

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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MONTHLY ; ONE PENNY.

GRAFTON ROOMS
55, GRAFTON STREET, TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, W.

A SALE

OF THINGS USEFUL AND ORNAMENTAL,

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Proceeds to go towards paying off the printing debt of "Freedom."

BETTER PAY.

"This land is full of wealth, you know,
Which no one can gainsay;
And yet the folks are short of bread
For want of better pay.

Our master must be hard indeed,
The people mostly say,
To see us walk about the streets
For want of better pay.

I hope they soon will change their minds
And unto us will say:
Come on, my lads, and lasses too,
We'll give you better pay."

THIS is a sample of the doggerel that is being sung by the Staffordshire nailers on strike as they beg through the streets. It is typical of the false hope still cherished by many workers that all would go well with an increase of wages, although it has been so clearly demonstrated over and over again that an increase in wages under the present competitive system is pretty sure to be followed by a corresponding rise in the prices of many necessities of life.

It is typical too of the grovelling attitude that labor assigns itself towards capital, and shows that as yet there are many who have conceived no higher reward than an extra sixpence or so for the part they take in the production of wealth of which "this land is full."

There is, nevertheless, something very pathetic in the childlike manner with which these men, who lack both knowledge of their true position and power to organise for mutual aid, appeal to a generosity of feeling quite foreign to the capitalistic conscience, seeing that, where capital is at stake, neither equity nor charity has any chance of a hearing.

The winter is close upon us, and many of our own comrades are already out of work, depending on the scant funds of their societies or on the friendly help of those ill-able to afford it, and in some cases even reduced to supplicating the rich man's dole. Many are asking themselves, "What can we do to help diminish the misery around us?"—meaning by misery the actual want of bread that never ceases to be felt daily, although "this land is full of wealth."

The sight of sordid misery presses hardest on the minds of those who find no comfort in the popular anodyne,—political agitation. To them, more often than to any others, does the question present itself: Why do we delay any longer to organise ourselves for the conquest of bread? For they know it is the difficulties in the way of obtaining food and shelter that chain men in the old hateful labor grooves, making them contend with one another for places that will only bring them in some scraps from the master's table. Immediate and natural needs force men to sell themselves, yet many only feel the horror of their position when they cannot find a purchaser. Such men in continental countries, where they are policed and repressed in every way, become sometimes furious enemies of society. Here, where a man may let off steam at a political or Socialist meeting—well, he generally lets it off, or he becomes a what's-the-good-of-doing-anything-human.

But there are many who do not wish to see the starving unemployed exhaust their energies in oratory, nor yet decay by thinking there is nothing to be done. These are now making attempts to revive the drooping spirit of co-operation concerning which J. C. Kenworthy writes in this number of *Freedom*. By the Brotherhood Trusts, in which he interests himself, it is hoped not so much to defeat capital as to slowly buy it out. Unlike Booth's scheme for the unemployed, these Trusts bear no taint of pauperisation, nor penal colony, nor yet do they entail deportation to colonies beyond the sea.

Take for example the scheme brought forward by the Rev. Bruce Wallace for the absorption of unemployed miners, which of course could be equally well applied to other workers. He proposes to raise capital by borrowing money from all sympathisers who have it to spare and who have seen that, though charity may cover a multitude of sins, it cannot prevent a single one. No interest is to be paid on this capital. It will simply be returned by the Brotherhood when convenient. With the money thus raised a bid will be made to an owner for the use of a coal seam he is not working. He will be offered, say, 20 per cent. of the coal raised, and the miners to be engaged in this work are all to be drawn from the ranks of the unemployed; they are to be paid the union rate of wages, and the coal is to be distributed at advantageous prices to the members of the Brotherhood. Here we foresee the Trust doomed to the enmity of all coal owners and middlemen. There are other schemes in connection with the Trust. Stores are to be opened for the sale of good bread stuffs at fair prices. One is already started, and it is hoped to put such stores in direct communication with the actual raisers of the commodities on sale.

Such schemes will scarcely appeal, however, to those ardent revolutionists who look forward to a great day of battle and the morrow that will usher in a new and better state of society. And yet it is much to be feared that, unless the men and women who take them up be animated with a revolutionary spirit, not even a temporary benefit to mankind will result from them. They should be fields for the exercise and development of the Communistic instinct that is growing more and more within us. The actual workers in them should at least be comrades to the extent of sharing alike, even if there is but a crust to share, which is we believe what our Jewish comrades are doing in their Co-operative Bakeries in the East End of London. They might help to spread a feeling of brotherhood and solidarity if the work was carried out on terms of equality, each man taking on him the portion of labor for which he was most fitted, under the direction, but not the authority, of the more experienced, and without the detestable system of graduated wages—thus giving the world an object lesson in our belief that though men's abilities differ vastly, their material needs are not so wide apart, and so it is according to men's needs, not abilities, we would portion out the wealth they all help to produce.

Without these features no Co-operative scheme can help to disestablish competitive capitalism.

But why should it be difficult for men to organise the business of every day life on these principles? They do it as emigrants in strange countries while forming new settlements and when face to face with the difficulties of untouched Nature. Ought it not be much easier for them to organise fraternally within reach of all the comforts and appliances that are hoarded in the great centres of civil life?

And is it not amazing that the Trades Unions who are contemplating the creation of an enormous fund for parliamentary purposes have not yet thought of applying any of the thousands at their command to schemes on the Brotherhood Trust principle? The Scotch miners, who struck for "better pay" five months ago, have now returned to work on the old terms, "defeated at every point." It has cost the Unions £80,000 to keep the strikers and their families in a state of non-productiveness and semi-starvation for fifteen weeks. Surely the money would have been better spent in getting rid of the masters, by buying them out, if they are to be bought, than in unsuccessfully trying to make terms with them. Any way, such an offer from the unions, even if unsuccessful, would fix a wholesome departure.

The fact is, we are suffering not so much from want of "better pay" as from want of better spirit, or should we say better habits? Truly, as Amiel says, "for the guidance of life habits do more than maxims, because habit is a living maxim, become instinct and incarnate. To reform our maxims is nothing, it is but to change the title of the book. To adopt new habits is everything, for that is to attain life in its substance." And in the end we should all find that every new habit containing even an atom of the ideal we are all professing would mean, too, "better pay."

