

Freedom

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ANARCHISM AND HOMICIDAL OUTRAGE.

"The propagandists of Anarchist doctrines will be treated with the same severity as the actual perpetrators of outrage."—Telegram from Barcelona, *Times*, Nov. 16.

Is the above quoted decision of the Spanish Government a measure for the protection of human life, justified by the peculiar doctrines of Anarchism? Or is it merely one of those senseless and cruel persecutions of new ideas distasteful to the class in power, that may be expected in the ancient home of the Inquisition?

This question must have struck many thoughtful men and women in England, who have heard for the first time of Anarchism as existing in their midst though the recent vituperations of the capitalist press, and certain Conservative members of the House of Commons. And we, the publishing group of the oldest and most widely circulated Communist Anarchist paper in England, wish to meet this question fairly and frankly, and in reply to plainly state our own convictions on the subject.

Human beings have sometimes held beliefs of which murder was the logical and necessary outcome, as, for instance, the Thugs in India, who looked upon the murder of travellers as a religious obligation: is Anarchism such a belief? If it is, then the Spanish people are certainly justified in clearing their country of Anarchists; even though the perpetration of the Barcelona outrage be never directly traced to them; and the English people will be justified in regarding their Anarchist countrymen as enemies, dangerous in proportion as they are energetic and sincere.

We propose to enquire, firstly, if homicidal outrage is the logical outcome of Anarchist principles; secondly, if such outrage is a necessary method in the practical attempt to introduce Anarchism as a principle of conduct, a transforming agency, into existing society; thirdly, we propose to give our view of homicidal outrage as an actual social phenomenon, the existence of which, whatever be its cause, cannot be disputed.

I.—Is homicidal outrage the logical outcome of Anarchist* convictions?

The Communist Anarchist looks upon human societies as, essentially, natural groups of individuals, who have grown into association for the sake of mutually aiding one another in self-protection and self-development. Artificially formed Empires, constructed and held together by force, he regards as miserable shams. The societies he recognises are those naturally bound together by real sympathies and common ideas and aims. And in his eyes, the true purpose of every such natural society, whether it be a nation or a federation of nations, a tribe or a village community, is to give to every member of it the largest possible opportunities in life. The object of associating is to increase the opportunities of the individual. One isolated human being is helpless, a hopeless slave to external nature; whereas the limits of what is possible to human beings in free and rational association are as yet unimagined.

Now the Anarchist holds a natural human society good in proportion as it answers what he believes to be its true purpose, and bad in proportion as it departs from that purpose, and instead of enlarging the lives of the individuals composing it crushes and narrows them.

For instance, when in England a comparatively few men claim a right to exclusive possession of the soil, and thereby prevent others from enjoying or using it except upon hard and stinting terms, the Anarchist says that English Society, in so far as it recognises such an arrangement, is bad and fails of its purpose; because such an arrangement instead of enlarging the opportunities for a full human life for everybody, cruelly curtails them for all agricultural workers and many others, and moreover is forced on the sufferers against their will, and not arrived at, as all social arrangements ought to be, by mutual agreement.

Such being his view of human societies in general, the Anarchist, of course, endeavors to find out, and make clear to himself and others, the main causes why our own existing society is here and now failing so dismally, in many directions, to fulfil its true function. And he has arrived at the conclusion that these causes of failure are mainly two. First, the unhappy recognition of the authority of man over man as a morally right principle, a thing to be accepted and submitted to, instead of being resisted as essentially evil and wrong. And second, the equally unhappy recognition of the right of property, *i.e.*, the right of individuals, who have complied with certain legal formalities, to monopolise

material things, whether they are using them or need to use them or not, and whether they have produced them or not. To the Anarchist, the state of the public conscience which permits these two principles of authority and property to hold sway in our social life seems to lie at the root of our miserably desocialised condition; and therefore he is at war with all institutions and all habits which are based on these principles or tend to keep them up. He is not the enemy of society, never of society, only of anti-social abuses.

He is not the enemy of any man or set of men, but of every system and way of acting which presses cruelly upon any human being, and takes away from him any of the chances nature may have allowed him of opportunities equal to those of his fellow men.

Such, in general terms, is the mental attitude of the Anarchist towards Society, and beneath this attitude, at the root of these theories and beliefs lies something deeper: a sense of passionate reverence for human personality; that new-born sense—perhaps the profoundest experience which the ages have hitherto revealed to man—which is yet destined to transform human relations and the human soul; that sense which is still formless and inexpressible to most of us, even those whom it most strongly stirs, and to which Walt Whitman has given the most adequate, and yet a most inadequate and partial voice:

"Each of us inevitable,
Each of us limitless—each of us with his or her right upon the earth,
Each of us allow'd the eternal purports of the earth,
Each of us here as divinely as any is here."

Is this an attitude of heart and mind which must logically lead a man on to commit homicidal outrage? With such feelings, with such convictions must we not rather attach a peculiar sanctity to human life? And, in fact, the genuine Anarchist looks with sheer horror upon every destruction, every mutilation of a human being, physical or moral. He loathes wars, executions and imprisonments, the grinding down of the worker's whole nature in a dreary round of toil, the sexual and economic slavery of women, the oppression of children, the crippling and poisoning of human nature by the preventable cruelty and injustice of man to man in every shape and form. Certainly, this frame of mind and homicidal outrage cannot stand in the relation of cause and effect.

II.—Though Anarchist principles do not in themselves logically lead to the commission of homicidal outrages, do they practically drive the active Anarchist into this course by closing other means of action?

It is true that his convictions close to the conscientious Anarchist one form of social action, just now unfortunately popular, *i.e.*, parliamentary agitation.

He cannot conscientiously take part in any sort of government, or try to relieve the cruel pressure upon human lives by means of governmental reforms, because one of the worst possible evils he could do his fellow men would, in his eyes, be to strengthen their idea that the rule of man over man is a right and beneficial thing. For, of course, every well-meant attempt of the men in power to better things tends to confirm people in the belief that to have men in power is, after all, not a social evil. Whereas the aim of the Anarchist is to convince his fellow men that authority is no essential part of human association, but a disruptive element rather, and one to be eliminated, if we would have social union without unjust and unequal social pressure. The current political means of action and protest, therefore, are barred to the Anarchist, by the new-born conception of social relations which is the keynote of his creed. On this point he differs from all other Socialists and social reformers.

But is homicide the necessary antithesis of parliamentary agitation? Must the man who looks upon political action, as commonly understood, as useless and worse, necessarily endeavor to spread his views or improve society by outrages upon his fellow-men?

The question is obviously absurd. If one particular way is barred, an infinite variety of other ways are open. The great changes in the world's history, the great advances in human development have not been either set agoing or accomplished by the authority of kings and rulers, but by the initiative of this man and that in making fresh adaptations to changing material conditions, and by the natural and voluntary association of those who saw, or even blindly felt the necessity for a new departure. And now, as always, the great social change which the most callous feel to be at our doors, is springing from the masses, the inmost depths of the nation in revolt against unendurable misery, and fired with a new hope of better things. We Anarchists have the whole of this vast sphere for our action:—the natural and voluntary social life of our countrymen. Not a society founded on principles of voluntary association for any useful purpose whatever, but our place is there. Not a natural human relationship, but it is our work to infuse

* When using the term Anarchism in this article we throughout mean Communist or Socialistic Anarchism, and under the term "homicidal outrage" we are, of course, not dealing with violence used in direct and immediate self-defence.

it with a new spirit. Is not this field wide enough for the zeal of the most fiery propagandist? More particularly in England, at this moment, we find as a field for our endeavors the vast force of the organised labor movement; a force which, rightly applied, could here and now bring about the economic side of the Social Revolution. Not the parliament, not the government, but the organised workmen of England—that minority of the producers who are already organised—*could*, if they would, and if they knew how, put an end to capitalist exploitation, landlord monopoly, to the starvation of the poor, the hopelessness of the unemployed. They have, what government has not, the *power* to do this; they lack only the intelligence to grasp the situation, and the resolution to act. In face of such a state of things as this, has the propagandist of Socialism, who will none of parliamentary elections, no sphere of action left but homicide? Such a question, we say again, is absurd, and we only raise and answer it here because certain Social Democrats have now and again considered it worth asking.

III.—*While homicidal outrages are neither a logical outcome of Anarchist principles nor a practical necessity of Anarchist action, they are a social phenomenon which Anarchists and all Social Revolutionists must be prepared to face.*

There is a truism that the man in the street seems always to forget, when he is abusing the Anarchists, or whatever party happens to be his *bête noir* for the moment, as the cause of some outrage just perpetrated. This indisputable fact is that homicidal outrages have, from time immemorial, been the reply of goaded and desperate classes, and goaded and desperate individuals, to wrongs from their fellow men which they felt to be intolerable. Such acts are the violent recoil from violence, whether aggressive or repressive; they are the last desperate struggle of outraged and exasperated human nature for breathing space and life. And their cause lies not in any special conviction, but in the depths of that human nature itself. The whole course of history, political and social, is strewn with evidence of this fact. To go no further, take the three most notorious examples of political parties goaded into outrage during the last thirty years: the Mazzinians in Italy, the Fenians in Ireland, and the Terrorists in Russia. Were these people Anarchists? No. Did they all three even hold the same political opinions? No. The Mazzinians were Republicans, the Fenians political separatists, the Russians Social Democrats or Constitutionalists. But all were driven by desperate circumstances into this terrible form of revolt. And when we turn from parties to individuals who have acted in like manner, we stand appalled by the number of human beings goaded and driven by sheer desperation into conduct obviously violently opposed to their social instincts.

