birmingham Anarchist Group, being the nearest organised body of Anarchists, have decided to take the arrangements in hand. The importance of the success of this Demonstration may be seen when we consider that before the late police plot the Walsall comrades could be counted on the fingers of one hand. Persecution altered the situation. Through the activity of several comrades, good propaganda has been carried on during the present year. Scores of splendid meetings have been held, thousands of Anarchist leaflets, pamphlets and other literature have been sold and distributed, the result being that the sympathy of the people inclined in our direction. In this very important district good results have been obtained, and more must inevitably follow if energetic action is maintained. Therefore the Birmingham group proposes to publish a series of leaflets, and to distribute some 50,000 or 60,000 of the same during the winter months, when the inclemency of the weather prevents the usual open-air meetings. In order that the Demonstration should be thoroughly successful it is necessary to have local popular opinion upon our side. To that end, therefore, the people should be acquainted with the aims, methods and character of Anarchism and Anarchists. The B'ham group have also undertaken the expenses of halls, printing, posting and the accommodation of comrades attending the Conference.

They therefore appeal to all comrades, who are able to contribute, to do so liberally towards the fund for defraying expenses. Subscriptions should be forwarded to the Editor of *Freedom*, or to A. Gorrie (Leicester Anarchist Group) 18 Princess-street, Leicester.

On behalf of the Birmingham Anarchist Group,

JOHN WESTLEY,	W. ROOK,
C. C. DAVIS,	W. MACQUEEN,
L. COHEN,	GEORGE CORES,
	Sec. pro tem.

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

Monthly, 1d.]

[Post free 1½d.]

Annual Subscription, post free to all countries, 1s. 6d. Foreign subscriptions should be sent by International Money Order.

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

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Received: "FREEDOM" PUBLICATION FUND—R. H. Fitzpatrick, £1.; Miss B., 4s.; Glasgow Comrades, 15s. 6d.; Manchester Comrades, 3s. 11d.; Aberdeen Comrades, 6s. 6d.; Miss McM., 4d.; R. McMillan, 1s.; A. W., 10s. 3d. PRINTERY FUND—E. Malatesta, £2 10s.

NOTES.

THE CASE OF FRANÇOIS.

As our readers will be generally aware by now, the appeal against the extradition of Jean Pierre François has been rejected by the Lord Chief Justice Coleridge and Lord Justice Smith. Our comment on the case we reserve for our next issue.

A CONTRADICTION.

It has been widely stated in the press that an Anarchist meeting was to have been held in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, 27th Nov., to protest against the sentence of extradition on François, which was not true. The Committee for the Defence of the Right of Asylum in England did not consist exclusively of Anarchists, and at first it was thought it might be well if a popular meeting, addressed by popular leaders, were held for that purpose. Accordingly, a sympathetic Social Democrat wrote to the Commissioner of the Police for the use of the Square on that date. This was granted, but further consideration led the Committee to give up the idea as not feasible at that stage of the proceedings.

"UNEMPLOYED."

To men and women who have never known what it is to be cold or hungry this word means perhaps no more than an enforced holiday. A plentiful lack of imagination besets most English people, and keeps up their greatest national virtue, stolidity. So the majority of those who come across the processions of men and women, day by day, displaying their wretchedness through the streets of London, regard them as mere unpleasant farces, or the work of paid agitators; and shrugging their shoulders they turn down by-streets to avoid the crowd, wondering why the devil these fellows are allowed to interrupt traffic and offend the sight of honest citizens.

FROM POST TO PILLAR &c.

Let us suppose it is quite true that of the 70,000 unemployed reported to be now in the East of London alone at least one-half are skulkers, who prefer to walk the street in processions and drink hot soup for nothing on Tower Hill to sweeping muddy crossings for stray ha'pence, or doing other equally unpleasant and ill-paid work—small blame to them! Still there would remain 35,000 genuine unemployed. Are these they who keep the processions moving from Office to Office, from Minister to Minister, from one Church dignitary to another, asking for work that they may obtain a crust for themselves, their wives, their little ones? In every quarter the deputations are met with civility, but are told that everywhere there is distress, with which the means in hand are not sufficient to cope. The Officials, Ministers, Churchmen weep, like the Walrus for the Oysters, they "deeply sympathise." Sometimes they put their hands in their pockets and present shillings to the deputation humbly begging honest work at their door. Then these Officials, Ministers and Churchmen go back to their comfortable homes, their well-cooked dinners, their fashionably-clad wives, perhaps they talk a little about the unpleasant quarter of an hour they have had with the unemployed—we are not sure—but we are certain that they dine well and sleep the sleep of the just, being convinced that it is none of their doing that so many poor fellows are out in the cold.

MAY ONE BE PARDONED AND RETAIN THE OFFENCE?

The steady and increasing pressure of all reformers of late years against the bulwarks of property has at last made the possession of unearned increment "a fearful joy." Many wealthy men and women look uneasily round for an easy way to ease their troubled conscience, but, like the evil king in "Hamlet", they want to be absolved from their crime against their brother, and yet retain those effects through which they did him wrong. With Claudius they might truly exclaim—

"My stronger guilt defeats my strong intent;
And like a man to double business bound,
I stand in pause where I shall first begin,
And both neglect."

"SELL ALL THAT THOU HAST" &c.

Rothschild gives from time to time, to hospitals, subscriptions of £100, set down in his ledger, no doubt among incidental office expenses; a cheap toll on the millions he is hoarding through skilful manipulation of European money-markets. Churchmen open subscription lists and soup kitchens, dole out coals and blankets and think that this is all

that can be justly required of them, forgetting that the master they profess to follow labored his life long at the carpenter's bench and during the brief three years of his ministry lived as a common tramp among the people he wished to help. We shall believe in the generosity of the Rothschilds and the Churchmen when they doff their broadcloth and fine linen; when they prove their common humanity by faring plainly, as our workers do, and their manhood—if they have any left—by taking up the tools of production. There would be still time left for a sermon on Sundays.

DIRECTORS EXPECT EVERY MAN TO DO THE DUTY OF THREE.

The Thirsk disaster, through which nine were killed and many injured, is complete in the lesson it teaches. Even some of the ordinary papers have almost learnt it. The "Telegraph," for instance, had an article which was fairly outspoken, although it was evidently more angry about the insecurity of the travelling public than indignant at the terrible injustice done to poor Holmes, the signalman. We need hardly point out how this calamity shows up the damnable system under which we live—or rather die. Holmes, who should not only have had rest but even help and sympathy in his trying position—and these things he would have had if working with comrades in a free commune, and not under masters struggling for a dividend—was expected to work the signals while exhausted from want of sleep. He was expected to rise superior to the laws of nature; to know nothing of the weariness of grief, to need no rest after watching by the death bed of his child. Such was this unfortunate slave's condition! The "accident" was simply due to our present system of economic slavery and capitalistic tyranny, which we trust is all the nearer to its doom by this manifestation of its abominable conditions.