N. F. D.

THE CONQUEST OF BREAD.

By PETER KROPOTKINE.

CHAPTER VII.—CLOTHING.

WHEN the houses have become the common heritage of the citizens, and when each man has his daily rations of food, another forward step will have to be taken. The question of clothing will of course demand consideration next, and again the only possible solution will be to take possession, in the name of the people, of all the shops and warehouses where clothing is sold or stored, and to throw open the doors to all, so that each can take what he needs. The communalisation of clothing—the right of each to take what he needs from the communal stores, or to have it made for him at the tailors and outfitters—is a necessary corollary of the communalisation of houses and food.

Obviously, we shall not need, for that, to despoil all citizens of their coats, to put all the garments in a heap and draw lots for them, as our critics, with equal wit and ingenuity, suggest. Let him who has a coat keep it still—nay, if he have ten coats it is highly improbable that any one will want to deprive him of them, for most folk would prefer a new coat to one that has already graced the shoulders of some fat bourgeois; and there will be enough new garments and to spare without having recourse to second-hand wardrobes.

If we were to take an inventory of all the clothes and stuff for clothing accumulated in the shops and stores of the large towns, we should find probably that in Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, and Marseilles there was enough to enable the commune to offer garments to all the citizens, of both sexes; and if all were not suited at once the communal outfitters would soon make good these shortcomings. We know how rapidly our great tailoring and dressmaking establishments work now-a-days, provided as they are with machinery specially adapted for production on a large scale.

"But every one will want a sable-lined coat or a velvet gown!" exclaim our adversaries.

Frankly, we do not believe it. Every woman does not dote on velvet, nor does every man dream of sable linings. Even now, if we were to ask each woman to choose her gown, we should find some to prefer a simple, practical garment to all the fantastic trimmings the fashionable world affects.

Tastes change with the times, and the fashions in vogue at the time of the Revolution will certainly make for simplicity. Societies, like individuals, have their hours of cowardice, but also their heroic moments; and though the society of to-day cuts a very poor figure sunk in the pursuit of narrow personal interests and second-rate ideas, it wears a different air when great crises come. It has its moments of greatness and enthusiasm. Men of generous nature will gain the power which to-day is in the hand of jobbers. Self-devotion will spring up, and noble deeds beget their like; even the egoists will think shame to hang back, and will be drawn in self's despite to admire, if not to imitate, the generous and brave.

The great Revolution of 1793 abounds in examples of this kind, and it is ever during such times of spiritual revival—as natural to societies as to individuals—that the spring-tide of enthusiasm sweeps humanity onwards.

We do not wish to exaggerate the part played by such noble passions, nor is it upon them that we would found our ideal of society. But we are not asking too much if we expect their aid in tiding over the first and most difficult moments. We cannot hope that our daily life will be continuously inspired by such exalted enthusiasms, but we may expect their aid at the first, and that is all we need.

It is just to wash the earth clean, to sweep away the shards and refuse accumulated by centuries of slavery and oppression, that the new Anarchist society will have need of this wave of brotherly love. Later on it can exist without appealing to the spirit of self-sacrifice, because it will have eliminated oppression and thus created a new world instinct with all the feelings of solidarity.

Besides, should the character of the Revolution be such as we have sketched here, the free initiative of individuals would find an extensive field of action in thwarting the efforts of the egoists. Groups would spring up in every street and quarter to undertake the charge of the clothing. They would make inventories of all that the city possessed, and would find out approximately what were the resources at their disposal. It is more than likely that in the matter of clothing the citizens would adopt the same principle as in the matter of provisions—that is to say, they would offer freely from the common store everything which was to be found in abundance, and dole out whatever was limited in quantity.

Not being able to offer to each man a sable-lined coat, and to every woman a velvet gown, society would probably distinguish between the superfluous and the necessary, and, provisionally at least, class sable and velvet among the superfluities of life, ready to let time prove whether what is a luxury to-day may not become common to all to-morrow. While the necessary clothing would be guaranteed to each inhabitant of the Anarchist city, it would be left to private beneficence to provide for the sick and feeble those things provisionally considered as luxuries, to procure for the less robust such special articles as would not enter into the daily consumption of ordinary citizens.

"But," it may be urged, "this grey uniformity means the end of

everything beautiful in life and art."

"Certainly not!" we reply; and we still base our opinion on what already exists. We propose to show presently how an Anarchist society could satisfy the most artistic tastes of its citizens without allowing them to amass the fortunes of millionaires.

* * We here bring to a close that portion of "The Conquest of Bread" which we intend to publish as a pamphlet shortly. The complete English translation of Kropotkin's great book, *un vrai poème*, as Zola has called it, will be published probably next year. We shall notify all particulars in due time.

Propaganda in Norwich.

NO DOUBT comrades in other places are anxious to know what the comrades did here during the Trade-Congress week. Well, considering we have no speakers of our own, we did a very good week's propaganda.

Our Comrade Presberg came down the Sunday before, and commenced by an afternoon meeting in the Market-place. A Social Democrat should have spoken, but he did not turn up. His supporters had a platform drawn up in the place we generally stand, so seeing they were not using it we asked if we could speak from it, but to our surprise they refused to allow anything of the kind. A bit of narrow-mindedness we hope Anarchists will not be guilty of if ever they are in a similar position. We then asked if they would shift their waggon, because they had the centre and best position of the square. This they did not until one of them got up and informed the meeting assembled that no Socialist address would be delivered that afternoon as their speaker had not turned up. But Presberg jumped upon our chair and told the audience that an Anarchist address would be delivered in its stead, which was received with applause, the whole audience remaining. We made a collection of four shillings. In the evening, Presberg lectured at our premises. Monday was the opening of the great Congress.

The first day consisted in welcoming the delegates by the Mayor and city Member of Parliament. Mr. Coleman, a mighty manufacturer, who pays his girls as low as any master, also sincerely welcomed them. Mr. Hoare, a rich Tory banker, invited them to his place in Cromer, which was received with terrific applause. We fancy there must be something wrong with Trade Unionism, at least it cannot be very dangerous to the capitalist for him to welcome it in this way. In the evening, we had another large meeting.

It is impossible to go all through the Congress comedy, their paper resolutions etc. We know that these resolutions will be of no avail if they have no force to back them with, as the capitalists will give them only so much as they have power to take. When they are strong enough to enforce their resolutions, they might as well go in for the taking over the land and means of life, and straight off abolish employers and end for ever not only abuses but the cause of them.