Now that Anarchism has become a living force in society, such deeds have been sometimes committed by Anarchists, as well as by others. For no new faith, even the most essentially peaceable and humane the mind of man has as yet accepted, but at its first coming has brought upon earth not peace but a sword; not because of anything violent or anti-social in the doctrine itself; simply because of the ferment any new and creative idea excites in men's minds, whether they accept or reject it. And a conception like Anarchism, which, on the one hand, threatens every vested interest, and, on the other, holds out a vision of a free and noble life to be won by struggle against existing wrongs, is certain to rouse the fiercest opposition, and bring the whole repressive force of ancient evil into violent contact with the tumultuous outburst of a new hope.

Under miserable conditions of life, any vision of the possibility of better things makes the present misery more intolerable, and spurs those who suffer to the most energetic struggles to improve their lot, and if these struggles only immediately result in sharper misery, the outcome is often sheer desperation. In our present society, for instance, an exploited wage-worker, who catches a glimpse of what work and life might and ought to be, finds the toilsome routine, and the squalor of his existence almost intolerable; and even when he has the resolution and courage to continue steadily working his best, and waiting till the new ideas have so permeated society as to pave the way for better times, the mere fact that he has such ideas, and tries to spread them, brings him into difficulties with his employers. How many thousands of Socialists, and above all of Anarchists have lost work, and even the chance of work, solely on the ground of their opinions. It is only the specially gifted craftsman who, if he be a zealous propagandist, can hope to retain permanent employment. And what happens to a man with his brains working actively with a ferment of new ideas, with a vision before his eyes of a new hope dawning for toiling and agonising men, with the knowledge that his suffering and that of his fellows in misery is caused not by the cruelty of Fate but by the injustice of other human beings,—what happens to such a man when he sees those dear to him starving, when he himself is starved? Some natures in such a plight, and those by no means the least social or the least sensitive, will become violent, and will even feel that their violence is social and not anti-social, that in striking when and how they can, they are striking not for themselves but for human nature, outraged and despoiled in their persons and in those of their fellow sufferers. And are we, who ourselves are not in this horrible predicament, to stand by and coldly condemn these piteous victims of the Furies and the Fates? Are we to decry as miscreants these human beings, who act often with heroic self-devotion, sacrificing their lives in protest where less social and energetic natures would lie down and grovel in abject submission to injustice and wrong? Are we to join the ignorant and brutal outcry which stigmatises such men as monsters of wickedness, gratuitously running amuck in a harmonious and innocently peaceful society? No! We hate murder with a hatred that may seem absurdly exaggerated to

apologists for Matabele massacres, to callous acquiescers in hangings and bombardments, but we decline, in such cases of homicide or attempted homicide as those of which we are treating, to be guilty of the cruel injustice of flinging the whole responsibility of the deed upon the immediate perpetrator. The guilt of these homicides lies upon every man and woman who, intentionally or by cold indifference, helps to keep up social conditions that drive human beings to despair. The man who flings his whole soul into the attempt, at the cost of his own life, to protest against the wrongs of his fellow men, is a saint compared to the active and passive upholders of cruelty and injustice, even if his protest destroy other lives besides his own. Let him who is without sin in society cast the first stone at such an one.

But we say to no man: "GO AND DO THOU LIKEWISE."

The man who in ordinary circumstances and in cold blood would commit such deeds is simply a homicidal maniac; nor do we believe they can be justified upon any mere ground of expediency. Least of all do we think that any human being has a right to egg on another person to such a course of action. We accept the phenomena of homicidal outrage as among the most terrible facts of human experience; we endeavour to look such facts full in the face with the understanding of humane justice; and we believe that we are doing our outmost to put an end to them by spreading Anarchist ideas throughout society.

Suppose a street where the drainage system has got thoroughly out of order, and the foulness of the sewer gas is causing serious illness throughout the neighbourhood. The intelligent inhabitants will first of all seek the cause of the illness, and then, having traced it to the condition of the drainage, will insist upon laying the sewer open, investigating the state of the pipes, and where needful, laying new ones. In this process it is very probable indeed that the illness in the neighbourhood may be temporarily increased by the laying open of the foulness within, and that some of those who do the work may be themselves poisoned, or carry the infection to others. But is that a reason for not opening and repairing the drain? Or would it be fair or rational to say the illness in the neighbourhood was caused by the people who did this work or insisted upon it being done? Yet such is much the attitude of those critics of Anarchism who try to make it appear that we Anarchists are responsible for what is the natural result of the social evils we point out and struggle against.

And how about those Anarchists who use bloodthirsty language? No words can be too strong to denounce the wrongs now inflicted by one human being upon another; but violent language is by no means the same as forcible language, and very often conveys an impression of weakness rather than of strength. Savage talk is often a sort of relief, which half desperate men give to their tortured nerves; sometimes it is the passionate expression of the frenzy of indignation felt by an enthusiastically social nature at the sight of oppression and suffering; or it may be only the harebrained rattle of a fool seeking a sensation; but whatever its nature, our position with regard to it is well expressed by Mr. Auberon Herbert in his letter to the *Westminster Gazette*, Nov. 22: "Of all the miserable, unprofitable, inglorious wars in the world is the war against words. Let men say just what they like. Let them propose to cut every throat and burn every house—if so they like it. We have nothing to do with a man's words or a man's thoughts, except to put against them better words or better thoughts, and so to win in the great moral and intellectual duel that is always going on, and on which all progress depends."

Every man, Anarchist or not, must speak as he thinks fit, but if an Anarchist cannot resist using the language of bloodthirsty revenge, he would do very well to follow the honest example recently set by the editor of the *Commonweal*, and plainly say, "This is not Anarchism."

THE FREEDOM GROUP.

*** Man's soul is man's God still,
What wind soever waft his will
Across the waves of day and night
To port or shipwreck, left or right,
By shores and shoals of good and ill;
And still its flame at mainmast height
Through the rent air that foam-flakes fill
Sustains the indomitable light
Whence only man hath strength to steer
Or helm to handle without fear.

Save his own soul's light overhead,
None leads him, and none ever led,
Across birth's hidden harbour-bar,
Past youth where shoreward shallows are,
Through age that drives on toward the red
Vast void of sunset hailed from far,
To the equal waters of the dead;
Save his own soul he hath no star,
And sinks, except his own soul guide,
Helmless in middle turn of tide.

No blast of air or fire of sun
Puts out the light whereby we run
With girdled loins our lamplit race,
And each from each takes heart of grace
And spirit till his turn be done,
And light of face from each man's face
In whom the light of trust is one;
Since only souls that keep their place
By their own light, and watch things roll,
And stand, have light for any soul.

SWINBURNE.

The Commune in Bohemia.

A BOHEMIAN comrade writes: What I read in *Freedom* about the Russian Commune reminded me of much that I remember of the village in Bohemia where I was born.

Much discussion goes on nowadays about Anarchist Communism, and many persons who are not Anarchists are ready to admit that its principle is just and honest. But they object that the people are too ignorant for it, and that it will take many years to educate them up to it.

I have passed many years among poor, ignorant village people in Bohemia, where I thought much about their condition, customs and habits, and have come to the conclusion that it is not education that is wanted so much as a little simple explanation.

The Bohemian country folk are brought up, much as in every other land, to pray, and work, and save. They know nothing of the State, especially the old farmers, except as something which obliges them to pay taxes, and fines them heavily when they grow more than three tobacco plants. They know, too, that if they speak their opinions and a priest or a spy overhears them, they are likely to be sent to prison; that the Emperor of Austria is a great gentleman and the Empress a great lady; so they vote at parliamentary elections just as the priests tell them.

They buy fields, and then pay so much in taxes to the State; and in the nearest town there are generally one or more merchants, who buy what they have to dispose of, and sell them what they want. But as the farmer has generally little or no money, especially before the harvest, the merchant—who is mostly a Jew—gives him everything he needs without asking immediate payment. Then after the harvest the farmer takes his produce to the Jew, and it nearly always happens that the Jew manages the whole transaction without money. It begins and ends at simple exchange.

Machines for field work are expensive. So three or four farmers, or perhaps the whole of the village, club together to pay for one, which they then use in turn. The whole village also turns out its cows, goats, pigs, or geese together, keeping a herdsman or as many herdsmen as are necessary to take charge of them.

The roads between the fields are generally very narrow, and when two vehicles meet, one or the other has to move into the field; but there is never a row or a fight as to which shall makeway for the other. And the farmer is always ready to help another with extra horses to get a waggon up a steep hill or mountain.

It often happens that a laborer will work for a farmer in the spring without wages; and then when harvest comes the farmer gives him a piece of field for it for his own use. A farmer will also allow the barber a piece of field for shaving him on Sundays.

It is usual for the poor people to work thirteen days in the spring at planting young trees in the forest; for which work they have the right to go into the forest twice a week all the year round to collect dry wood. Such poor people, however, as have not had the chance of working the thirteen days at planting, can yet enter the forest in open daylight and get firewood; for one tells another when and where to go so as not to be caught by the keeper.

These people hear nothing of Socialism or Anarchism, but they have plenty to say about the injustice which obliges them to work hard in order that the aristocracy may enjoy themselves on the product of their labor. But in the management of their own immediate affairs these poor, ignorant peasants need no State-appointed law and order at all. They choose a mayor amongst themselves to collect the rates and look after the village common property.

Generally, in every large village there is an old man, too aged to work, who walks about the commune at night in summer as a watchman against fire. When there is a fire everyone helps to put it out. A bell is rung, and everyone jumps out of bed, if it is at night, and runs to help, even if it be ten miles off. Or, if it is in the day, everyone leaves the field or workshop or church, wherever he be.

I have seen many times where a tailor or shoemaker has made something for a farmer, the farmer in return works with his horses on the tailor's or shoemaker's bit of ground.

In winter there is much snow, and the people have to clear the roads from one village to another. When two villages clear the way from one village to the other, the village with the most inhabitants clears the longest piece of the way. If the children of one village have to go to school in another, every farmer who has horses takes his turn in carrying all the children, so that none may be perished with cold. There are numbers of habits of mutual help like this. There is no law to enforce them, but everybody acts so, and in fact no one dare do otherwise, because if they were not neighborly they would be hated so that they could not stand it.