BISMARCK'S CRIME.

So Bismarck has confessed that he was responsible for the murder of a hundred thousand men. By falsifying an answer to the French nation he deliberately brought about the Franco-Prussian war. The mild "Daily News" calls this "the greatest crime in history." History, however, shows us so many instances of similar devilry that we are not sure if the "Daily News" is right. Is it not, after all, a greater crime to uphold a system which makes these things possible, and in this way is not the staff of the "Daily News" as much guilty as Bismarck of cruel and needless destruction of human beings? But let us note this fact. Bismarck will not be hanged, although his crime is almost too colossal for the human mind to grasp. There are no extenuating circumstances. He was not half-mad with hunger, nor crazed with poverty and oppression, nor incensed with insults and injustices. Nor did he hope to benefit humanity by his vile trick. Not at all: he simply acted as a diplomat, whose private reasons for action are seldom if ever laid bare. His crime was the outcome of the only true criminal position that man can occupy—that of authority.

THE TAMEST SUBJECTS IN ALL THE WORLD.

We must concede this unenviable position to the Germans. Although since the withdrawal of Bismarck from public affairs they have boasted that they have had liberty to speak and to organise, yet they continue to be ruled by a man whose acts and ideas belong to the feudal age. The German Army Bill, which their Emperor is thrusting upon the nation at an increased cost of 90,000,000 marks, to be wrung out of an already overtaxed people, is not, as William says, to preserve the existing peace (?) of Europe, but to menace the growth of internationalism, which is the sword suspended over the crowned heads of to-day. Germans, will you let yourselves be gulled?

Important Letter from Edward Carpenter.

To the Editor of FREEDOM.

Though I was not present at the meeting of Nov. 11, held at South Place Institute, in remembrance of the Chicago and Walsall Anarchists, I should like to write a few lines to express my protest also against the sentences passed in both instances. I think it, however, a mistake to rest our case too entirely on the plea that our comrades of Chicago or of Walsall were the victims of police plots. We all know that there is plenty of police dodgery of that kind; and that agents provocateurs are a recognised part of our judicial system; and in the case of our Walsall friends there is a probability, amounting with some of us to a certainty, that they were acted upon in this way. At the same time it does not appear that there is any absolutely conclusive evidence to that effect, of such a character as can be presented and made convincing to the public; and in general it would be absurd, and would only weaken our position, to speak as if none of the Anarchist party ever contemplated the use of violence; because it is evident that if they are drawn into the thing in any way through the intrigues of the party of so-called "law and order," that can only be because they have already in some degree contemplated the idea.

No, I think our position is made much stronger if, granting that violence was (however vaguely) contemplated in both these cases, we draw the conclusions which follow from that fact. For here, in both these instances, we have men of the most gentle, humane, and peaceable disposition concerned. The characters of the Chicago Anarchists have been before the world now some years, and are well known in that respect. With regard to our Walsall comrades the same may certainly be said of two of them, of whom I have some knowledge; and of the remaining two, others may be able to speak.

I knew Fred Charles and saw him constantly at one time for a year or more, and I can safely say that a more generous, noble and tenderhearted man I have seldom, if ever, met.

He is the kind of man that would not hurt a fly if he could help it. I have known him, and so no doubt have many of your readers, give his last penny away to a comrade in distress;—and not to a comrade merely in the narrower sense of the word, but to anyone who was in worse need than himself he would practically give what he had. This almost amounted to a fault with him, because he would surrender his own means of livelihood, and sometimes his confidence, to people who were unworthy—at any rate of the latter—and so lay himself open to the snare of nursing a snake in his bosom. But what a fault—if fault it be—

what an admirable fault in these days when the highest virtue preached by the pharisaic and comfortable classes to the mass of the people is a mean petty calculating and self-regarding Thrift!

There was no Thrift of that kind about Charles; but he lived simply and roughly enough, because he wanted all he had for others and for the Cause. His soul was wounded deeply by what he saw of the sufferings of the people, and more than once he said to me "If I did not think that matters could be mended soon, I would not care to live another hour"—or words to that effect.

With Joe Deakin it was the same. I did not know much of him personally; but his old father—whom I saw a short while ago, and who has been overwhelmed with grief at his son's long sentence—was never tired of telling me of his son's loving and gentle character: his devotion and kindness to his parents, his considerateness and thoughtfulness; and his personal friends give just the same account of him. Nor could you fail to see these characteristics in his physiognomy—which is largely that of an idealist.

And both these men, Charles and Deakin, were well up in literature. They were men of well furnished brains who had thought out for themselves the problems of the day. Charles was an omnivorous reader—including French and German—and a bit of a philosopher. And of Deakin one of his friends said "He never let slip anything in the literature of the new movement—every new publication, whether in England or America, he made a note of and passed in review somehow or other."

Now, I think, the point is that here we have two men of whom one cannot have the slightest hesitation in saying that they were men of considerable culture and of the most gentle disposition—by nature therefore averse to violence and destruction—still under suspicion of resorting to or contemplating the use of explosives, in the simple extremity of their desperation.

What more serious indictment of existing society and institutions could we have than this? When society drives its best men to such extremity, how rotten indeed must it be! Surely, if the ruling powers and authorities have any sense left in their heads, these things must give them pause. Is it strange, almost incredible, that men such as I have described should contemplate such methods,—then that strangeness and incredibility is exactly the measure of the enormity of the crime of which their action accuses society. So obvious is this conclusion that society as a rule on these occasions refuses to believe, or pretends to disbelieve, that the accused revolutionary can possibly be of the type indicated. It sets him down as a wild beast, a maniac, or as a brutal and ignorant product of its own slums—yet we know very well that, though true in some cases, this is by no means always so. Not only in the cases of the Chicago and Walsall Anarchists, but in scores and hundreds of instances during these years all over Russia, the continent of Europe, Britain and the United States it has been and is some of the most thoughtful and sensitive men and women who have signalled their opinion of the situation by their approval of acts of the kind in question.

And even from the point of view of the ruling classes themselves, what other conclusion can be drawn? If society characterises such acts as wrong and wicked in the last degree, it has to ask itself the question how it comes about that men of otherwise blameless lives, of tender feelings and of balanced clear brains can all of a sudden turn about to contemplate these wild crimes. If Society's explanation is that the men have gone mad, then society cannot but also see that on it lies the responsibility of having driven them mad; or if it still holds to it that the crimes indicate nothing but the working of brutal revengefulness, then it has to explain how it is that its own acts have incited so violent a passion in men by nature unvengeful.