On Tuesday night, Mr. John Burns, Esq., M.P., &c., delivered an address on Trade Unionism, an address which left the people just as much in the dark as to the remedy we require when he had finished as when he began. We distributed several hundred leaflets at his meeting. He could not end his address without giving his usual hit at the Anarchists, which, much to his disgust, brought him no applause. I think comrades should give his meetings, wherever they are, a good supply of literature, until he has the honesty to properly debate the subject, as he is so fond of abusing our principles.

On the Wednesday evening, the Land Restoration League held a meeting in the Market-place. Comrade Presberg asked to be allowed to speak after they had done; he did so, and showed the absurdity of nationalising the land without the capital and made a good address on Communism, which carried the audience with him, receiving but a very weak reply from their speaker.

On Thursday, the Collectivist resolution was passed. Thursday evening saw the feature of the week. It consisted of a meeting being held by the Independent Labor Party, with all their leading guns. The addresses on the whole were very good. They commenced by singing "No Master" and other Socialist songs, rather out of tune, by the way, but there were a good number of our comrades present, and they soon put them right, singing them with a vigour and fervour which surprised the I.L.P. and must have made them think they were rather late. During the evening, they gave some very hard knocks to the present system, which were well received, but we know that why they were so well received was owing to the work that has been done by our comrades in the past and the sacrifices that they have made.

Friday witnessed the passing of the resolution against foreign immigration. What consistency after Thursday's resolution! In the evening, whilst the delegates were regaling themselves at the Mayor's expense in St. Andrew's Hall, Comrade Presberg was speaking to a good meeting outside upon Anarchism and the Alien resolution. After he had finished a Trade Unionist delegate got up and endorsed our comrade's remarks.

Saturday saw the close of the Congress, and the impression that it left was that, providing all these delegates could change places with our present legislators, it would be no gain to us. But one could not help thinking that if there had been a few Anarchist comrades there as delegates it would have been a good thing for our propaganda. Saturday afternoon, they had the usual procession and demonstration, with bands and banners. It was a good turn out, but the effect was spoiled by very bad weather. We intended taking part in that demonstration, although for a different object. Comrade Turner arrived by the noon

train, and we expected Comrade Mowbray, but he did not arrive until later. We hired a waggonette and followed in the procession to the place of meeting, an outlandish place situated about two miles from the city—one of the worst places that could have been chosen. There was a lovely rain falling during the parade and demonstration. When we reached the ground we were kindly informed that our vehicle would not be allowed in, and that we should have to speak from the ground. So we had to back our stallion away. There were already three meetings going on. Burns's, the I.L.P.'s, and the ordinary master-loving Trade Unionists'. As the weather got better, Presberg and Turner addressed a fair meeting. In the evening, about thirty of us had tea at our club. After tea we had an outdoor meeting, addressed by Comrades Mowbray, Turner, and Presberg. We again adjourned to our club and kept it up till morning, spending a thoroughly jovial evening, such a one as we had not had for some time.

Sunday turned out a fine day, and we had three meetings out of doors, and, in spite of having to compete with three other meetings going on at the same time, we collected 15s., besides a fair sale of literature. At night, Turner lectured to a full room upon "Anarchism and Trade Unionism." It was a fine lecture and should be in print. We invited Trade Unionists to turn up and discuss with us, but they did not do so. This lecture was the finish of our week's propaganda, and on the whole it was very successful.

Presberg spoke again on the Monday night, again on the Sunday, and also on the Sunday after that, when he bade farewell, leaving for Manchester, after working hard for the cause here for three weeks.

Now, how do we stand at present? There has lately been formed a branch of the Social Democratic Federation, and also a branch of the Independent Labor Party. This is good, because it will give an impetus to us. We stand better now than ever we have done in the past, for then when we were strong in numbers most of the members did not know what the principles meant; most of them the I.L.P. has now got. And, although we are smaller in numbers, those that are with us are sound. We have made converts this last year or two who are willing to work as hard and sacrifice as much as the old comrades. It was reported a little while back that we had obtained the Gordon Hall again. We were told at first we could have it, afterwards that we could not, and that it could not be let to Anarchists. Since then, we have taken over the Radical Club premises and made an Anarchist Club of them, where discussions are held every Sunday night.

Before closing this, there is an interesting item to be mentioned. Comrade Presberg challenged Mr. Delves, the Trade-Congress president, to a debate. Delves accepted, but named a date when Presberg would be away. It was finally arranged during Presberg's absence from Norwich. On the night fixed, Delves turned up, also a large audience, but no Presberg, owing to his receiving his ticket too late. Delves afterwards expressed his willingness to debate with any other Anarchist, and, as it will cost too much to pay Comrade Presberg's fare from Manchester, our Comrade Turner has taken up the question. If Delves does not shirk it, the debate will take place during November, and a report of it will be sent to *Freedom*.

A. B.

OVER THE WATER.

A *Reuter* telegram announced October 8th that eighty-six Greek army officers charged with being concerned in the attack on the offices of the *Akropolis* newspaper have been tried and acquitted unanimously by the court-martial. The unfortunate editor has written by request in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, October 17, his account of the affair, from which we cannot do better than quote.

"For some years past the *Akropolis* did not enjoy the favor of that section of the officers of the Greek army to whom the public safety of the country was chiefly entrusted. The *Akropolis* was of opinion that security, more especially in the new provinces (Thessaly), would have been rapidly re-established if the detachments told off for that purpose set about it in a more sensible manner. It could not approve of the methods adopted in the pursuit of the bands of brigands and fugitives from justice who infested these provinces, and who not only rendered impossible the work of peaceable agriculturists, but imposed upon them heavy contributions in addition to the already onerous State taxation. The officers in command, knowing that the peasants were often cognisant of the whereabouts of the brigands, but were deterred by fear and sometimes by motives of interest from betraying them, made use of indiscriminate violence against the peasantry. The *Akropolis* condemned these tactics, not only as absolutely barbarous, but as injudicious, since the innocent were made to suffer along with the guilty.