When the old farmers have seen how hard they must work to pay all the government taxes and yet live, they sent their sons to college to learn to be priests or teachers or lawyers or architects. But often after three or four years the poor farmers cannot go on paying their sons' expenses, or perhaps the sons do not like the town life, and they come back. But they are not satisfied to be farmers under the old hard conditions. They think they are clever, but they are in greater poverty than their fathers. They want Home Rule for Bohemia, and they hate the usurers, Jews and Christians. I think they will soon revolt, because they see that they have not anything to lose but poverty. J. H.

It will be gathered from the above recollections that the Bohemians have had communal institutions which they are rapidly losing under the pressure of modern industrialism and the State, but that some of the habits of mutual help, former under the communal system, still remain and render their present condition so far endurable as it is.—ED.

Anarchist Conference at Chicago.

"IN despite of the indifference of some of our local Anarchists and revolutionary comrades, the refusal of Most and his followers to take part, and the opposition of Tucker; in the very face of the expressed orders and bulldozing of the police authorities of this city, and notwithstanding the small number of delegates in attendance in answer to the call—in spite of all these and other obstacles, we held our Conference, and, all things considered, it was a successful one. A few days before the Conference was to convene, the chief of police of this city, acting under the orders of the mayor (the same individual who was assassinated the other day, and whose funeral they are to-day celebrating with great pomp and ceremony), told me and some other comrades that he would not allow a conference to be held in this city at this time. He did not prohibit the Conference in so many words, but what he did say amounted to that, and the police afterwards frightened the proprietor of the hall we had engaged into refusing it to us. We immediately decided upon a course of action which, by its very audacity and daring would completely frustrate the efforts of the police to disperse us. One of my friends, a good comrade of Indian and French extraction, has a room in the *Chicago Times* newspaper building. This building together with the newspaper belonged to the Mayor of the City—Carter H. Harrison. Our Indian friend has his room fitted up in the approved Indian fashion, with a tent or *tepee* inside, couches, skins, etc., and in this room, safe from the interference of prying newspaper reporters and the police, we met in secret, day after day and evening after evening, for more than a week, and transacted the business which brought us together. At the close of this unique and remarkable secret Conference we held a semi-public ratification mass-meeting, with an attendance of about 500, at which the police and newspaper men were also conspicuous by their absence.

Oh, but you should have heard the howl that went up when the matter leaked out. The audacity of the thing; to be prohibited from holding meetings by the mayor and chief of police, and then to hold secret meetings under the very noses of the latter and in the very jaws of the former.

Several days were spent in discussing the manifesto. A document was submitted by one of the comrades, which was amended over and over again and was debated very fully, but, owing to the divergent opinions of those present, we could not arrive at a common agreement, and the manifesto was finally abandoned as a distinct feature of the Conference. It was finally decided that at the ratification meeting speeches were to be made embodying all the views of the different phases of Anarchistic thought, and a synopsis of those speeches, together with a report of all the proceedings of the Conference, should be published in pamphlet form as soon as means could be raised to do the work.

From the start it was agreed to carry on the Conference without chairman, rules of order, parliamentary law, or the appointment of committees, and this plan was rigidly adhered to till the end, not only of the secret meetings, but at the semi public meeting at the close. Seven languages were spoken, and notwithstanding all this and the diversity of opinions, I am happy to say that the utmost good feeling prevailed to the end, and we finally parted as brothers in a holy cause should part. Sometimes the discussions were very warm, even to bitterness, but there was no bad blood, no rancour, no lasting anger. All ended in peace and good-feeling.

Resolutions were adopted favoring a general strike and the withholding of supplies in case of war; urging the hungry and starving to take food, and to stop paying rent; and emphasising the solidarity and unification of the producers of the world.

Valuable letters were received from Paris, Amsterdam, London, Scotland, and many cities and places in this country, and the suggestions contained therein assisted us materially in our deliberations. A letter from our good Louise Michel was enthusiastically received."

Thus writes a Chicago comrade, and also sends a sample cutting from the American daily press on the Conference. Owing to the unfortunate necessity for secret meetings, the press-men knew nothing of what actually took place, and have therefore invented the most villainous calumnies, purporting to be reports of the discussion. For instance, they actually state that while the action really discussed and agreed upon consisted of all sorts of insanely inhuman schemes of destruction, it was decided to *pretend* that the teachings of Anarchy were the most advanced Socialism, so as delude the public, and especially sympathisers already so foolish as to believe this! The same malicious liars report that several comrades were present, who were not there at all; as, for instance, P. Kropotkin, who has never set foot in America.

Full and truthful accounts of the Conference have been sent to *Solidarity*, and it is greatly to be hoped that this useful paper may shortly get the funds to bring out these reports, and also to resume regular publication.

TREATMENT OF ANARCHISTS IN GERMANY.—The German government is exercising a strict censorship over the expression of Anarchist views. The *Sozialist* is continually confiscated and two editors in succession, Comrades Landauer and Ellendt, have been arrested, both in consequence of their writings. The former was condemned to two months' imprisonment, but Ellendt has been released, as after all nothing sufficiently "dangerous" could be found in his article. All over Germany active comrades are continually being imprisoned, and appeals are still made calling for assistance on behalf of the suffering families of the prisoners. In spite of all this, meetings are more numerous and better attended than ever. Also the formation of Trade Unions is progressing.

ONE OF THE WALSALL ANARCHISTS.—We have been asked to state that Battola has been visited in Dartmoor prison, and was found to be in fairly good health. He sends his greetings to all comrades.

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NOTES.

THE BARCELONA THEATRE EXPLOSION.

The terrible bomb explosion in the Liceo Theatre at Barcelona, by which between fifteen and twenty people were killed outright and many others wounded, occurred on the evening of Nov. 7th. Coming so soon after the attempt of Pallas to kill Marshal Campos, the world has, whether rightly or wrongly, attributed the Liceo explosion to Anarchists, but of this there is not any evidence. It was at first stated that the bomb had been thrown from the top gallery, and that an Italian Anarchist named Soldani had been arrested whilst trying to make his escape down the staircase, but later investigations have shown the affair in a very different aspect. Soldani's person and lodgings were at once searched, and nothing found that could connect him with the exploded bomb, save a torn handkerchief, which the police say may have been torn in trying to tighten the screw of the bomb. The wrecked theatre being searched, three other bombs of a similar construction were discovered under as many seats in the parterre. These discoveries, coupled with the fact that no one has come forward to witness to anything being thrown from above, lead us to suppose: 1st that Soldani's hurried descent from the gallery was the result of panic natural to every one in the theatre at that time; 2nd that the bomb was in the possession of someone seated in the parterre; 3rd that the bomb exploded prematurely before being thrown, and in all likelihood killed the person holding it as well as those around him; 4th that the three other bombs were under the seats of confederates, also probably among the slain; 5th that all four bombs were designed for a particular point in the theatre which could be most easily struck from the parterre, and that point may have been the box of Marshal Campos, who was not, however, present at the performance of the opera, although other members of his family were. The Spanish Government has taken advantage of the natural horror excited by this affair to outlaw all Anarchists. Special powers have been granted by the ministers at Madrid to the Barcelona authorities for dealing summarily even with suspects. "All foreign Anarchists are to be expelled from the country, and the propaganda of Anarchist doctrines will be treated with the same severity as the actual perpetration of outrages."

FIRST ANARCHIST DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

All the world has seen accounts, thanks to the daily press, of the two hours' debate on Anarchists in the House of Commons, when the member for Deptford laid to the charge of the "Freedom" Group the awful crime of convening a public meeting in Trafalgar-square, Nov. 12, to deplore the deaths of certain "murderers," known as the Chicago Anarchist Martyrs, and at which meeting, furthermore, certain speakers had the audacity to mention the recent bomb explosion in Barcelona, though not with sympathy or approval.

This, in Mr. Darling's mind, was sufficient to call for severe repressive measures to be used against us. But the astute Home Secretary (whose effigy, by the way, had been hung in the Square, Nov. 11, by Social Democrats and not by Anarchists, as Mr. Darling insinuated) knew better, and contented himself with chiding his political opponent for thus advertising "a handful of insignificant persons," "foolish and very ignorant people," whose worst fault perhaps, in Mr. Asquith's eyes, is that they should be thrust, if they did not thrust themselves, between the wind and his nobility. We can imagine how the blood of John Burns boiled as he listened to the spiteful misleading statements of Messrs. Darling and Balfour, and to the sneering deprecations of Mr. Asquith when denying that he had any secret sympathy with Anarchism. Burns remembered that Nov. 12 commemorated not only the Chicago Martyrs but also the Sunday when there were crowds cracked in Trafalgar-square and he, John Burns M.P., was there as one of the "lewd fellows of the baser sort," so he rose to set the house right as to the true meaning of the Tory attack on the Anarchists, at all events, and then took the opportunity of rebutting the lying calumnies that had been uttered by Mr. Balfour about our Chicago comrades. The "Freedom" Group would be quite content to remain in the obscurity, from which they were thus suddenly dragged, so long as the members of the House of Commons would undertake to advertise Anarchism thus widely.—N. F. D.

THE SICILIAN SOCIALISTS.