No, there remains but one conclusion—there can be but one conclusion—namely, that the existing society, with its rulers and governing classes, by such events as these stands condemned. The best it can do is to rub its eyes and try for once to look facts in the face, removing from before itself the thick veil of hypocrisies through which it usually, as from an immeasurable distance, surveys the sufferings of the mass of the people—lest indeed if it do not tackle the matter seriously, and quickly too, it be hurried along to inevitable retribution and destruction.

I am therefore glad to protest against the 'outrageous sentences' passed on our Walsall friends—not from the mere point of view (true though it possibly is) that the latter are victims of a police plot; but because even without any police plot the sentences are outrageous—because in fact the very circumstances of the case prove that society itself is the criminal and that on it lies the chief blame; and that until the classes in power show themselves genuinely anxious to reform the frightful evils which exist, they cannot fairly—even from their own point of view—condemn the men who insist by violent methods in calling attention to the existence of these evils.

As far as the evidence in the Walsall case was concerned I think myself that it showed clearly enough that there were the beginnings of a conspiracy to use explosives, but also equally clearly that the conspiracy, for some reason or other, was abandoned at an early stage of the proceedings. Under these circumstances the sentences of ten years' penal servitude were barbarous in their severity, and can only be explained by the panic fear which had seized upon society's evil conscience at that time.

Nov. 25th.

EDWARD CARPENTER.

THE CONQUEST OF BREAD.

By PETER KROPOTKINE.

I.—OUR RICHES.

(Continued from previous number.)

It has come about, however, in the course of the ages traversed by the human race, that all that enables man to produce, and to increase his power of production, has been seized by the few. Some time perhaps we will relate how this came to pass. For the present let it suffice to state the fact and analyse its consequences.

To-day the soil, which actually owes its value to the needs of an ever-increasing population, belongs to a minority who prevent the people from cultivating it—or do not allow them to cultivate it according to modern methods.

The mines, though they represent the labor of several generations, and derive their sole value from the requirements of industry, and the density of the population—the mines also belong to the few; and these few restrict the output of coal, or prevent it entirely, if they find more profitable investments for their capital. Machinery too has become the exclusive property of the few, and even when a machine incontestably represents the improvements added to the original engine by three generations of workers, it none the less belongs to a few owners. If the descendants of the very inventor who constructed the first machine for lace-making, a century ago, were to present themselves to-

day in a factory at Bâle or Nottingham and demand their rights, they would only receive for an answer "Get you gone, this machine is not yours," and they would be shot down if they attempted to take possession of it.

The railways, which would be useless as so much old iron without the teeming population of Europe, its industry, its commerce, and its marts, belong to a few shareholders, ignorant perhaps of the whereabouts of the lines of rail which yield them revenues greater than those of medieval kings. And if the children of those who perished by thousands while excavating the railway cuttings and tunnels were to assemble one day, crowding in their rags and hunger, to demand bread from the shareholders, they would be met with bayonets and grape-shot, to disperse them and safeguard "vested interests."

In virtue of this monstrous system, the son of the worker, on entering life, finds no field which he may till, no machine which he may tend, no mine in which he may dig, without yielding a great part of what he produces to a master. He must sell his labor for a scant and uncertain wage. His sire and his grandsire have toiled to drain this field, to build this mill, to perfect these machines. They gave to the work the full measure of their strength, and what more could they give? But their heir comes into the world poorer than the lowest savage. If he obtains leave to till the fields it is on condition of surrendering a quarter of the produce to his master and another quarter to the government and middlemen. And this tax levied upon him by the State, the capitalist, the lord of the manor, and the middleman is always increasing, and rarely leaves him the power to improve his system of tillage. If he turns to industry he is allowed to work—though not always even that—only on condition that he yield a half or two-thirds of the product to him whom the land recognises as the owner of the machine.

We cry shame on the feudal baron who forbade the peasant to turn a clod of earth unless he surrendered to his lord a fourth of his crop. We call those the barbarous times. But if the forms have changed, the relations have remained the same, and the worker is forced, under the name of free contract, to accept feudal obligations. For, turn where he will, he can find no better conditions. Everything has become private property, and he must yield or die of hunger.

The result of this state of things is that all our production tends in a wrong direction. Enterprise takes no thought for the needs of the community. Its only aim is to increase the gains of the speculator. Hence the constant fluctuations of trade, the periodic industrial crises, each of which throws a hundred thousand workers on the streets.

The people cannot purchase with their wages the wealth which they have produced, and industry seeks foreign markets among the monied classes of other nations. In the East, in Africa, no matter where, in Egypt, Tonkin or the Congo, the European finds conditions favorable to the growth of wage-slavery, but everywhere he finds competitors. All the nations evolve on the same lines, and wars, perpetual wars, break out for the right of precedence in the market. Wars for the possession of the East, wars for the empire of the sea, wars to impose duties on imports and to dictate conditions to neighboring states; wars against those who revolt! The roar of the cannon never ceases in Europe, whole races are massacred, the states of Europe spend a third of their budgets in armaments, and "for all the madness of the kings the 'poor' must pay."

Education is still the privilege of a very small minority, for it is idle to talk of education when the workman's child is forced, at the age of thirteen, to go down into the mine, or to help his father on the farm. It is idle to talk of studies to the worker, who comes home in the evening crushed by excessive toil with its brutalising tendencies. Society is divided into two hostile camps, and in such conditions freedom is a vain word. The radical begins by demanding a greater extension of political rights, he soon sees that the breath of liberty leads to the uplifting of the proletariat, and then he turns round, changes his opinions, and reverts to repressive legislation and government by the sword.

A vast array of courts, judges, executioners, policemen, and gaolers is needed to uphold these privileges; and this array gives rise in its turn to a whole system of espionage, of false witness, of threats and corruption. Again, this system checks the growth of the social sentiment. We all know that without uprightness, without self-respect, without sympathy and mutual aid human kind must perish, as perish the few races of animals living by rapine and terrorism. But such ideas are not to the taste of the ruling classes, and they have elaborated a whole system of pseudo-science to prove the contrary.

Fine sermons have been preached on the text that those who have should share with those who have not, but he who would act out this principle is speedily informed that these beautiful sentiments are all very well in poetry, but not in practice.

"To lie is to degrade and besmirch oneself," we say, and yet all civilised life becomes one huge lie. We accustom ourselves and our children to hypocrisy, to the practice of a double-faced morality. And because the brain is ill at ease among lies we cheat ourselves with sophistry. Hypocrisy and sophistry become the second nature of the civilised man. But a society cannot live thus; it must return to truth or cease to exist.