"A second cause of resentment was soon added to this. Till the beginning of this year the provincial police were dependent upon the mayors, who, serving the interests of the factions which elected them, recruited the police force from amongst their least reputable followers, and used it as a means of persecution of their political adversaries. This evil had attained such proportions that from the 1st of January last a 'military police' was established throughout the kingdom in virtue of a law due to M. Tricoupis. The *Akropolis* was anxious to render this 'military police' acceptable and popular, and in a series of articles demanded only that it should prove itself not dependent upon a faction, but serving all honest citizens, law-abiding, impartial, independent from Governmental interference, and subject only to the dictates of law and justice. Unfortunately this hope was very soon dispelled. Very many of the police officers, and especially the police sergeants, who were christened *astyphylakes*, arrogated to themselves the authority not only of judges of the most barbarous epochs, but of executors of their own justice. A novel scale of chastisements was soon improvised, which, starting with oaths and insults travelled the entire gamut of cuffs, kicks, whacks, and cowdings, and often ended in the more expeditious mode of summary death. Not a few citizens were sent to Hades by the revolvers of the military police, while the herculean palm of a gallant officer is reckoned to have ended the days of the victim whom it smote. Such excesses could but impose upon the *Akropolis* the duty of protesting forcibly against their daily occurrence. It thereby earned the enmity not only of the officers implicated, but of those of their colleagues who approved of these violent proceedings.

WHAT ANGERED THE OFFICERS.

"A third grievance, of what may be called a platonic nature, next appeared as a cloak of the more substantial grudges. On M. Tricoupis instituting the calamity of national default, the *Akropolis*, wishing to turn into substance what he had only promised in words, 'that Greece should now draw in its sails,' urged strenuously that economies should be sought for in the army and navy by means of an organisation similar to that of Switzerland, Norway, and Sweden, instead of the present travesty of that of the great military Powers. It also advocated putting a stop, temporarily at least, to the creation of new officers, whose number far exceeds the proportion sanctioned by the great armies of Europe. In these recommendations of the *Akropolis* the best and most enlightened officers concurred, but they were not to the taste of the majority.

"The deciding incident was one which concentrated the animus of all the young officers of the Athenian garrison. Three officers of the Artillery and Engineers waylaid and inflicted severe injuries upon a student of the university, who one evening was returning home. I was then absent in Vienna; but my substitute, considering the constant recurrence of such attacks upon unarmed citizens, and the violence of the military police, published a succession of articles, decidedly severe in tone, but absolutely just in spirit and irrefutable in the statements they contained. The *Akropolis* demanded that it should be recognised that the military had no special right over the bodies and souls of private citizens.

"This was the last drop which made the cup overflow, in the guise of the destruction of the printing presses and the offices of the *Akropolis*, and of the very private residence of my family. You desire me to describe these events. It would be most painful to me to do so. I prefer to quote in substance the account furnished by the Athens correspondent of the *Nea Imera* of Trieste, a journal which has earned for itself the confidence and the respect of the Greeks in all parts of the world:—'The captains in command of the infantry, artillery, cavalry, and engineers, having instructed their subalterns to be in readiness in their barracks, sent towards the afternoon word that they should repair to the Military Club, bearing hatchets and the other engines of war usually in requisition against hostile fortresses. This done, the expedition set out, one hundred and fifty officers in uniform, and bearing their swords, taking the lead. On arriving at the office of the *Akropolis*, they broke open the door (for at that hour of an August day, when every one is taking his siesta, only the porter was opposed to the besiegers), and the armed rabble rushed in, while a cordon was established keeping the passers-by at a distance, and the officers discharged their revolvers by way of warning. The first two stories occupied by the offices of the *Akropolis* were soon reduced to ruins, the swords of the officers vying in the work of destruction with the hatchets wielded by the soldiery. Worse scenes were enacted in the floor above, the private residence of Mr. Gabrielidi, who, be it remarked, is absent in Vienna, and who is not responsible for the articles which called forth this destruction of his property. The wreckage being thrown out of the windows was received with enthusiastic cries.

THE PART OF THE POLICE.

"The garrison then turned its fury to the printing office in the back yard, where everything was laid waste. The pillage and destruction continued unchecked for a whole hour, while no sign of police authority was visible. At last the chief of the gendarmerie, the Commissioner of Police, and the *Commandant de Place* leisurely put in an appearance, and having chatted in a friendly way with their comrades confined themselves to guarding the wreckage and dispersing the crowd of citizens, which grew in numbers and in anger. Finally, messieurs the officers, finding nothing more to destroy, returned again in a body to their club, the hatchet-bearers at their head."

Here we have a year's record of military and police violence penned by a man by no means a revolutionary, far exceeding the list of outrages committed within the last three years in the name of revolution all over Europe. The "creeping Saxon" of these isles has evidently shot far ahead of the Greek, to whom he owes all the culture he possesses. Servile as editors generally are, we cannot imagine any British editor's being compelled to shut his mouth in so summary a fashion. If the modern Athenians allow such a grave scandal as this unanimous acquittal of their military braves to pass without protest we must only consider that not a spark remains in their breasts of the glorious spirit of ancient Greece. Nay, we shall be forced either to consider that spirit as an invention of the poets, or regard the men now dwelling in Athens as the descendants of base-born slaves.

The editor of the *Akropolis*, oddly enough, says in the conclusion of *Pall Mall Gazette* article that "this period of time is remarkable for the gradual prevalence of an unalloyed *parliamentarism*." Still more oddly he adds that, "as things are now constituted in Greece," only the King can lead in the reforms he suggests should be made. Poor Greece!

Midland Anarchist Federation.

November 10th and 11th, a Conference was held at Manchester, convened by the Anarchist Group there, to consider means for a closer union among the Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Midland Groups. Thirty delegates attended.

It was agreed unanimously:—

- 1st, That a Federation of all Midland Groups should be formed, to be termed The Midland Anarchist Federation.
- 2nd, That the object of the Federation is the formation of a lecture list, the exchange of speakers, the obtaining of speakers outside the Federation, the opening up of new fields of propaganda, the formation of a central fund for special purposes, and in order to enable the stronger groups to help the weaker, and to start new ones, and to find and utilise all possible methods of spreading Anarchist ideas.
- 3rd, That the Central Fund be recruited by voluntary subscriptions from all the groups included, donations, etc.; no amount being fixed, but in case of need, the Financial Secretary to write to the various groups for contributions.
- 4th, That a Corresponding Secretary, also a Financial Secretary and Treasurer, be appointed.
- 5th, That the Secretary immediately put himself in communication with all groups, and isolated comrades in towns where groups do not exist, and proceed to the drawing up of a lecture list for the Federation, also a list of lecturers and their subjects for general use.