The news from Sicily continues to be most interesting. The report given by the Chief Inspector of the Police, sent to investigate, was to the effect that to suppress the *Fasci* would cause a general insurrection all over the island immediately; not to suppress them would mean that the insurrection would only be deferred. Upon this, the present Italian Government has decided to defer taking further steps of suppression, preferring no doubt that a future ministry should undertake this unpopular task. Before this decision, however, very energetic steps were at first taken to suppress the *Fasci*. Many of the leaders were arrested, and troops were brought over from Italy to subdue the people, but in vain. Among current reports we hear that in some instances the women went in large numbers to the barracks demanding and obtaining the release of their men. Other women placed themselves before the soldiers saying "Shoot us," receiving for answer "We would rather give you our muskets." Nevertheless 800 women have been arrested for "rebellion" and taken in chains to Palermo! On the other hand, the soldiers and even the officers are indignant at being sent to protect village tyrants and bloodsuckers against a half starved population. The army is becoming fast infected with Socialism, which all possible rigour of the Government has been unable to prevent. A corporal and sergeant were sent in chains to Capri for having attended a meeting of the Working Men's Association and expressed sympathy with the peasants. Others have been punished for merely reading a non-socialist paper which mentioned the Association. Later reports say that the movement is spreading in the south of Italy itself, and in the country districts round about Rome, where Branches are also being established. Meanwhile the Italian Government vies with the Spanish, and German Governments in its excessive severity towards all Anarchists. Nov. 5th at Milan the police broke in upon a private meeting of Anarchists, arresting and handcuffing several of them.

ANARCHIST FIGHT FOR FREE SPEECH IN MANCHESTER.—During October and November our comrades in Manchester have been making a brave stand for freedom of speech. Their open-air meetings have been broken up Sunday after Sunday on Ardwick-green by gangs of police urged on by a specially brutal detective-inspector, named Caminada. This person had the impudence to smash his umbrella on the heads of unoffending persons in one of the meetings, and then demanded 25s. from our comrades to repair his "gamp." Perhaps the 25s. has been well laid out, as it has furnished the Manchester crowds with a weapon of ridicule that is always ready for Caminada whenever he shows his face now. The president of the Manchester and Salford I.L.P., declares that this attack on the Anarchists "is simply one of a long and sustained series of efforts on the part of the Manchester Watch Committee and the other authorities to quash open-air methods of political and social propaganda altogether." It is therefore all the more honor to our comrades that they should be the first among the Manchester reformers to try and break the series. We must admit that the "politicals" are coming forward to support our men, and in some cases, have shared the honors of arrest and fines. Knowing how detestable the Anarchists are to the Manchester lawgivers the police ran in every one that looked mild enough to be laid hands on. The magistrate distinguished between Anarchists, sympathisers and bystanders merely by inflicting double fines on the acknowledged Anarchists. Most of the men simply declined either to pay fines or find bail for their future "good" conduct, and so they are clapped in jail for a couple of months, but they are there with light hearts, for they know that their courage has attracted into the fight hundreds of men who are determined to show the police, although they are backed by the magistracy and priesthood of Manchester, that they will not be gagged for proclaiming what they believe to be the truth. Comrades Alfred Barton, Herbert Stockton, Salop, Birch, Eleanor Stockton and Ellen Barton are among those who have suffered arrest, fine and imprisonment. The *Workman's Times* gives excellent reports of these nefarious attempts to suppress the people in the free and enlightened capital of the north.

"THE LIVING WAGE."—This phrase, of which T. P. O'Connor claims the invention, suggests a very different thing from the old economic "minimum wage." It was brought forward during the recent coal strike (the end of which we have not yet reached) not as a cut and dried maxim of politics and economics, but as a human right. Its essence is that every man that works or desires to work should have a recognised right to receive a remuneration which will suffice to satisfy all the decent wants of a human being. This is an essential doctrine of Trades Unionism and people sometimes speak as if the Trade Unions had succeeded getting it recognised by society. But this is not true. This principle, until the last strike, has never been put forward so clearly as to be pressed upon the attention of all classes. Now, whether they would or not, they have been obliged to learn the lesson so ably put by Mrs. Byles of Bradford at the Hampstead meeting in aid of the miners, that "there is a necessity for all men to live decently, there is not the same necessity for men to grow rich." We have also learned from the miners' struggle that for common action it is not necessary that all shall see the same amount of light, but that all should be faithful to such light as they do see. This condition of true comradeship the miners undoubtedly fulfilled, and they were therefore fighting the common battle as well as their own, even if unconsciously. It was the sense that they were doing so that stimulated and kept flowing the stream of practical sympathy which poured forth so freely from the workers towards the miners and their heroic wives.

NICOLL AT LIBERTY.—We are glad to welcome back among us David Nicoll, who was released Nov. 1st from Chelmsford jail, where he spent eighteen months ostensibly for denouncing the judge who passed sentence on the Walsall Anarchists, in reality for his attempt to show the British public the part played by the police and their spy in that miserable affair.

ASSASSINATION.—"The assassination of the Mayor of Chicago startles the whole country. He has long been regarded as one of the most dangerous politicians in the land, because of his skill in winning the support of the most turbulent and ignorant elements of the population. He sympathised openly with the Anarchists who were tried, convicted and hanged for the deadly riots in Chicago a few years ago, and has always taken sides with the lowest classes in demonstrations against law and order. Only a few weeks ago, when the financial depression was at its lowest point, he made a declaration about the need of supporting the idle working men which was little less than inciting to riot. His persistent pandering to the worst elements in politics gave him such a strong following among ignorant and vicious voters that he was able to get elected to almost any office, and had he not been killed he would probably have been chosen United States senator from Illinois. He literally stopped at nothing in his efforts to win this following, though he was an educated man, and fully aware of the evil and dangerous character of the political doctrines he professed."

That such an advocate of disorder and lawless violence should fall a victim to the very methods he defended and encouraged is a tragic fate which may not be without salutary influence upon politicians of the same type. Of these the country has far too many."—*Daily News* New York Correspondent, Oct. 30, 1893.

We have not heard whether the writer of the above is to be prosecuted for inciting to the murder of radical officials.

CORRESPONDENCE.

AN APPEAL TO LONDON COMRADES.

Dear Comrades.—Now, that the cold weather is upon us, we have to cease from holding many of our outdoor meetings. But seeing what an enormous spread of Anarchist ideas has resulted from our summer campaign, could we not engage a hall or room in each of the districts opened up by our out-of-door propaganda, and arrange for courses of lectures on Anarchism during the winter? I feel confident from the manner in which we have been received everywhere that such lectures would be very welcome. The "Commonweal" Group have already issued a lecture list, and sent it to various Democratic, Liberal and social clubs, with the result that they have received several requests for lectures. Other Groups might do likewise. Now is the time to show people the true principles of Anarchism and undeceive those who imagine us to be the party of mere violence, instead of men and women working for that future state—

Where love shall be its watchword
And hate be trampled down,
Where the human race shall live its life
Without one darkening frown.

JOSEPH PRESEBERG.

Mr. Auberon Herbert's "Voluntary State."

(Concluded.)

"Still greater would be the effect of destroying the compulsory character of the rate. The rate perhaps does more than to discourage material prosperity than any other governing device."

Land and houses offer the readiest and most natural investment for the savings of the small man, but . . . the growing rate depreciates these forms of property and discourages ownership."

Does it? If so, good old rate! For in discouraging the ownership as distinguished from the fit occupation of property, it discourages the most deplorable and crippling of all human blunders, the noxious source of almost every form of evil doing, the most woe-working and homicidal of all modes of arbitrary domination. But, after all, the rate only discourages ownership of land and houses, and consequent domination by the individual, in order to encourage like domination on part of a governing collection of individuals. I, for one, care little whether the game be in the hands of one man or of many men, when that game consists in robbing me of my harmless liberties. In hard fact, my material prosperity is more seriously interfered with by the landlord whose extra house I occupy than by any one else at all. Compulsory rate-paying for jobs in which I am not consulted is bad. Compulsory rent-paying for occupying an otherwise empty house just that a man housed somewhere else should get at my pocket and (land-) lord it over me—this is worse.

As to ownership *per se*, nothing can really discourage it so long as the means of existence and every kind of liberty are, in the last resort, made to depend upon owning, instead of upon conducting yourself as a useful and pleasant citizen. The man in whose hands lodges the money price of the mutton chop can buy the chop, and passes for "honest" though he be the bornest of born idlers, and sit down to eat it with two locked-out and starving industrials looking on right and left of him. No question is asked as to how the fellow came to be able to buy. What does commerce care about that? If any cannot pay neither shall he eat. And if any does not own neither can he pay. Work nowhere comes in in this arrangement unless incidentally, and as a means of putting further ownership into the hands which already have some. There's your property system! On its face smirks the image of the smug profit-monger, canting about "honesty." On its obverse are three; the worn face of the weary wage-slave; the haggard face of the starving unemployed; the brutalised face of the dare-devil outcast. Meanwhile, so long as a man must own something or other before his fellows will recognise his claim to one man's share of our superabundant supplies, so long will owning be "gone in for," by hook or by crook, by everyone, from Rothschild or Vanderbilt to the pitiful pickpocket in a City 'bus. For, owning, big or little, legal or illegal, means one thing only; it means the intrusion of arbitrary terms between something and someone's use or enjoyment of that thing; and this proceeding is most evil when the man who imposes the terms is himself already well supplied. Commercial society says to the citizen: "You must own (and do business with me for my profit) or you shall not live; and for all I care you may own in such wise that others have to die." Nature says to the citizen: "You shall LIVE, whether you own or not." And the conflict between these opposing behests issues in the phenomenon we call Crime, much of which is nothing more than disregard or defiance of property's infamous regulations. To think that men are yet found to stand up in the midst of the weltering muddle and wretchedness of our economic Topsy-turvydom, and link the plea of "material prosperity" with schemes for the further encouragement on its fell course of a system which makes desperate rebels and mortal enemies of such men as a Ravachol or a Pallas! Well, let them try; they can but precipitate the Great Event—they can but hasten (even though they make more grim and more costly) that approaching outbreak of Nature and Common Sense, which shall herald the Social Revolution.