Thus the consequences which spring from this original act of monopoly spread through the whole of social life. Under pain of death, human societies are forced to return to first principles: the means of production being the collective work of humanity, the product should be the collective property of the race. Individual appropriation is neither just nor serviceable. All things are for all men, since all men have need, since all men have worked in the measure of their strength, and since it is not possible to assign to each his part in the actual production of the world's wealth.

All things are for all men,—the immense stock of tools and implements, all those iron slaves we call machines, and which saw and plane, spin and weave for us, unmaking and remaking, working up raw matter to produce the marvels of our time. Nobody has the right to seize a single one of these machines and say: "This is mine, if you want to use it you must pay me a tax on each of your products"—any more than the feudal lord of medieval times had the right to say to the peasant: "This hill, this meadow, belong to me, and you must pay me a tax on every sheaf of corn you reap, on every rick you build."

All is for all! If the man and the woman bear their fair share of work they have a right to their fair share of all that is produced by all, and that share is enough to free them from poverty. No more of such vague formulas as "the right to work," or "to each the whole result of his labor." Our gospel is that each has a right to enough, and there is enough for all.

Sketches from Life.

I.

JULES MOINEAU.

AMONG those Anarchists who have suffered for their principles this year not one perhaps presents a more striking example of pure, disinterested devotion than Jules Moineau, condemned to twenty-five years of hard labor at the Court of Liège last August.

Moineau was one who from childhood was touched by the sufferings of the poor and oppressed, and all through life has consistently preferred to suffer himself rather than allow suffering to be inflicted on others. To please his mother, though contrary to his own inclination, he joined the army when young. But in the strikes of 1886 he resigned his commission, rather than order his men to fire upon the strikers. Failing to find work in Brussels, he and three other comrades set sail as steerage passengers to Brazil, in the hope of founding an Anarchist colony there. Several times on the way he narrowly escaped being put in irons for his vehement protests against the cruel way the emigrants were treated on board ship.

In Brazil his comrades died, and then Moineau was for some time left alone to toil and suffer, until at last he met with a companion who helped him to return to Belgium. From the Sleeping-car Company he next obtained good employment, and was about to have his wages raised from 1,800 francs to 2,400, say from £72 to £96, when he was driven to throw up this position on account of the orders he received to enforce severe measures against and to levy fines on the subordinate employés.

Next in Paris he tried many trades, but finally was employed as clerk by Mr. Fouteyn, when he was arrested on the accusation of having stolen explosives and attempted to blow up the residence of Judge Renson. At the trial he boldly admitted having done so, taking the whole responsibility upon himself. He said: "I have stolen dynamite and I am the author of the attempt at explosion at Mr. Renson's. I vindicate loudly the acts I have committed; they were imposed upon me by my revolutionary convictions. As I have told you, my intention was to produce a moral effect in order to bring the bourgeoisie to reflect upon the miserable condition of the wage-workers, and to awaken the masses who are terrorised and brutalised by poverty and privations."

"I have never intended to take the life of anyone, and as I know that environment makes the man, I aim at the destruction of institutions—by removing the cause I suppress the effect,

"I have never felt any ill-will, nor hatred, and much less envy, against anybody.

"I consider the system of the middle class as bad and fatal, and it is that system which I seek to destroy. I am convinced that it is by the social revolution, by the use of force, that the problem must be solved, not to the profit of one class (herein lies the glory of Anarchy), but to the profit of all human beings indiscriminately."

He then goes on to explain how the study of bourgeois history has taught him to see that, as Mr. Frere Oban, Belgian Minister of State, had said, "Force is the midwife of society."

Moineau's counsel, Mr. Royer, delivered eloquently and sympathetically a philosophic and historic defence of the principles of Anarchism, which, though useful as powerful propaganda, coming from one outside the movement, was not likely to appease the judges. The very fact that there was so much to be said for Anarchy from a reasonable and impartial standpoint would rather on the contrary be likely to enrage the enemy.

Crime and the Criminal.

THE question of what constitutes crime, and the true relation of those termed the criminal classes to others in society, is a subject of great interest and importance to all concerned in the social emancipation of mankind, and would, in our opinion, if thoroughly and impartially studied, lead greatly to the furtherance of Anarchist views. But the most eminent scientists, who have paid special attention to the physical as well as psychological characteristics of criminals, have generally taken an entirely bourgeois view of what constitutes crime, and consequently of who are criminals, and a study of their opinion provokes us to a criticism of the subject from an Anarchist standpoint.*

According to the prevailing bourgeois opinion any act is considered criminal which defies any constitutionally established law. It is assumed that all established law recognises the general welfare of society, and consequently that any act opposing or ignoring the law must be

* For an excellent popular exposition of the best information on this subject see "The Criminal," by H. Havelock Ellis, 3s. 6d., Contemporary Science Series.

anti-social in its nature. Impartial consideration, however, has clearly shown that the aim of by far the greater number of the laws has not been to protect society as a whole, but merely the interest of certain small sections of society as opposed to all others. Some laws have, it is true, now and again been established in the hope of counteracting the great evils which were, in great part, the effects produced by the action of previous laws; but these have been not only rare, but, on the whole, of little effect. Consequently, while we find that most laws have been in truth opposed to the general welfare of society rather than in its favor, we are brought to see that acts in violation of such laws need not be, nay, often are not, anti-social in their nature.

As a rule anti-legal action, now universally identified with crime, is simply rebellion against gross injustice supported by law. The fact that the perpetrator of such action may not himself always recognise the injustice of the law he violates does not alter the case. And the question which concerns us is not what the man may think of his own illegal deed, but how society as a whole is affected by it, and as regards the man—the perpetrator—what were the conditions which drove him to such conduct. The false assumption that what is LEGAL is synonymous with what is RIGHT has caused people to confound many acts which would not be anti-social, were the universal interests considered, with such as really are so. Thus it comes about that society without any moral justification, in condemning and punishing all illegal action, in reality revenges itself upon the victims who rebel against its own cruel and unjust laws. In short, to-day immoral law makes criminals of those who otherwise would not be criminal, while at the same time many are respected and even applauded by the general public whose lives are flagrantly anti-social, therefore morally criminal, but are not recognised as such because they still are within the bounds of legality.

So soon as men generally come to judge of action, not as affecting certain privileged classes, but society as a whole, so soon will they recognise what is essentially criminal, and rise up against all special-privilege laws. By that time the social sense of what is right and just towards all men will be the only possible law among men civilly equal. This is the social condition for which the Anarchist Communist contends as the only possible moral one. But we are often asked, and it may be well for us to consider, how this principle of trusting to the social conscience as regards the nature of crime and the right mode of treatment for the criminal could be acted upon in society.