It was further proposed to start a paper to represent the Northern and Midland views of Anarchism, which was agreed to by all present, and each delegate directed to impress upon his group the necessity of special subscriptions for this purpose.

Comrade W. Houghton, of 88, Travis-street, Manchester, has been appointed Financial Secretary and Treasurer; Comrade Alf. Barton, of 54, Coltenham-st., C.-on-M., Manchester, Corresponding Secretary, pro tem., to whom all comrades and groups desirous to assist the propagation of Anarchism in the Northern and Midland Counties are invited to communicate.

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NOTES.

PURITY.

Some time ago, a comrade wrote to us as follows:—

"New ideas are making rapid progress now-a-days, and it is indeed a healthy sign to see the sex question among others being rationally discussed. The *Westminster Review* for May contained an article by Beswicke Ancrum which deserves notice, if only for the fact that it is so difficult to get even so-called advanced people to discuss this subject. The writer of course is not an Anarchist, but he nevertheless says some very sensible things—things which need saying without mincing matters. Here is an idea which is refreshing to hear so manfully expressed:—

"Purity! Let us have it by all means. But I protest against the monstrous doctrine that there is impurity in all sexual coming together of man and woman unless done under cover of marriage according to law. The idea that marriage according to law can make pure what was before impure seems to me almost too ridiculous to merit serious consideration. There may indeed be impurity in sexual relations, whether among the married or the unmarried, as there may be excess and degradation in the natural functions of eating and drinking; but that there is any impurity in the mere union of male and female, moved thereto by mutual inclination, I most strenuously deny. . . . Let us then by all means have purity; but, in the name of reason and morality, let us not affect to see a lack of it in the natural satisfaction of natural desires. And let us beware of confounding purity with chastity. If by the latter term is to be understood, as it so commonly is, abstention from the exercise of the sexual functions, then chastity is no virtue."

CLEANSING "THE EMPIRE."

Since then we have had the question of purity raised and discussed in every paper, and from pulpit and platform throughout the country. Such discussions have been, however, for the most part, barren, simply through want of a common understanding as to what constitutes purity. Purity is too frequently confounded with chastity, just as abstinence is mistaken for temperance. We cannot agree with the methods Mrs. Ormiston Chant and her friends are using to lessen the evils of prostitution, but we can sympathise with their desire to make it difficult for capitalists connected with the Empire Theatre to make a profit out of women who sell their bodies and the degraded appetites of the men who buy them. Bernard Shaw's criticism of Mrs. Chant's statement that a prostitute could earn from £20 to £30 a week at the Empire lounge is perhaps the sanest utterance concerning this sordid subject. While doubting the truth of the statement, Mr. Shaw, in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of Oct. 16th, utilises it to point out that in earning eighteen shillings a week, the "moral minimum" wage proposed for women by the London County Council, young and vigorous girls "would have to sacrifice their beauty, their youth, their health, and their self-respect far more completely than any woman, however licentious, need do with an income of a thousand a year at her command."

"A DAMNING FACT."

Mr. Shaw goes on to say that his scepticism as to earnings of the ordinary woman on the streets "does not affect the damning fact—that if a poor girl . . . is pretty and lady-like it is better for her to trust to the protection of some rich and tolerably kind man of the upper classes than to place herself at the disposal of modern capitalism as a barmaid, a whitelead worker, a sempstress, a matchgirl, or half-a-dozen of the other alternatives offered by us to women as the reward of virtue. It cannot be too clearly understood that it is not the foolishly open-handed young gentlemen of The Empire lounge who cheapen women. It is our pious shareholders, who use them up by the thousand and who make them into most ugly living pictures of premature old age, clad in miserable garments that have an indecency far more disgraceful to us than the rosy nothings worn by the more fortunate living pictures at the music-halls." We wish the members of the National Vigilance Society could see things as clearly as Mr. Bernard Shaw; their present purblind views only enable them to stir up the muck of our great cities, and perhaps cart it to a little distance, where the corrupt matter spreads infection just as widely as before.

A PROPHECY WHICH MAY BE FULFILLED.

"Be not deceived," citizens of London, "God is not mocked; whatsoever you sow you shall reap." If you allow the clerical party, in the interests of their fatal supremacy, to injure the bodies and to stunt the minds of the boys and girls of London, those boys and girls, when they become men and women and realise the lifelong irreparable injury you have done them, will hate the clerical party and the religion you represent as they hate religion on the continent to-day. Messrs. Riley, Diggle, & Co. are sowing a fine crop of Agnostics, Atheists, and Anarchists. You may starve the poor little shivering bodies and the trembling little minds of the children now, but when they are old enough to think and to speak and to act they will make you and your children pay an awful price for the deadly and irreparable wrong you are doing them. Clericalism to-day means savage revolution to-morrow.

So said the *Methodist Times*. But it is scarcely fair to attribute all the

honor of raising such a crop to the Clerical party. Religion and its professors have, however, very often helped to bring matters to a crisis. There are many folk who patiently endure oppression in the name of capitalism that kick violently when it is in the name of God.

THE BEST SAFEGUARDS OF A FREE CONSCIENCE.

We think, however, that too much importance has been attached by London non-sectarians to the impudent attempt on the part of the champions of the old faith to cripple the consciences of Board School teachers. It has been demonstrated by the last two years' wrangling among the members of the School Board that there is a strong minority there ready to vindicate the rights of free thought, but what is still more important, the recent elections have shown that among the electors there is a large majority who believe that the best way to religion lies through the development of intelligence. Now there are also three strong obstacles between Church-superstition and the minds of our children: the teachers, the parents, and nature. The mere preparation for their profession has led most of the teachers to a broader way of thinking, which daily contact with the children of the workers could not serve to narrow. Three thousand five hundred of these are banded in a very strong union to resist any religious tests that may be imposed upon them, and it will still rest mainly with the teachers what shall be taught. Even supposing the doctrine of the Three Gods can be enforced by the Board and accepted by the teachers, whose chances of promotion would, in that case, of course depend upon the amount of servility they displayed, there would still be the parents to be reckoned with. No one can doubt which impresses a child most; the precepts taught in a crowded school or the precepts taught in the home life. It must always be remembered that, while there are sects and sectarians in the world, our children will get to know about them, but they will also ask questions as to the why and wherefore of these things. Thoughtful, reasoned answers to such questions do more to strengthen a child against superstitious errors than any attempts to keep them away from the religious instruction they are likely to get in Board or other schools. Then, too, it must be remembered that it is a child's nature to believe nothing that cannot be touched or seen, and the children who enjoy religious exercises are few and far between. They accept the religious formula when they hear those they love or respect repeat them; they reject them at once when uttered by people they have no cause to like. If children see their fathers and mothers living honorable lives without forms and ceremonies there need be no doubt but that the teaching of an impossible superstition will trickle through their heads like water through a sieve.