Then about the savings of the small man, for which Mr. Herbert

shows concern. Alas, for what money-saving has done for the world! Had we all and always free access to means of life, in return for good citizenship, where were the need of "putting by"? Saving, as known to-day, is the first little step in that downward course which results in the congestion of supplies and dislocation of human affairs which at this very hour is making our civilised world such a hell for a large and increasing majority of men and women. "Material prosperity"! How, except in bitterest irony, can the term be used to indicate the existing outcome of the immoral scramble for the rights of property?

And now, how about the second of the expected good results of Voluntary Statism—Increase of Intelligence?

"The intelligence of a people depends upon the efforts they make to overcome difficulties and wants. All evils and all hardships are nature's educating forces; they constrain us to find the necessary remedies, and in finding these remedies we acquire those mental and moral qualities which really constitute progress—progress being the acquisition of new qualities developed under the friction of difficulties. . . . The politician is the born mar-plot, who always interferes with the natural process . . .

. . . he takes the growing movement out of the hands of the people and turns a voluntary agency, with all its teaching and training influence, into a new bit of departmental work that asks no more of the people than to hold out their hand and take what is put into it. Thus in every direction the growth of intelligence is arrested, and every modern State-created improvement costing us thought or labor beyond giving a vote leaves the people, as regards character, pretty much where it found them."

How often is this kind of thing about the educational advantages of adversity preached to the poor from the pulpits and platforms of prosperous propertyism! It always seems to me like adding insult to injury; and the hard word "cant" will rise to mind. Be it here said flatly, *All evils and all hardships are not "nature's educating forces."* Some evils are thrust, by man's callous cruelty, and greed for domination, on other men, and in direct trespass against nature's educational processes. Some evils and some hardships are due to man's arbitrary interference with the true laws of life and of ethics. True, nature works indirectly and painfully by these also; but in far other ways than any which Mr. Herbert would deem salutary. The property-owner is himself the wage-slave's greatest obstacle; and verily the slave is to-day feeling himself "constrained to find necessary remedies." Whether or no he thereby "acquire the mental and moral qualities which constitute progress" is a matter of opinion. He certainly has to sharpen his wits. The capitalist has the wage-slave in thrall. He owns the latter's means of life and personal faculties. Among the wares composing the merchandise of the great world's mart are verily (in the words of old time) "gold, silver, wheat, beasts, sheep, horses, slaves, and the souls of men." (*Revelations XVIII.*) The cat plays with her doomed mouse; yet feline malice out-does itself in purring meanwhile about the advantage wrought to the mouse's intelligence by the worrying process, which has no visible end or object than the cat's own ultimate profit. Possibly, if it could survive the process, the intelligence of a cock-chaffer might be sharpened by its whirling efforts round a school-boy's impaling pin. There must, I think, be a hopeless twist in the minds of those who see so clearly the evils of State domination while overlooking the uglier and crueller domination of the man who by help of bludgeon and bayonet is ready to maintain his right of prohibitive custody of greater or less portions of the general resources, and who thus practically denies to the worker the ownership of himself and his faculties.

And, lastly, Mr. Herbert persuades himself that property-owning and unchecked property-seeking is the true way, leading to—

"Increase of peace and friendliness." (!) If we relieve people from State interference, "they will gradually see that the only possible solution in the interests of peace is the recognition of the differences that are inherent in human minds, and the abandonment of the unhappy attempt to force one half of the nation under the yoke of the other half."

Yes, there are differences. Some—very many—of us don't want to be forced to be owners of property, under penalty of death or destitution if we don't own property. Some of us would—oh, how gladly!—just work our best and be our best without money and without price if only we might quietly receive in return the necessities and comforts of life, and elbow-room to employ our faculties in our own way. But the capitalist has made the world narrow for us, and we are handicapped even where not hand-cuffed. Mr. Herbert thinks it horrible to use the law to "force one half of the nation under the yoke of the other half," yet has no word of protest against the actual forcing of the two-thirds or four-fifths already under the yoke of the remaining few to remain there till in the remote future it be the good pleasure of the few to release them.

He objects to the use of "material force" on part of an oppressed "faction." Should victory be won by use of such force,

"the true road of progress is lost, and passions (say rather sufferings) become so intense that, as is now happening in some foreign countries, revolution or dynamite becomes the last court of appeal."

Well, ask those factions who are resorting to revolution or dynamite whether it is the State *per se*, or rather the State as supporting the pretexts and enforcing the decrees of property that is hourly felt to be the tyrannous obstacle to peace and progress. I am one of those who in my heart of hearts believe that the State, in absence of the private propertyist, could not live a year. Property is government;—is that substance of which government is at bottom merely the magnified

shadow.

Comrades, we are surely aware that the horrible man-imposed struggle for mastery by means of Mammon has lasted its full time, with the result that fewer and fewer, whatever their faculties, are *free* as the years go by, and that the minority who are so are more and more able to suppress the rest.

Mr. Herbert professes to love Liberty, and is yet a special pleader for Property,—Liberty's natural and irreconcilable foe. Property enjoys immunity and impunity to-day, only because it owns brute force to protect it, and because it subsidises the powerless to preach Pinkertonism one hour and to cant about the Rights of Self-Ownership the next. Well, it cannot, we think, do so much longer. In a sense the trump has already sounded; the dead are awakening on every hand, and presently there will be separation of the just from the unjust on a scale and with a definiteness without precedent in human history. And then. . . .

L. S. BEVINGTON.

THE CONQUEST OF BREAD.

By PETER KROPOTKINE.

CHAPTER V.—FOOD.

I.

If the coming Revolution is to be a Social Revolution it will be distinguished from all former uprisings not only by its aim, but also by its methods. To attain a new end new means are required.

The three great popular movements which we have seen in France during the last hundred years differ from each other in many ways, but they have one common feature.

In each case the people strove to overturn the old *régime*, and spent their heart's-blood for the cause. Then, after having borne the brunt of the battle, they sank again into obscurity. A government, composed of men more or less honest, was formed and undertook to organise—the Republic in 1793, Labor in 1848, and the Free Commune in 1871.

This government was filled with Jacobin ideas, and concerned almost exclusively with political questions, such as the reorganisation of the machinery of government, the purifying of the administration, the separation of Church and State, civic liberty and such matters. It is true the workmen's clubs kept an eye on the members of the new government, and often imposed their ideas on them. But even in these clubs, whether the leaders belonged to the middle or to the working classes, it was always middle-class ideas which prevailed. They discussed various political questions at great length, but forgot to discuss the question of bread.

At such times great ideas sprang up, ideas that have moved the world; words were spoken which still stir our hearts, at the interval of a century. But the people were starving in the streets.

From the very commencement of the Revolution industry stopped, of necessity, the circulation of produce was checked, and capital was withdrawn. The master—the employer—had nothing to fear at such times, he batted on his dividends, if indeed he did not speculate on the wretchedness around; but the wage-earner was reduced to live from hand to mouth. Want knocked at the door.

Famine was abroad in the land—such famine as had hardly been seen under the old *régime*.

"The Girondists are starving us!" was the cry in the workmen's quarters in 1793, and thereupon the Girondists were guillotined, and full powers were given to "the Mountain" and to the Commune. The commune indeed concerned itself with the question of bread, and made heroic efforts to feed Paris. At Lyons, Fouché and Collot d'Herbois established plenty of granaries, but the sums spent on filling them were woefully insufficient. The town-councils made great efforts to procure corn; the bakers who hoarded flour were hanged—and still the people lacked bread.

Then they turned on the royalist conspirators and laid the blame at their door. They guillotined a dozen or fifteen a day—servants and duchesses alike, especially servants, for the duchesses had gone to Coblenz. But if they had guillotined a hundred dukes and viscounts a day it would have been equally futile.

The want only grew. For the wage-earner cannot live without his wage, and the wage was not forthcoming. What difference could a thousand corpses more or less make to him?

Then the people began to grow weary. "So much for your vaunted Revolution! You are more wretched than ever before," whispered the reactionary in the ears of the worker. And little by little the rich took courage, emerged from their hiding-places, and flaunted their luxury in the face of the starving multitude. They pranked themselves out in fantastic fashions, and bade the worker have done with his folly—with this Revolution which had left him worse off than before. "It is time to make an end," they said.

Sick at heart and weary of patience in vain, the revolutionary had at last to admit to himself that the cause was lost once more. He retreated into his hovel and awaited the worst.

Then Conservatism returned with flying colours. The political right-about-face was accomplished. The Revolution was dead. Nothing remained now but to spurn its corpse and trample it under foot.

The White Terror began. Blood flowed like water, the guillotine was never idle, the prisons were crowded, while the pageant of rank and fashion resumed its old course, and went on merrily as before.

That picture is typical of all our revolutions. In 1848 the workers of Paris placed "three months of starvation" at the service of the Republic, and then, having reached the limit of their powers, they made one last desperate effort—an effort which was drowned in blood. In 1871 the Commune perished for lack of combatants. It had taken measures for the separation of Church and State, but it neglected, alas, until too late, to take measures for providing the people with bread. And so it came to pass in Paris that exquisites and fine gentlemen could spurn the confederates, and bid them go sell their lives for a miserable pittance, and leave their "betters" to feast at their ease in fashionable restaurants.

At last the Commune saw its mistake, and opened communal kitchens. But it was too late. Its days were already numbered, and the troops of Versailles were on the ramparts.

"Bread, it is bread that the Revolution needs!"

Let others spend their time in issuing pompous proclamations, in decorating themselves lavishly with official gold lace, and in ranting about political liberty!

Be it ours to see, from the first day of the Revolution to the last, in all the provinces fighting for freedom, that there is not a single man who lacks bread, not a single woman compelled to stand with the weary crowd outside the bakehouse-door, that haply a coarse loaf may be thrown to her in charity, not a single child pining for want of food.