When the present legal system is broken down and men will be aiming at the establishment of a society based on the greatest possible freedom and justice for every single individual, the identity of human interests will be for the first time universally recognised and acted upon. The brotherhood of man, in a way now only recognised as applicable to a family bound together by blood relationship, will be seen to be a necessary condition of communal, that is, of the highest form of social life, and the only condition indeed under which man can be free. No individual Anarchist can lay down a program as regards this or any other social question, as that would be to assume the "divine right" of law-giving. The most that we can do is to suggest a probable line of conduct consistent with Anarchist principle. And this our attempt here is not so much in the hope of offering any very valuable solution as that others may be induced to go further and more ably into the subject.

With regard to criminality there can be, we imagine, no difference of opinion that any action is criminal which is prompted by an anti-social motive. One who, with malice intent, tries to injure another is guilty of crime. But one who struggles against another in self-defence, although he may injure his oppressor, is not therefore criminal; he is simply following the first and most necessary instinct, namely, that of self-preservation and well-being, without which there could be no continued existence or progress whatever.

There are, however, many acts committed which are anti-social in their effects even when the perpetrators do not act from evil motives but through ignorance or mere indifference. Are these acts criminal? As regards those they affect, they certainly are. And it is therefore not only justifiable but the duty of society to resist them. Just as a man must suffer if he disregards the natural laws of physical health, so if he disregards the natural laws of social harmony he will have to suffer. But, as in the former case, his suffering is just so much and no more than is inevitable to restore him to his normal state of health, unless his vital force succumbs in the struggle, so in the latter case the social resistance, which he must encounter, should also be no more than is necessary to enable him to regain his normal relationship with his fellow men.

Consequently, in an Anarchistic society, where no essentially anti-social conduct would be under the protection of unjustifiable privilege, any act committed regardless of its effects on others, whether intentionally or unintentionally so, would be criminal, and would be resisted by society in so far as was necessary to counteract as much as possible its evil effects, and to prevent the recurrence of such conduct on the part of the criminal by means NOT IN OPPOSITION TO BUT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SPIRIT OF FELLOWSHIP.

We are at the present day so accustomed to indulging in the revengeful attitude as regards, not the prevention, but the punishment of crime that such tolerant treatment as proposed seems at first sight either sentimental or utopian. This, however, is greatly due to the false teaching of the past as regards every man's absolute "free will" and power to choose between an absolute right and an absolute wrong. Every day, however, happily the spread of scientific fact is surely though slowly eradicating these absurd ideas, and men are coming to realise that there is no phenomenon, however abstract or "spiritual," which has not a simple and natural cause in material conditions. And one

most important instance of this fact is that the highly vaunted free-will in man is little more than a delusion. As you cannot gather figs of thistles, neither can you have humane and healthy men where their material and social surroundings are unwholesome and debasing. Just as surely as that a plant cannot thrive, deprived of the necessary elements of its growth in soil or atmosphere, so surely too can no human being lead a healthy and reasonable life, when deprived of the necessary satisfaction of both his material and moral needs.

Scientists who have made a study of the criminal man their speciality have already testified that the "instinctive" criminal is always physically defective. From his birth he has had a diseased or defective physique, for which all men ought to condone his failings and consider him as naturally entitled to special consideration and leniency; but instead of this, he has been the victim of physical and social conditions which foster rather than counteract his natural defects, and met from his fellow men treatment the reverse of considerate. Consequently anti-social tendencies grow in him until they show themselves in some abnormal crime. He becomes an abnormal creature because of the social ignorance, indifference, or cruelty, which make an invalid into a criminal. Others, more fortunately placed, may have quite as defective a physique, but their privileged position enables them to overcome, or at least keep in check the effect of these misfortunes.

These, however, are but a small proportion of the "criminal classes." The enormously preponderating majority of the "criminals" of to-day are the victims who suffer most from the system of the individual monopoly of property. This is clearly seen when we examine the official statistics of crime. We find, for instance (see Hazell's Annual, 1892, pp. 22 & 23), that out of a total of 31816 principal offences committed during 1889-90, in England and Wales, 29,460 were direct crimes against property, under the headings of larceny, stealing, robbery, and so on. While many others, as for instance drunkenness, are traceable to degradation consequent upon poverty, or the evil effect of social life based upon economic competition. Consequently we may reasonably conclude that in a society based upon economic equality all classes of crime will at once decrease enormously, and a large proportion of them will altogether disappear. The social conditions which now produce crime having disappeared, all such "criminal classes" will disappear.

Nevertheless, many earnest Socialists may be of the opinion that even when the powers of monopoly and civil coercion have been broken down, it may take a good while yet before many among the general public will have grasped thoroughly the idea of united interests, that is, of the necessary solidarity among the members of a community. And consequently they might injure their neighbors, even although they might not have justifiable ground for so doing. Man is, after all, by nature full of unreasoning impulses, a creature subject to passions, morbid desires, and so on, and will, so long as he remains such, frequently be unjust, cruel, etc., to his fellow man. Also we may note that in an Anarchistic society, or rather more in the revolutionary period which must bring the Anarchistic life, attempts to exercise that dominant spirit which is now the order of the day, and considered almost as a virtue, will then become a crime against which society will have jealously to guard itself.

How then could such criminal elements be dealt with, consistently with Anarchist principles. Certainly not by the establishment of a set or a class of people whose one or even main business in life is to deal with a "criminal class" on behalf of society. That in itself is surely the way to perpetuate a criminal class. And above all it is the way to demoralise that class appointed to such a business, from the judge to the hangman, to place them in a false position with regard to their fellow men, and to foster in them an authoritative, domineering and inhuman spirit.

The best mode of treatment towards an individual guilty of anti-social action, will, in our opinion, be most surely discovered by considering how an aggressor would be treated by his own family where mutual sympathy was the rule. Should, for instance, a member of such a family, in a fit of jealousy, destroy the more perfect work of art which another had produced, how would the injured one and the whole family act towards the aggressor? In the first place, they would naturally give vent to their moral indignation and sorrow, which in the majority of cases would be sufficient, as it would appeal to the deepest emotions, and would evoke shame and contrition on the part of the wrong-doer. But suppose his spitefulness were too strong, it might be he would have to be forcibly stopped, if caught in the act, or cautiously guarded against until his reasonableness returned. The very fact that the others had to be on their guard against him, and would at the same time look down upon or censure him would make him reform his ways, if merely from the strong instructive human desire to be respected among one's fellows. In extreme cases, however, his inability to re-establish harmony between himself and his family would cause him, as soon as may be, to go away and associate with others, among whom he could start again, forming new relationships.