CANTWELL AND QUINN.—Oct. 25, Comrade Cantwell was visited in Wandsworth Prison by L. Hyde, J. Turner, and W. Wess, who found him in good health and spirits. He has been employed making mail-sacks; rather hard work to hands unaccustomed to it. He sends greetings to all good comrades. Quinn was visited by members of his own family at Wormwood Scrubs Prison. He also is well. Cantwell is looking forward to resuming work among us in a couple of months time. Comrades owing money to Cantwell for literature will greatly oblige by sending it in before January 22 to L. Hyde, 61, St. Augustine's-road, Camden Town, N.W.

Merlino's Trial: Remanded Twice.

Our Comrade Merlino has been brought twice before the Court at Florence and twice remanded. During his stay in London Merlino was sentenced in Florence, by default, to several years' imprisonment for press offences. According to Italian law, defaulters are judged by stipendiary magistrates, but if the accused, within the year, enters a legal protest against the sentence passed upon him, he has the right, when caught or if he surrenders himself, to be tried afresh by a jury; failing to enter this protest, the sentence of the stipendiary becomes binding. On the other hand, the magisterial court must make known its sentence upon the defaulter by sending a copy of it to his nominal place of residence or posting it up at the Town Hall of the city where the offence was committed, otherwise the sentence becomes void. Merlino, when sentenced, did not enter any protest, but it seems that the court failed to give the sentence the necessary legal publicity. When Merlino was first brought before the court, the Public Prosecutor declared that all the required formalities with regard to the sentence by default had been gone through. But the official report of the posting of the sentence was missing, and the Public Prosecutor charged Merlino's brother with having abstracted the document. A remand was ordered to permit an inquiry into this charge, and Merlino's brother was found by the Chamber of Indictment perfectly innocent of the disappearance of the document.

October 30th, Merlino was brought up for the second time, and again the Public Prosecutor declared that Merlino had no right to demand a trial by jury, but the Court decided otherwise. An appeal was lodged before the Court of Cassation against this decision. Should the decision be upheld, Merlino will be tried by a jury on the old charge of press offences; otherwise he will have to undergo his long term of imprisonment, unless amnestied.

The Position of Labor in America.

UNTIL a recent date, the workingmen of America were so truly imbued with the idea that they possessed indisputable political rights, and so deeply impressed with the importance and efficiency of these rights, that they staked all the possibilities of their well-being on the capricious chances of the ballot-box. Yet they were aware that the newly-elected legislators, soon after their elections, betrayed their trust. Within the last thirty years, they saw millionaires appear, grow and multiply and wages of the workers lower and sink. A few tramps began to rove on the highways and to wander in the streets of the cities; soon their number increased and reached the proportions of an army, with contingents in every part of the continent.

Years ago, I heard workingmen express their surprise and dissatis-

faction at these offensive phenomena, but to check the evil they invariably turned to the ballot-box. Years came and went; the ballot corrected nothing, checked nothing of the growing supremacy of capitalism. Yet the workingmen, with angelic patience, kept on looking to the forthcoming election to recover the ground lost at the preceding one. At times I would conjure up courage and frankly express my doubts about the efficacy of the ballot-box to right economic and social wrongs. I would tell them how in 1848 the workingmen of Paris, having overthrown the monarchy, refused to lay down their smoking muskets to wash their powder-begrimed faces and hands until they have elected new rulers in whom they might trust and had compelled the Rights of Labor to be recognised constitutionally; how the newly-elected legislators complied with the demands of the armed people and pledged themselves to provide means of living by labor for all workers; how, as soon as the people had laid down their arms, they began plotting to avoid fulfilling their pledges; how at the end of three months, during which the working class endured the most severe privations, the then established government refused to redeem their promise, closed up the national workshops and cast the workers on the street to starve, leaving them no alternative but to perish of hunger or to die in combat for their *rights of labor*; how the entire force of the law and the army was turned upon them; how, after four days of desperate fighting, tens of thousands lay dead, and tens of thousands perished in dungeons, on the galleys, and on the Island of Cayenne. Thus were the workingmen betrayed by the legislators of their own choice, chosen to perform a specific task. The law of France was made to serve as an authority to execute the bloody suppression and as a justification of the tremendous slaughter and the cruel subjugation of the working class.

The American workingmen to whom I related this historical illustration as a warning failed to see how it might apply to their own case. "This happened in France," they would say, "in old king-ridden Europe. But here, in America, *we*, the people, constitute the government; we can make and unmake it at will, just by using our right of suffrage. We have a constitution which no legislator dare ignore, and that Constitution declares that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Whilst the workingmen of America were thus rocking themselves to sleep with the lullaby of constitutional security and political privilege, the immense wealth of the country, natural and produced, became a monopoly in the hands of a few. Political and legislative power sank into subserviency to monopolists, and the toiling class grew entirely dependent on the whims and caprice of capitalists. The large strikes which took place this year have been the means of proving beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Constitution and the laws are, or may be made to be, simply instruments for the protection of the lives and the property of capitalists, and that working people "have no standing at Court." Practically, Labor Organisations are declared illegal and strikes defined as conspiracy against employers and treason against society. Assemblages of workingmen are brutally attacked by the police and dispersed. Men are clubbed, dragged before the police magistrate, and fined for no other reason than that they are a menace to "peace and order."