It has always been the middle-class idea to harangue about "great principles"—great lies rather!

The idea of the people will be to provide bread for all. And while middle-class citizens and workmen infested with middle-class ideas admire their own rhetoric in the "Talking Shops," and "practical people" are engaged in endless discussions on forms of government, we, the "Utopian dreamers"—we must consider the question of daily bread.

We have the temerity to declare that all have a right to bread, that there is bread enough for all, and that with this watchword of *Bread for All* the Revolution will triumph.

(To be continued.)

The Socialist Movement in Austria.

(From a German correspondent.)

SINCE we described, a few months ago (*Freedom*, April and May, 1893), the present position of the German Socialist movement, Anarchism has made further progress in that country; a clear separation between the Anarchists, who are by far the larger number, and the independent Socialists took place last summer, and the *Sozialist* of Berlin is now an outspoken Anarchist organ. The delegates of these groups to the Zürich International Congress assembled with others at Zürich, and, in several largely attended meetings, discussed a series of theoretical and tactical questions, mostly from the Anarchist standpoint. As we said at the end of our former remarks, we intend likewise to consider the present position of Socialism in Austria, after rapidly running over the chief events of its past history in that country. For from all historical investigations we gather fresh proofs of the fact that authoritarian Socialism, even when propagated at first with unselfish enthusiasm, ends in the triumph of ambition, corruption of the leaders and intellectual annihilation of the masses.

In Austria, as in France, Germany, Italy, Spain etc. the reaction which followed the revolutions of 1848-9 became somewhat milder in the years preceding the Franco-German war. During that last period of bourgeois liberalism, the International Working Men's Association rapidly grew in most countries, until after the war and the Commune of Paris a new reaction set in; military despotism and clericalism, in coalition with the frightened bourgeois, triumphed over the proletariat, and years of endless stagnation, viewed from the surface, still years of slow and steady, more or less underground, revolutionary agitation followed. In Austria a considerable movement of the working classes rapidly sprang up in the years 1867-69. It was, however, more conspicuous for the general international and proletarian character it adopted at first than for the ideas advocated, which were—in opposition to the ordinary Whig bourgeoisie of the democratic politicians—the State Socialist ideas of Lassalle and Marx. This movement inevitably fell into the hands of politicians, who connected it with the German Social Democratic movement of the Liebknecht and Bebel school. That is to say, manhood suffrage not yet existing in Austria (it was given about that time to the German people by Bismarck, who wanted to increase by it the Socialist and Conservative vote, to hold the balance against his bitterest opponents at that period, the bourgeois radicals) the conquest of the franchise, and later on the erection of the popular State by political means, became the chief aim of a movement the origin and growth of which was due to its originally entirely proletarian character.

The next ten years were taken up with what usually happens in such cases: rivalries of the leaders whom the masses on both sides blindly follow; more or less suspicious connections of these leaders with the Liberal or with the Clerical and Conservative parties; personal quarrels arising out of money matters, etc. Many withdrew in disgust from the party; those sticking to it swore by the name of one of the leaders, Oberwinder or Scheu, Reinthal or Tanschinski. Of these leaders only Andreas Scheu, who in 1874 or 1875 emigrated to England, and has lived since outside the ordinary Social Democratic agitation, preserved his former ideas; the three other chiefs went entirely over to the bourgeois. Oberwinder became a Christian, Social, Antisemitic Con-

servative, after having been for years the tool of the Jewish Liberals. Reinthal—the man who, whilst he was the chief agitator of the Austrian Social Democrats, denounced Anarchists in the meanest possible way (some may remember the Zürich leaflet of the summer of 1883)—became the person entrusted with writing foul articles against every working class movement in the vilest daily paper of the Vienna capitalists. Tanschinski became a Catholic and Conservative journalist. Whilst these and other bourgeois went from bad to worse, just the same happened with the workers, who, becoming party officials, only strove for a way to get a better living by deserting their party, e.g., the Bardorfs, the Schwarzingers, etc. In short, during the years 1869 and 1879, the Austrian Social Democratic party degraded more and more into a mild democratic organisation. The programs were more and more diluted, until they reached the level of the famous program of Wiener Neustadt, in 1876. No intellectual life existed, all ideas being imported from Germany. Whilst many workers, individually, were sacrificing time and money, and not seldom their living and their freedom, the movement remained stagnant and hopeless.

(To be continued.)

Trade Unionism and Revolution.

IN Leicester the unemployed movement assumes an almost revolutionary character. This is mainly due to Anarchist initiative; for our comrades there have been especially hard at work in trade union action.

One thousand or more members of the Leicester branch of Boot and Shoe operatives' union are idle and in very great straits; nor is this unhappy condition peculiar to that quarter, in London, Northampton Norwich, Bristol, Birmingham Kettering, Rushden, Manchester, Stafford and elsewhere the state of affairs is equally bad. In fact, the report of the National Boot and Shoe Operatives declares that unless Government does something speedily by way of putting things right, they need not be surprised if a revolution takes place that will shake the foundations of society.

On the 6th of November, a great meeting was held in Leicester, under the auspices of the No. 1 Branch of this Union, and after a strong speech upon the general situation by the chairman, Mr. R. Cort, president of the branch, Comrade Cores brought forward the following resolution:—

"That this meeting calls upon the authorities to take immediate steps to improve the condition of hundreds of boot operatives and other industrious citizens who are plunged into extreme poverty by a system of production over which they have no control. This meeting is of opinion that hundreds of unemployed, who are able and willing to work, are in such a state of starvation that they will be compelled, and entitled, to take the means of subsistence by illegal methods, unless help is speedily forthcoming. Further, that whenever work is provided it should be of a more suitable character than last winter's relief work, and be paid for at trade-union rates. Also that this resolution be sent to the Mayor of Leicester, the members for the borough, Ald. Inskip, and the press."

In pressing this resolution, Comrade Cores said: Last winter there were hundreds of men in the shoe trade out of employment, and great distress prevailed. It did not end with the winter months, but continued well into the summer, and he knew several men who got a few weeks' work and were then again thrown into the streets. There were many with starving wives and children who would be sorely tempted to take the minimum wage in order to get a job, and that was one of the greatest holds the employers would have over them. They relied upon the starlings in order that they might grind the men down to a condition of extreme slavery. Therefore it was the business of the union to take the matter up, and to speak out plainly and emphatically in order to let the powers that be know that the helpless and suffering had powerful friends. The distress as a matter of fact had lasted ever since 12 months ago, and the statement made by Alderman Inskip about a week ago that there were a thousand workers in the shoe trade out of employment in Leicester was only too accurate, whilst many who were employed did not earn 10s. a week. Therefore they should demand relief for those who were suffering. It was not for them to propose remedies. Let the practical people in governing positions do that. If they would not, they must be made to do it. If they could see people slowly starving and would not help them, nothing but fear would force them to do it. It would not do to provide labor bureaus. There were thousands of men at call to-day, and an institution for the supply of scab labor on easy terms would not satisfy them. They did not want registration of the unemployed, but the provision of food or work or the means of living, and they must have it. (A voice: "We will have it.") He was surprised at the amount of sympathy given to the resolution, especially the second paragraph, and he was glad to see how the Council of the union spoke out in their last report. There were men who had been out of work 20 or 24 weeks, and had no prospect of employment this side of a month after Christmas. They could not be expected to starve. It might be replied that the men were incompetent. They could give the lie to that, and even if they were, should starvation be the penalty of a shortcoming for which they were not responsible? He said no, but rather that it was the duty of the union to speak out on behalf of such men. (Hear, hear.) He wanted to know whether the present condition of things was not such as to justify strong language. The resolution was framed to show that there was a determination to have food and something else during the coming winter. (Applause.) It was not their duty to lie down like curs, and submissively allow the present state of things to continue without uttering a protest against it, otherwise they would show that they were not men, but were spiritless slaves. Referring to the nature of the work provided for the unemployed last winter, everyone knew that the employment was utterly unsuitable to men who had worked in the boot and shoe trade. They must have the means of life afforded them; if they did not get it offered, they would be obliged to take it. (Applause.) He condemned the system of overtime, which, he said, deprived those who were out of employ of the chance of earning a little. (Applause.) The only thorough remedy for the present state of things was the entire reorganisation of the present system of society.

As might be expected, great commotion followed; vain attempts were made to oppose the resolution, but it was carried by a sweeping majority. The local press boiled with alarm and surprise to think that sensible English workers should counsel illegal proceedings. Of course local M.P.'s didn't like the aspect of affairs; their occupation seemed in danger; they themselves might shortly be found in the ranks of the unemployed, and so we find them sending wise advice backed up by wise philosophy (from their point of view). But the Unemployed question cannot be settled, like Behring-sea difficulties, by Arbitration; nor as lock-outs and strikes by mutual agreement. With the Unemployed it is a question of either *Take or Die*. And so, while all parties are talking of how to settle social problems, social problems are settling themselves.

Social Revolution needs little fostering by Anarchists: very shortly the great crash will be upon us; and our duty is plainly to prepare for the inevitable. More and more Europe is becoming susceptible to revolution. Here the miners

are driven to their holes; there the dockers to their yoke; Socialists in Sicily, Anarchists in Spain are crushed by government; but the Unemployed we have with us always in ever increasing numbers. They cannot always remain impassive; here in London, there in Leicester they are rousing up; and woe to society when that great potential force becomes active, when the devils it creates by starvation and neglect, blind in their hopeless passion, reap the harvest of Despair.

F. M.

THE PROPAGANDA. REPORTS.

CHICAGO ANNIVERSARY MEETINGS IN LONDON.