In a community the courses adopted might be, I imagine, exactly similar. Whether in the workshop, the field, or the domicile, an unjust or spiteful act of one against another is not hidden, or, at least, if it is at first, it will not be for long. In the first place, it is the aggrieved party who has to deal with the aggressor, and he, on his part, will be influenced in his conduct by the desire to be respected by his fellows. If he retaliate violently his companions will feel themselves bound to interfere. But, in most instances, remonstrance among equals would be enough. The impartial judgment of mutual friends, who know the exact circumstances, and the individual characters might be appealed to. But never, under any circumstances, should strangers interfere, who have no direct or indirect concern or sympathy with either party, as at

the best such people cannot have sympathetic insight into the physical and moral conditions of the case.

It sometimes happens that illhealth produces morbid psychical states, leading to anti-social conduct. Be the conduct ever so lamentable, such a condition of itself calls for special sympathy and consideration on the part of relations and friends. Among comrades who have nothing to lose but rather their share to gain by another's welfare, kindly remonstrance and an attempt to enable him to cure the morbid tendency would most effectually and generally lead to a cessation of evil conduct, arising from such motives.

In the very strongest cases of incorrigibility on the part of an aggressor, however, the community could hardly be justified in any treatment more severe than that of refusing to associate or to work with him, and so obliging him to go elsewhere, if he could not be induced to live reasonably and peaceably in his own community.

A. H.

THE PROPAGANDA. REPORTS.

LONDON—

An important Conference was held at the Autonomie Club on Sunday, 6th Nov. This Conference, which was well attended, was opened by Louise Michel. Her speech was to the effect that Anarchy is no longer a mere dream, it is, on the contrary, a realisable ideal. The terrible increase of misery must lead before long to open revolt among the starving masses and the break-down of the capitalist system. The misery which the poor endure justifies revolt, and it is both their right and their duty to rise up against the tyranny of the wealthy. It is false to imagine that the domination of man over man is necessary for the well-being of society, to which indeed it never has or can be conducive. On the other hand, it is as possible for society to exist harmoniously by the action of natural social law as for the stars to maintain their order through the operation of natural forces.

Kropotkin then reviewed the growth of Anarchistic thought and the position of the Anarchist party at the present day. He pointed out how all other bodies of Socialists had either ceased to be or had never been revolutionists. Therefore the whole burden of revolutionary Socialism now rests on the shoulders of us Anarchists. And consequently, if we mean to be victorious, we must without delay expose on all hands the fallacy of State Socialism. To do this effectively we must permeate the Trade Unions and other associations of workers with our ideas. Only by this means can we make the Social Revolution effective when it comes.

Com. Malatesta spoke in a somewhat similar strain. The days when Anarchy was a mere aspiration or hope for the future are now passed. We look forward to a revolt on the part of the masses at no very distant date, and therefore we Anarchists must no longer content ourselves with simply theorising about Anarchistic ideas, nor with maintaining a so exclusively negative attitude towards society, which is after all only the first part of our work. It is necessary now seriously to consider what practical steps we can take when the revolution has commenced. Otherwise it will be exploited by those classes or parties who will try to turn it merely into an occasion for a change of government. We should be prepared to make it lead to the organisation of society upon a Communistic basis. If we do not do this, it will be a lost opportunity and not that Anarchistic Revolution which should bring emancipation to the human race, and which we all so ardently look forward to.

Furthermore, as we Anarchists by ourselves cannot make the Anarchist Revolution it is absolutely necessary that we influence by our principles and proposals the great mass of the working classes, and to do this we must reach the Trade Unions and all such organisations. Then, in the moment of action, we shall have the people with us, and have some fair chance of realising our ideas.

Com. Malato followed, saying: When an Anarchist speaks to an indifferent listener he is told that Anarchy is not realisable because there have always been masters and governors, and mankind will never change. Mankind, on the contrary, participate in the general evolution of the universe. Evolution can be considered from two points of view—the individual or anthropological and the social. As in the embryo man resembles an animal before he presents the human form, so in the earliest ages of his existence he was not the being (either morally or physically) he now is, but has slowly developed in the course of time. And as man has developed from a lower animal type in the past, so there is no reason to believe that he will retain in the future the same individual or social characteristics he now has.

In the second place, a constant tendency towards individual freedom is evident in society. And, further, the more man himself develops the more he denies the right of another to exercise authority over him. Take, for instance, the government of France during this century. Commencing with absolute Monarchy, it has passed through all the freer grades of Empire, Constitutional Monarchy and Republicanism, and each form of government has fallen through, proving the inefficacy of each, and the tendency of society plainly in the direction of greater liberty.

C. Mowbray spoke with great enthusiasm of the necessity and possibility of influencing the Trade Unions, and described the spreading agitation begun by himself, as the unpaid organiser of his Union, and one or two other comrades among the tailors. Since October 2nd public meetings have been held at Back's Row, Whitechapel, on various Sunday mornings. The members of the Jewish Branch of the Union, Greenfield-street, have nearly doubled, and a new Branch, composed almost entirely of Socialists and Anarchists, has been formed under the name of the "Paogressive East Branch of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors." This branch meets at Berner-street, and numbers at present about forty. The East London and City branches have increased their members by fifty, and the International and Dragon branches (West End) have also had a considerable addition to their numbers. It is now proposed to begin a vigorous agitation amongst the women. A resolution has been carried admitting women as members on an equality with the men, the object being to force up their wages to the level of the men's. Furthermore, a resolution has also been carried that propaganda meetings shall be held quarterly in some large hall, where the labor problem shall be discussed, with a view to educating the members of our society on the social question. Members can now be admitted at 2d. per week. Ultimately the Sick and Burial Fund must die out, and the society will then be a fighting Trade Union. A stirring manifesto has been issued, addressed to all in the trade but particularly to the Jews. (Since this conference the Amalgamated Society of Tailors held a meeting on 13th Nov. to commemorate the Chicago Martyrs.)

Samuels closed the conference with an earnest appeal to take some active part in the propaganda, whether among Trade Unions or elsewhere. His proposal being that we Anarchists should do something towards the organisation of the unemployed. We might well, he suggested, follow the example of our Paris comrades by establishing, if even only on a small scale, soup kitchens for the unemployed, taking that opportunity to spread our propaganda among them.