The great miners' strike of last spring, which spread over fifteen States, was crushed by force of arms, and betrayed by their leaders, who feared a serious uprising of the people. Those "long-headed" leaders were so full of solicitude for the property of capitalists that they declared the strike off. This caused thousands of strikers to be arrested, fined, imprisoned; others were evicted and hunted to the woods, where death by hunger awaited them. Some returned to work at starvation wages, broken down in body and in mind, helpless in the hands of the victorious and angered capitalists, hopeless of ever breaking their fetters.

The railroad strike of July last was the spontaneous expression of the discontent of millions in the Republic. It assumed proportions unprecedented in the annals of strikes. In a presumably democratic country, it ought to have had a primary claim to recognition. But the capitalists, awed by the magnitude of the movement and frantic with fear, called on the legislators to crush the uprising. The law was interpreted as best suited the plans of the rulers, and the Federal troops were marched against the strikers. Injunctions such as would befit Russia were launched in every part of the broad territory involved in the strike, the leaders were imprisoned, martial law was proclaimed by the President of the Republic, and the gatling guns dispersed the assembled people. Every act of the government and the judiciary was illegal, and proven to be so, but what of it? They were done with impunity, and will be repeated, and amplified, to-morrow, if need be. The American people have had the opportunity to judge for themselves of the value of constitution and laws placed in the hands of rulers. They seem to have awakened to the fact of the plasticity of all these statutory documents, but they still persevere in hoping that men can be found who will legislate in favor of the masses and remain true to their trust. Another series of experiment in electing rulers is necessary, it seems, before they realise clearly the words of P. J. Proudhon: "Invested with authority, all men are alike."

The Journeymen Tailors of New York struck, in July last, against a reduction of ten per cent. in their wages. In accordance with the rules and necessities of a strike, pickets were placed near the manufacturers' establishments, to advise tailors in search of work not to take the strikers' places. The manufacturers lodged a plaint at Court, and Judge Dugro, of the Supreme Court, issued a temporary injunction to restrain the strikers. The injunction was the most sweeping issued by any court at any time in America. It practically reduced Labor Organisa-

tions to utter impotency. It enjoined the strikers "from interfering in any wise, by language, by printed notices, publications, advertisements, circulars, handbills, or other devices, with the said several establishments and places of business of the several plaintiffs herein, and from interfering, enticing, or diverting from the employment of the several plaintiffs any person or persons now or hereafter in their employ, either by force, threats, intimidation, violence, blandishments, or otherwise, and from hindering, obstructing, or preventing, by signs of menace, words of menace, devices of menace, or other form of menace, or intimidation, any person or persons who may desire to enter the employment of the plaintiffs, etc."

On the 15th of August following, the case was heard again before Judge Beach, and he made the temporary injunction *permanent*. This is the funeral knell of Trade Unionism in America. Labor leaders know this to be a fact, but they will not give up their position and their salaries; they still go through the farce of governing the body now become a corpse. For my part, I would not begrudge them the honor of holding with owlsh gravity their sceptre over the corpse from now to the doom of day. But these fallen monarchs make use of the only weapon left them, *prestige*—a thing mighty in American politics—to antagonise and nullify the efforts of Liberals and Radicals* among the working class to form an organisation which will meet the needs of the hour. It is proposed to unite all the workers for a general offensive and defensive move in favor of the emancipation of labor. The "American Railway Union" and the "American Labor Union" have been formed with that object. The leaders of the defunct trade unions do everything in their power to repress the advance of those two radical associations. In this they are upheld by the capitalists and by the press, whose subserviency to the wealthy class surpasses that of the European press. Thus intelligent, progressive labor is confronted by two formidable enemies, *viz.*, capitalism and its clandestine ally, conservative labor.

New York is at present witnessing the greatest strike of garment makers ever seen. Over fifteen thousand of these have struck against the untenable conditions imposed upon them. Some days since, as they rather on Rutgers-square to form for a parade, the police made a rush at them and at the spectators, using their clubs right and left in a furious manner. The strikers, having a permit to parade, remonstrated, but this did not prevent the cracking of heads from going on. "Get out of here," yelled the police, "clear out of this place, we don't care what you've got, we'll kill you all."

Had the strikers said as much to the police, they would have been criminally indicted, but utterances of that kind addressed to workingmen raise neither surprise nor indignation. Some of the strikers were arrested and locked up. On the following morning, they were arraigned before the magistrate and charged with disorderly conduct, and one of them was fined one pound. And this iniquity obtained in the face of the fact that the policemen were the assailants and deserved to be severely punished by law. Workingmen in New York are treated by the police as if they were mad dogs; brutalities are perpetrated on them which have no parallel save in countries under absolute military despotism. All evidence tend to prove that the ruling class in this Democratic Republic are fully informed of the sullen dissatisfaction of the working class, and anticipate an outbreak. Their bold defiance of the law and the savage temper they manifest towards the rank and file of the people, together with the graciousness and favoring smiles they bestow on the labor leaders, leave no doubt as to their intention to crush the claims of labor and the laborers with one gigantic blow.

There is reason for believing that the ferocity so conspicuous in the ruling class has or will have its counterpart in the rebelling masses. And then what? The great French Revolution has been but a miniature of what will probably take place in the Republic of America at a not far remote period.

Meantime the government is preparing itself for the forthcoming emergency. General Schofield, Commander in Chief of the Federal troops, demands an increase of the army, and has promulgated an order for the re-assignment of troops in order to station them near the large cities and specially the railroad centres. The last railroad strike, he says, demonstrated the necessity for the adoption of such measures.

The Democratic American Republic, therefore, has become a military despotism. The brazen effrontery of the authorities towers over that of any European despotism. The people, who are assumed to be the government itself, who labor to pay for the maintenance of the authorities, military and others, are to have the bayonet and the gatling gun, for which they themselves have paid, turned on them as soon as they show signs of dissatisfaction. This is a pretty kettle of fish! European despotisms are tame compared to this mongrel monstrosity of a treacherous, lying Democracy. If the Americans resist the evidences given them that political authority and popular liberty cannot dwell side by side, they must be a dull-minded race. No people in recorded history has had proofs so forcible brought home to it, for the reason that no republic ever existed which claimed to be so thoroughly democratic. It it on American soil, if we may judge by appearances, that the battle for the removal of authority of man over man will be fought to a conclusion.