Nov. 8th, at the Radical Club, Peckham, organised by the Peckham Communist Anarchist Group: speakers Banham, Presberg, Nicoll, who received an enthusiastic reception, F. Macdonald, Agnes Henry and Quinn; meeting serious, and better attended this year than last, when held in conjunction with the local S.D.F., in spite of the fact that the liberty-loving Radicals did their best to spoil the meeting by tearing down the placards from the club-notice board as fast as they were pasted up. There were also present two or three of the Melville gang, one of whom took down a report of Nicoll's speech, and was so interested in the proceedings that he contributed 2d. to the collection. Presberg sang "The Proletariat" and the collection came to 5s. 9d.

Nov. 10th, at South Place Institute, organised by London Anarchist Groups, a large gathering was assembled to commemorate the martyrdom of our Chicago comrades. O. Mowbray who opened the meeting alluded to the fact with which Anarchists are now taunted that the three men recently released in Chicago have declared that they are not Anarchists and were not at the time of their trial, but this only gave a blacker hue to the crime of their unjustifiable condemnation. Agnes Henry said this was an occasion of sorrow and joy mingled; sorrow for the noble lives that had been ruthlessly sacrificed; joy over the release of the three survivors of the cruel official conspiracy of seven years ago. She alluded to the recent deeds in Spain, where the workers are cruelly oppressed; wheremen like Pallas are driven to desperate acts of revolt, and to such terrible means of revenge as in the theatre at Barcelona, if indeed that act of horror could really be attributed to Anarchists. It was a pleasant relief to turn to Italy where there was a great awakening to Socialism.

H. Samuels dwelt chiefly on the recent exoneration of the Chicago men. From his brother in Chicago he had heard that during the recent elections Black, who had defended the Anarchists on their trial, had been pitted against the judge, who had sentenced our comrades to death, and many anarchists forwent their principles in order to vote for Black. He could understand their doing this, although he did not approve of it. Alluding to Pallas, Samuels claimed him as a comrade and also claimed comradeship with the man, whoever he was, who threw the bomb in the Liceo theatre. It was a sad affair, but not so sad as the slaughter of Matabele by Maxim guns, not so sad as the many deaths from privation that occurred daily in London, not so sad as the miners' lock-out. Pallas had called for revenge when he was shot and the revenge had begun. He, Samuels, believed in revenge, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. Samuels then read a long letter from Herbert Burrows, recently returned from Chicago, where he had seen and talked with Lucy Parsons.

D. Nicoll, who was heartily welcomed, then spoke. He opened by reading a letter about the Walsall Anarchists all of whom are well, except Deakin. Official changes occurred in the Government but they brought no changes to the workers. Changes in the labour movement came from the workers themselves. What might not have been done by a universal strike we could guess from the recent coal strike. An appeal to fear was in his opinion the only appeal for capitalists. Alluding to Barcelona, he deprecated people's saying that the wrong people had been killed. The heroes of the bible had not shrunk from assassination.

F. Macdonald then read a letter from Kropotkin regretting that he was prevented, owing to ill health, from helping to commemorate the heroic deaths of our Chicago brothers who had never hesitated to hold high the banner of Revolt and Anarchy. Hopes revive in the hearts of the downtrodden and such hopes were the best forerunners of the coming social revolution.

Comrade Macdonald commenting on the letter, pointed out that Kropotkin had used the phrase "revolt and anarchy," which we should remember were not one and the same. Revolt was but a means to an end—anarchy the ideal state.

J. Turner said that since the release of the Chicago prisoners he had been filled with new hope, for although Fielden, Schwab and Neebe had been terribly injured by their long unjust imprisonment, yet their release, better late than never, was a vindication of what the other men had died for. Co trasting Parsons and Spies with Pallas and Ravachol, he said they were men of very different types, especially as to their methods. Ravachol and Pallas were not martyrs, the others were. Similar conditions prevailed in England now as there did in Chicago seven years ago. Unionism was falling to pieces through the death of the idea, and old leaders were seeking for places and curacies. The Chicago men then, as we now, had given up hope of any good being found in the ballot-box. The workers must be prepared to face everything. Recent events at Barcelona had evoked loud cries of "Demons!" but these "demons" were the outcome of our present state of society. Anarchist were said not to have even "the ethics of a savage," but we could retort that the capitalists slew a much larger number of our brothers in cold blood, not only as our Chicago comrades were slain, but as the miners were being slain to-day, by deliberate starvation. Our great power lay in combined resistance. Governments were powerless against large bodies of even passive rebels, as witnessed by the powerlessness of the American Government to expel the large number of Chinamen who refused to register themselves despite a threat of expulsion from San Francisco.

Nov. 11th, at Grafton Hall, organised by international groups, with German, French and English speakers, amongst them the following: Turner, Nicoll, Samuels, Presberg, Agnes Henry, Gilles, Mollet, Bathke. Singing by German Choir and much enthusiasm.

Nov. 12th, open air meeting in Trafalgar Square, organised by some members of the Freedom Group; speakers, J. Turner, Nicoll, Mowbray, Leggatt, Banham, Murdock. Murdock, alluding to Barcelona, pointed out that dynamite outrages were no part of the Anarchist program, but a direct result of the desperate misery of the poor. Turner described the murder of our Chicago comrades, the circumstances that had led to it and their recent vindication and the release of the survivors by Governor Aldgelt, and dwelt on the principles of Anarchist Socialism. Nicoll spoke of Bloody Sunday, when the English Government caused English workers to be bludgeoned in that very square. The Matabele massacre was energetically condemned by all the speakers.

LONDON REPORTS—

The 'Weal Group have commenced a course of lectures, given every Wednesday night until 13th December, at the Autonomi Club. The course was opened by Macdonald on Wednesday 22nd Nov., who gave an interesting survey of Socialism and Anarchism up to date in England.

Com. Turner lectured on "Anarchist Communism" at Walthamstow, where Com. A. Henry lectured on the "Idlers and how to treat them," Sunday Nov. 23.

Victoria Park.—During October meetings have been held in this park by Comrades Leggett, Presberg, Quinn and others. Literature has sold well and much discussion has taken place. Owing to the weather the meetings have not been so regular as before, but we again ask any comrade who can give us assistance in this quarter to do so. Since spring the number of comrades in the East End has greatly increased. It is therefore to the interest of the cause to make a dead set at this park, which undoubtedly comes next to Hyde Park as a Forum of the People.

London Fields.—A few meetings have been held here by Comrades Banham and Quinn on Saturday evenings at the top of the Broadway. Rowdyism, plenty of opposition and interruption, as well as discussion have been forthcoming. One of the Christian Socialists, who lectured hard by, Mr. Kinworthy, has brought out a colony scheme for the benefit of the unemployed and has at last declared himself a Christian Anarchist. He repudiates all law and would punish no one for whatever they might do, but up to present he is unwilling to take any active part against Government. We hope after a little more pressure he will take up a bolder position.

Clerkenwell Green.—Sunday the 7th Oct. We held a very large meeting here in the evening about 8 o'clock to protest against the action of the police on the preceding Sunday who had prevented free speech from Comrade Banham. The speakers were Cantwell, Banham, Quinn and Gunderson. There was an extra number of police on the spot but their valuable services were not required.

Tower Hill.—During the month the Anarchists have not forgotten to pay a few visits to this locality. Samuels, Conway, Banham, Quinn, Gunderson and others have spoken from the parapet there to incite the unemployed not to place so much reliance on the Guardians, but resort to the policy of "take." Needless to say the S.D. element which organises the diurnal peregrinations between the various workhouses and the Hill received us with disfavour. A section of the unemployed are however in entire sympathy with anarchist principles.—C.T.Q.

Peckham.—Thursday, 19th Oct., we held a large and lively meeting at Peckham Park Road. Starting at half past eight and ending at a quarter to twelve. Interruptions from a local shopkeeper, a drunken christian and a salvationist. Speakers Quinn, Forrester, and Banham, Forrester ably defending the atheistical position. We always look forward now, at these meetings, to opposition, either from a clergyman of the Established Church, or some representative of one out of the thousand and one sects founded on the "Infallible word of God," and we get it.

Oct. 23rd at the Labor Church, Walworth, in the absence of Andreas Schen, who was to have lectured, Comrade Buckeridge opened a discussion on "True Socialism"; Comrade Banham also took part. Our usual open-air meetings have been kept up regularly, the speakers being Comrades Carter, Atterbury, Quinn, Forrester and Banham. Nov. 9th we pitched at our usual spot at Peckham Park Road, but the presence of seven policeman and two detectives showed that something was in the wind. Banham opened the meeting, but was immediately ordered by a policeman to remove the platform from the roadway and place it in the gutter alongside the pavement. To avoid bother we moved the platform closer to the pavement. The reason of this order was then seen. The pavement of course became blocked, and this afforded a pretext for the police bullies to hustle people off the footway, P.C's 218, 176, and 58 P making themselves especially obnoxious in this direction. The meetings at this spot have, up till now, been perfectly orderly and quiet, but this Thursday one of our comrades distinctly heard a policeman (paid to keep order) instructing two men to disturb the meeting, so that there might be an excuse for dispersing the crowd. But their dirty plan did not come off, the crowd being entirely with us. The following Thursday we were unable to meet at our usual spot owing to the road being up, but we held another meeting at another corner further on. W.H.

Deptford.—With the help of a few Peckham comrades meetings have been held in Deptford Broadway every Sunday evening during the past two months. The audiences have been large, attentive and sympathetic; no opposition. Literature also sells well, we generally dispose of over a quire at each meeting. Our first appearance down here seemed to have riled the chairman of the Social Democratic meeting, who, in his opening speech said he could not understand how Anarchists could have the face to appear in public after the exposures of such men as G. B. Shaw, H. M. Hyndman and others! Oct. 20th Comrade Mowbray was to have lectured at the Socialist Club, New Cross Road; but failed to put in an appearance. Nevertheless, an interesting discussion took place. Samuels lectured at the same place on the 27th on "Anarchist Economics." Nov. 17th J. Turner lectured on "Anarchism and the Labor Movement." An interesting discussion followed. Oct. 29th we had a splendid meeting on the Broadway, addressed by Quinn, Carter, and Banham, lasting four hours. T. Presberg paid us a visit on Nov. 5th and gave a stirring speech on "Anarchism" to a large and sympathetic audience. Good meetings have been held other Sundays, and we see every prospect of forming a strong group in this district. Those wishing to join should communicate with S. Carter, 14, Fairthorne Road, Charlton.