PROVINCES—

Brighton.—Owing to the departure of several of our most active comrades for London at the beginning of October, Anarchism has been rather quiet here just lately. On Oct. 2nd a good meeting was held at the Crown Assembly Rooms. Comrade Barker was our visitor, and delivered an excellent educational address. Comrades Lawrence and Reed also spoke. Opposition from one person only—the combative cripple mentioned in our last report. On this occasion, however, he surprised us somewhat by a shift of ground from the "Christian" to the S.D.F. position. On the 11th Comrade Lawrence expounded and defended Anarchistic principles at a working men's club; the men were interested, and he had it all his own way. Comrade Barker's leaflet "Down with the Politician" has done good service as a poster, some 500 copies of it having been thus offered to the public eye in various parts of Brighton.

Edinburgh.—We had a very successful social evening here in commemoration of the martyrdom of our comrades at Chicago. Lester, Leo Mellist, Hamilton and Connolly spoke, and several revolutionary songs were sung. A number of Trades Councilors were present and entered with enthusiasm into the spirit of the occasion.

Aberdeen.—We have left our station on Castle-street for the Sunday afternoon meetings and have taken up our stand at the Quay-side, at the foot of Marischal-street, it being a more sheltered position. Large crowds are easily got together at this place, and our afternoon meetings are nearly as good as our evening ones used to be. Our crowds are so large that we run a risk of being stopped for obstruction, the bridge which crosses the Harbor being always pretty well blocked. With fear and trembling we gave up our open-air meetings on Sunday evening and commenced indoor meetings in the Large Oddfellows Hall on the first Sunday of October, but here the success which has attended our efforts lately followed us and a large audience assembled to hear Comrade Duncan's lecture, "The Gospel of Anarchy." Duncan gave a splendid explanation of the principles of Anarchism, and was well received. Some Democratic opposition easily polished off. On Sunday 8th Comrade Shepherd lectured on "Those Bloodthirsty Anarchists," and defended the physical force Anarchists. Slight opposition done for easily. Sunday 15th saw the Hall crowded to suffocation to listen to the Debate between Mr. Horne and Comrades Duncan on "Parliamentary v. Revolutionary action." Both went at each other beautifully and in the best fashion, the Chairman, Mr. Davie, never having to interfere. Mr. Horne presented the strongest possible case for Parliament, but Duncan showed a stronger for Revolution. Sunday 22, Comrade Jas McFarlane lectured to a full house on "Forecasts of the Future." Comrade McFarlane reviewed effectively several of the recent sociological novels. Slight discussion by comrades. On Sunday 29th, we had an experiment in the shape of a "Musical Night," and grave doubts were expressed as to the possible harm that might be done by shocking the the or hodox people of Aberdeen to too great an extent. However, the Hall was again crowded—cramped would even better express it; extra seats had to be procured to accommodate all. The concert was an immense success. The songs by Comrades Antony, Smith, A. Fraser, G. Fraser and H. H. Duncan, and the recitations by Taylor, Dow and Jas McFarlane being all splendidly received. As a rule, it is generally found that music and elocution help to keep up the interest of audiences and prevent the listlessness and inattention, so depressing to a speaker, which comes upon those not as yet specially interested in our propaganda when only lectures and discussions are given. On Saturday 12th Nov., in the Café, we held a social meeting, there was well-nigh 100 present. After tea Comrade Shepherd read a report of work done since "our birth," and Duncan gave a short address. Songs and recitations of a revolutionary, sentimental and comic character were given by Messrs. Jas Horne and W. N. Cameron and Comrades Smith, Taylor, Duncan, McFarlane and Geo Alex Fraser; Smith and his 'cello again shining forth. Dancing was engaged in by those who could dance, and even by a few who could not. Altogether a most enjoyable night was passed.

A successful commemoration of the Chicago Martyrs, whereat a protestation was made against the sentences passed on our Walsall Comrades, was held in the Large Odd fellows' Hall, on Sunday 13th. The Hall was crowded with a most enthusiastic audience, who vigorously applauded the most revolutionary sentiments given expression to by the speakers. Comrade J. M. Farlane briefly told the story of the arrest, trial, and death of the murdered men, and the imprisonment of their comrades, and read the speech made by Lingg. Comrade Shepherd said that he did not care much whether they threw the bomb or not; the conditions at the time it was thrown were such that if the Anarchists did not throw it they ought to have done it. Referring to the Walsall case he said, the Explosions Act was an act whereby the mouth of any revolutionist could be shut even though he did not know how to make an explosive. Mr. G. Johnston said he was not an Anarchist and he hated violence, yet it was clear to him that the Chicago men were executed and imprisoned not because they murdered, but because capitalism was afraid of them. Comrade Duncan said, he was persuaded that if capitalists could put life into the clay of the heroes they had murdered they would gladly do it, for nothing was more evident than the truth of Spies's last words that their voices would be more powerful than they were in life. Government made a big mistake in America in trying to strangle Anarchy by hanging its supporters, and the British Government had failed in their attempt to discredit Anarchy in this country when they got a scoundrel to betray his comrades. Anarchism was stronger to-day than ever it was in Great Britain before. A telegram of sympathy was received from the Glasgow Socialists. Songs were given during the evening by our musical comrades.

Bristol.—An important strike has been going on for the past two months among the Bristol chocolate girls, "Sander's white slaves." Comrade E. J. Watson has taken an active part in organising the strikers and in collecting funds to enable them to resist the starvation pressure that compels most strikers to give up, at an early stage, the unequal struggle between capital and labor. Instances of police brutality towards the girls on strike were not unfrequent. Full particulars in next issue.

Hull.—In remembrance of the Chicago Martyrs, a public meeting was held on Nov. 13th in St. George's Hall. The attendance was not large. Comrade Naewiger in the chair. The meeting was addressed by Comrades Sketchley, Woodford and Smith. The chairman asked for discussion or opposition, but there was none.

Sheffield.—Since our last report we have had a visit from Comrade Agnes Henry of London, and I must say, that we enjoyed her visit to Sheffield. We held two out-door meetings on the Sunday, one at the Monolith and the other at the Pump, which were well attended and a good impression made. We continue to hold our meetings whenever the weather permits. Caplan, May, Bingham, Brothers Despre and Bullas taking part, winter or summer, in spite of any opposition—with which we deal as well as we can.

Leicester.—Our usual three Sunday meetings have been kept going, with fair success, during the past two months; except that the wet and foggy weather has, on several Sundays in November, caused meetings to be abandoned. On Oct. 9, we had large audiences to hear one of the Manchester boys—our old friend Stockton. On Sunday evening, Nov. 13th, a Chicago commemoration meeting was held in the Vine-street Radical Club, at which addresses were delivered by George Cores of Walsall and Stanley and Glassman of Leicester. This meeting was reported by several of the local newspapers, and went off well, the audience being most enthusiastic. In addition to out-door propaganda, we have had several excellent debates with both the Christian Socialist Society and the local branch of

the S.D.F. The former body are very favorable to Anarchy, and contrast—by their careful and open-minded study of the subject—very favorably with the Social Democrats, most of whom exhibit a most lamentable ignorance of the most elementary principles of Socialism, and seem to be quite bewildered at the idea of a state of freedom. We have also visited a discussion society in connection with a Young Men's Institute, and have found most of the young members very much more advanced than we expected. But after our third visit the authorities became alarmed, and, to prevent the young persons under their care from being further subjected to such evil influence, have shut the door against us and intimated that "our room was not opened for the discussion of Anarchism or its problems." We have, however, taken the addresses of most of the young men, and shall supply them with such literature as we think necessary for their education. We open the campaign at ano her Chapel Discussion Society on December 2nd, and hope to visit every one in the town in turn until they apply the boycott. Several of our comrades have been compelled to leave the town, having had the "sack" for the advocacy of Anarchy; but in each case they are actively engaged in the propaganda in a new district—and the cause will gain, no doubt, by their persecution.

Birmingham & Walsall.—We have news of good work done and progress made this time. During October, the meetings were continued at B'ham and Walsall by W. Rooke and Geo. Cores. On Oct. 30th, Miss Henry spoke for us and made a most favorable impression both by the style and matter of her address. We hope to have a second visit from her soon. She joined us at our first meeting on Oct. 28th, and we had a very enjoyable and inspiring chat with her. Since then we have met regularly, and expect to forge ahead. At present we meet at the Coffee House, corner of Hinckley-street, Hill-street, Birmingham; every Tuesday, at 8 p.m. We have decided to organise a Conference and public meeting, on the anniversary of the sentences on the Walsall Anarchist, next spring. It is our intention to publish and distribute beforehand if possible a very large quantity of Anarchist leaflets in Walsall, commencing in January. We are asking the Editor of *Freedom* to receive donations towards the expenses on our behalf. Comrades, help us to make Walsall a "hotbed of Anarchy"! Comrade C. C. Davis (of London) has joined us and commenced work in the local propaganda.

Although we have had, up to the time of writing this report, no Chicago Commemoration, we have done as well by the formation of an Anarchist Group in Birmingham.

Manchester.—The movement in Manchester is going on very favorably for the season of the year. The weather has forced us to relinquish our morning and afternoon meetings, but we still hold on at New Cross, and get large audiences. Comrade A. Henry visited us during her tour in the provinces, and had two very good meetings. Her speaking was much appreciated, and we sold a large quantity of literature during her stay.

We were unable to get a suitable place for a November 11th meeting, but we brought the matter of our comrades' heroic death before outdoor audiences and sold a number of copies of the speeches. We are making headway, and we must succeed in the end.

Great Yarmouth.—There is little to report this month beyond the usual open-air propaganda, which has been carried on by local comrades when weather permitted. Oct. 9th, owing to inclement weather, the morning meeting had to be abandoned; but in the afternoon a large and very attentive meeting was held on the Fish Wharf, some 300 or 400 people being present. Addresses were delivered by J. Tochatti, J. C. Atterbury (of London), and J. Headley; Yarmouth's favorite, Mrs. Tochatti, the Anarchist singer, sang some revolutionary songs, which were, as usual, greatly appreciated by the crowd. Good sale of literature, &c.; meeting lasting over two hours. A little of the usual "sharing up," and "what would you do if you had £1000," opposition was offered, but easily disposed of. Since last report 7 new members have joined. Good meetings are held in the Club Room on Saturday and Sunday evenings.

Glasgow.—Successful meetings are still being held at Parkhead Cross and St. George's Cross. Comrades Glasier, Joe Burgoyne and Jack Robb being the principal speakers. We have been compelled to abandon our Govan meeting during the winter, owing to the distance, want of speakers, and the general cold and dreary aspect of the place. The seed sown there during the summer has not been in vain. If the workers have not become Revolutionists, they at least see the necessity of making a move—which will, we are confident, result in the entire embracing of our principles. Our Chicago Martyrs Commemoration was the most successful we have yet held. Speeches were delivered by Comrades Glasier, Beith, Levenson, Dupont, Mackay and Jack Robb. A splendid selection of various International Revolutionary songs were sung during the evening. We were favored by a visit from the representatives of "law and order." Two stalwart detectives stood carefully guarding our plate; but the thought never occurred to them of dropping something into it. However, police-money has not as yet proved a blessing to the cause, and is never likely to be so. Greetings were received with enthusiasm from the Social Democratic and Revolutionary Societies of Aberdeen. The Secretary was instructed to send return wires to both Societies, also to South Place Institute, London. A collection was taken, on retiring, for *Freedom* Publication Fund, amounting to 15s. 6d., which was duly sent on. Some 30 copies of the Anarchist Speeches and other literature was sold.

We have opened Club Rooms at 15, Adelphi-st., S.S., and with the co-operation of our Jewish comrades we intend to keep them going. Glasier is in great demand this winter; he has lectured to about a dozen different organisations during the past month.

NOTICES.

Glasgow.—We have been asked by Stephen Dowie to correct some statements made in our Glasgow report last month. Mr. Tarn was in the town only four weeks, not six as was stated, and did not abandon his lectures because of the opposition he met with; he has more than two followers there, and has been invited by his friends and admirers to visit Glasgow as a lecturer again shortly. "Meanwhile," our correspondent says, "his friends can afford to smile down as heretofore on the silly vapors of amateur report writers." This is very severe. Report writers, beware!

Anarchist Conference.—The Scotch Anarchists have decided to hold a Conference. Any one wishing to have particulars of organisation will please communicate with either J. G. Anderson, 92, Canning-street, Glasgow; W. Cameron, 7, St. Andrew's-st., Dundee; or Eglan Shepherd, 1, Mitchel-place, Aberdeen. They hope a comrade from London will attend.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR SUPPORT OF LITTLE VICTOR NICOLL.

RECEIVED FROM SEPTEMBER 26th to NOV. 20th:—
Metzkow, per *Freedom*, 4s.; Domoney, list, 4s.; Pope and 4 lists, 7s. 4d.; Primmer, 2 lists, 3s. 4d.; Lawes, 1 list, 1s.; Anonymous, 2s.; Jung, 5s.; H. S. Cooke, 1s. 6d.; Leicester Anarchists, 16s.; Gutzkow, 1s.; Galbraith, 2s.; R. MacMillan, 1s.; Anonymous, Manchester, 1s.; Guillian, 2s.; C. N. G., 6d.; Presburg, list, 8s. 2½d.; Chester, 1s.

M. GALBRAITH, Sec.

Printed and published by C. M. Wilson, at the "FREEDOM" Office, 72, Kentish Town-road, London, N.W.