PROVINCES—

Manchester.—Nov. 20th, P. Kropotkin lectured to about 800 persons on "What Anarchism Is," in the Upper Brook Street Free Church Schoolroom. At the conclusion he repudiated the general impression that Anarchists were essentially a party of violence; if there was one party which alone had the right to condemn violence, it was the Anarchist party, which denied the right to use violence, legally and officially or otherwise. A resolution was passed protesting against the brutal interference of the police with anarchist meetings at Ardwick Green, and the meeting further pledged itself, while not identifying itself with Anarchist doctrines, to accord the Anarchists the utmost financial and moral support in carrying on the struggle for the right of free speech.

Aberdeen.—In spite of the cold our Sunday afternoon meetings at the Dock are well attended. Although Duncan still bears the chief burden of the speaking we find every now and then other comrades who can do a little open-air work too. G. W. Fraser spoke in the open air for the first time this month and was well received. The indoor meetings in the Oddfellows Large Hall have been very successful; the hall being on some occasions almost packed. Nov. 5th, James McFarlane lectured on "Legislation or Revolution." Nov. 12th we commemorated the Chicago Martyrs and at the same time protested against the continued imprisonment of the Walsall Anarchists. Speakers Don, Duncan, Blacker, McFarlane; appropriate songs and recitations were given; the audience being large and enthusiastic. Nov. 19th Duncan lectured on "The Church and the Workers." We find it difficult to get opposition and have sold a surprisingly large quantity of literature. Nov. 19th James McFarlane lectured to the Secularists on "Commercialism and Communism."—G.S.

Dublin.—The Fabian Society commenced this season with an interesting address by Mr. James Walker on "Socialism and Trade Unionism." Among the speakers were the President and Ex-president of the Dublin Trades Council—Richardson and O'Reilly, the largeness of whose ideas on the subject discussed, showing how little the average Dublin artisan is versed even in rudimentary economics. Oct. 21st an excellent address was delivered by Mrs. Brereton on "The Political, Social and Industrial Freedom of Woman." The subject was treated rather broadly and evoked a lively discussion; the chief speakers being King, Mrs. Duncan, Kavanagh and Daly. Nov. 4th A. Shields lectured on "Strikes, their cause and effect." £2 16s. 10d. was collected from the audience for locked-out miners. Nov. 18th J. Haslam delivered an address on "Old Age Pension," a lively discussion following. Nov. 25th F. Jordan, Theoso-

phist, delivered an address on the "Basis of Socialism." King, Duncan, Daly and Mrs. Duncan made interesting contributions to the discussion.

Edinburgh.—We are still pegging away in our usual quiet fashion, giving however our enemies an occasional hard knock. Nov. 5th Comrade Campbell along with Shepherd of Aberdeen went to the Meadows for the purpose of holding a meeting and were rather surprised to find Comrade Jack Robb of Glasgow driving the truths of Anarchy into the heads of an attentive audience. Robb unfortunately had to go off to catch his train so Shepherd took his place and continued the meeting. In the evening a number of comrades attended a Social Democratic lecture on a "Socialist Municipal Program," which proved to be a vile mixture of Taxation and Compensation. John Smith and Shepherd opposed and rather roughly handled the lecture, which brought all the Democrat leaders down on Anarchy. It was simply delicious to hear them "havering." Monday night following the Rev. A. Welsh lectured to the Fabians and then again we asserted ourselves, Comrades Campbell and Shepherd affectively showing the fraud of our so-called political freedom and contending for Revolutionary action. Nov. 11th a number of comrades met in the Small Moulden Hall to commemorate the Chicago Martyrs. Nearly all those present speaking on the great effect the tragedy has had in spreading our propaganda, &c. Comrade Henry sang the "Song of the Workers." On Sunday 12th we again held a meeting on the Meadows, Comrades John Smith and Shepherd speaking to a very fair audience, despite the fact that there were numerous meetings being held on all hands. Nov. 13th Comrade Campbell attended a meeting to hear one Egan, an ex-political prisoner, or an alleged dynamite, expose a governmental plot to entrap him and another Irishman named Daly. Coming out of the meeting Campbell was surrounded by about a dozen democrats like a pack of wolves, who greeted him with cries of "A' la Ravachol," "Just drop a bomb over the gallery of a theatre among a lot of innocent women and children!" "Mean coward," and so on. The truth of the matter is they are afraid of the wind being taken out of their sails by the growing influence of our movement.—H.C.

Portsmouth.—We are still going ahead. Nov. 12th we had a visit from Comrade H. B. Samuels. In the morning he spoke in Unicorn Road on "The Lock-out and its lessons" to a large and interested audience. He drew attention to the condition of Labor all over the world. In the afternoon in the Wellington Hall—kindly lent us by the Secularists—Samuels lectured on "Anarchist Communism, its principles and aim." At the same place in the evening he lectured on "The Chicago Martyrs," a resumé of their trial and butchery and the effects they have produced. He also dwelt upon the necessity of force not as helpful in the Revolution but as a means to it. It so happened that George Samuels, a Fabian lecturer, also visited Portsmouth on the same day, so we had a nice debate at the end of the morning's speech. We also had discussion on the usual lines in the afternoon and evening to which Comrade Samuels ably replied.—W.J.

Glasgow.—Nov. 10th, in conjunction with the S.D.F. we held a meeting in the Albion Hall to commemorate the martyrdom of our Chicago comrades, it was the largest Anniversary Meeting which has been held in Glasgow, and lasted for about 2 hours. Comrade Anderson was in the chair; speakers for the Glasgow group were Jack Robb, Dupont and Lerison, Nairn and Murray Kaye for the S.D.F. spoke well, and the revolutionary tenor of their speeches as pronounced as that of our own comrades. Nov. 11th the Tradeston Branch of the Labor Party held an Anniversary meeting, at which Comrade Dupont was invited to speak. His utterances regarding the Barcelona business deeply offended the political wirepullers. At a subsequent meeting they attempted to pass a vote of censure on him. It is significant that the motion had to be withdrawn. Nov. 12th Comrades Serison, Turley and Jack Robb held a large and successful meeting on Jail Square. Good sale of literature. Nov. 18th the intended visit to Blantyre of several comrades was abandoned owing to the cold weather, but we intend to take advantage of every mild Saturday in country propaganda. As there is a dearth of speakers in Edinburgh, we have arranged to send two every other Sunday to give our comrades there a hand in propaganda work. The revolutionary spirit, stronger in Glasgow than perhaps in any other city, is spreading quickly and surely, and it will not be long before the workers imbued as they are with the spirit of revolt, see through the hollowness, the trickery, and fraud of politics, and abandon the path of expediency for the nobler path of Anarchist principles.

NOTICES.

LONDON—

Hall of Science, Old-street, E.C.—Dec. 31, 11.30 a.m., Agnes Henry will lecture on "What is implied in a Secular Education."

Autonomie Club, 6, Windmill-st., Tottenham-court-road, W.—Wednesday, Dec. 6th, lecture by H. B. Samuels, on the "Economics of Anarchism"; Dec. 13th, John Turner, on "Anarchism and Trade Unionism"; Dec. 20th, Louise S. Bevington, on "Anarchism and Christianity"; Dec. 27th, C. W. Mowbray, on "Anarchism and the Unemployed Question."

Kensal Green Branch S.D.F., Levell's Coffee Rooms, Carlton Bridge, Westbourne Park.—Dec. 10th, 8 p.m., lecture by D. Nicoll on "A Plan of Campaign."

Brixton and Clapham.—Comrades living in these districts willing to help form an Anarchist Group should communicate with R. C. Moore, 3, Exchange, Upper Tulae Hill, S.W.

Deptford and Greenwich.—Comrades, please communicate with S. Carter, 14, Fairthorne-road, Charlton, S.E.

Peckham Rye.—Sunday meetings are now held at Deptford Broadway at 11.30 a.m. as well as at 7 p.m., instead of at the Triangle.

PROVINCES—

Glasgow.—Comrades, please communicate with J. Blair Smith, c/o London, 6, Craignestock-place.

Dublin.—Fabian Society's lectures on social questions every Saturday, 8 p.m., at Central Hall, Westmoreland-street.

Brighton.—Open-air meetings: on the Front, weekday evenings at 7; on the Level, Sunday afternoons, at 3.

Sheffield.—Meetings are held Sundays, at the Monolith, 11.30 a.m.; at West Bar Pump, 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Communist Anarchist literature may be obtained of A. D. Moore, 24, Rose-yard, St. Augustine's, Norwich.

NICOLL FUND.

Received: Baker, 5s.

This fund is now closed. Balance-sheet next issue. M. Galbraith, 19, Conderton-road, S.E.

"FREEDOM" RELIEF FUND

IN AID OF THE LOCKED-OUT MINERS.

Received: Per H. Cook (4th collection), 4s. 6d.; Collection per A. M., 2s. 6d.; per H. Cook (5th col.), 6s. 6d.; F. Macdonald, 2s. 6d.; A. Henry, 1s.; H. M., 1s.; A. M. (4 weeks), 10s.—Total up to Nov. 25th, £4 3s. 6d.

This amount has been forwarded to the *Daily Chronicle*, and acknowledged as follows:—Oct. 4th, 17s.; Oct. 11th, 16s.; Oct. 18th, £1.; Nov. 11th, 15s. 6d.; Nov. 23rd, 14s. 6d.

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