As a last illustration of the brutality and iniquity connected with the dealing of justice in America, I will give the account of a Police-court case of October 14. A prisoner, with slippers on his feet, was brought before the judge. He related to "His Honor" that, on the previous night, he ran downstairs for a drink at a neighboring saloon. A policeman met him, jabbed him in the ribs and told him to go home. He

* These terms must not be taken here to have the same meaning of political partydom as is commonly attached to them in England; in America Liberals and Radicals signify people of advanced opinions, including Socialists and Anarchists.

objected to being hit, but went upstairs to his room. The policeman followed him. On the landing he told the policeman to leave him alone, but the officer grabbed him and pulled him downstairs head first, punching him with his club all the way down and to the station house, and also in the morning on his way to the court. The Justice paid no heed to the charges against the policeman, but fined the prisoner \$3.

As the prisoner was going quietly back to the prison, the policeman grabbed him by the neck and pushed him brutally forward. He broke away, dashed back in front of the Judge and cried in alarm:—"Judge, he is beating me again. Can't I have protection?"

The policeman was on him again and dragged him away. Scarcely had he got out of sight of the Justice when he kicked him again in the back, driving him stunned against the wall. Then he was dragged back into prison. The prisoner, adds the *New York World* (from which I quote), was a very small man, while the policeman was a six-footer.

So barbarous a treatment inflicted on a man guilty of no offence, by policeman and judge alike, demonstrates beyond question that justice in America is a farce, and that men in authority openly and wantonly violate it. Is this not a sufficient proof that justice and government repel each other? It is not a theory, it is a fact that confronts us.

MARIE LOUISE.

New York, Oct. 24.

Reconstruction.

IN usual and natural order, the social movement of our time began by attacking the existing forms of society. Its first instinct was for the destruction of the obstacles that loomed large in the immediate front of Socialism and its logical outcome, Anarchism; both began by being revolutionary in the violent sense. But our generation of reformers has by now learned the lessons that a gospel of denial and destruction is no gospel at all; that only a few minds can be roused by mere discontent and denunciation; that the true motive forces in social progress are hope and action.

A fact that more and more impresses me in my experience of social reformative work is that, beneath the largely superficial distinctions which part us off into Socialists, Christian Socialists, Communists, Anarchists, and what not, just a few simple and primary instincts of humanity are at work. The desire of the State-Socialist, however hide-bound his theories may be, is for—Freedom. The Christian-Socialist seeks, however blunderingly, the fulfilment of the promise, "the truth shall make you free." The Communist would make the perfect support of each by the power of all, as the foundation to be the liberty to live and move and have one's being. The peaceful Anarchist would find deliverance from bondage in self-surrender to the law of goodwill. The militant Anarchist would emancipate himself by the destruction of the individuals in whom his oppression is embodied. Between the peaceful Anarchist and the militant Anarchist is the only complete antagonism in principle which the various sections of the movement present. The former bases his hope for humanity on the power of love; the latter would use first the method of hate, which is violence. The former says to the latter, "How shall Satan cast out Satan?"

Lately there have been many indications that the movement for Freedom is finding and entering upon the better way. For instance, the recent conference at Nantes (according to the account in *The Torch*), which was strongly dominated by Anarchist sentiment, plainly pronounced in favor of the agitation for industrial reorganisation, carried on through co-operative societies and trade unions. Clearer sight and wiser purpose than this I cannot imagine.

Why should we waste time, thought, and energy in pulling the legislative jumping-jack which the exploiting classes have set up at Westminster for us to play with? Again let us repeat what Carlyle trumpeted into deaf ears half-a-century since,—*The Social Problem is the Regeneration of Industry*. That work no Parliament can achieve. It must be wrought out by the hands and wits of every man and woman—aye, and every child—of the people. "Co-operative Society" and "Trade Union" are words spoken and deeds done from the heart of the people, telling us of the way in which we must travel.

We do not need to get the Socialist economics embodied in Acts of Parliament, but to get them put into practice in our Agricultural Communes, in our Factories, Shops, and Homes. *Only the voluntary co-operation of a nation can effect that.*

But even while seeing this clear and substantial issue, let us not forget that the present forces of society, organised for the prevention of our ideal, must be reckoned with. Parliament wields the police, the army, the laws—and this power must be *disorganised*. While it has life and operation, our voluntary co-operation can but maintain a difficult foothold in an enemy's country.

Two possible fates confront us in England. Either we shall lose our national life, dying down, like another Greece or Venice, under unconquerable oppression, which finally destroys itself as well as the people; or we shall be born again from among the workers, by their power of combination and self-assertion against the tyranny of exploitation. The power which shall bring about that new birth, the first such which the world shall see, is one, and one only,—*Brotherhood*.

We suffer from want of goodwill, of love, among the units of our society. Do the laborers love one another more than lords do, or crossing sweepers more than capitalists? I doubt it! And until the Gospel of Reconstruction begins to promote true, self-forgetful fraternity among the toilers, it is no true Gospel, but a sham one. You may interpret this truth from many a page of history, bright or bloody.

If a real co-operative union of workers on a Socialist and fraternal plan were once largely adopted by men and women who possessed the needed right spirit, our country—nay, Europe—might be fired to a revolution of peace and industry, more deadly to classism, exploitation, and oppression of man by man than the whole sum of armed uprisings which have been since the world began. In such a direction some of us are looking and working. Our company is growing in numbers, and I welcome the appearance of this article in *Freedom* as evidence that larger forces are gathering to our aid.

J. C. KENWORTHY.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE COMMUNE.

By LOUISE MICHEL.

I.—THE DEATH AGONY OF THE EMPIRE.—(Continued.)

"All Paris will respond!" so we thought. But Paris remained deaf. The shutters were closed on the Boulevard de la Villette, and in front of No. 41, the fire station, Endes and Brideau were thrown into a cab, round which the mob yelled: "To the Prussians with them!"—There was a moment of silence in Paris as in the presence of one just dead. It was the revolution once more stifled. The police had had full warning. Not so the groups. Treachery had done its work. It is so every time.

From Montmartre and elsewhere we arrived only in time to see the vehicle containing the prisoners driving away, amid the hooting of the detectives and the imbecile crowd. And still the people waited, not yet repudiating the Empire.

Endes and Brideau were condemned to death for having desired to proclaim the Republic. There was some difficulty, though, about carrying out the sentence. Public opinion began to get a glimmer of the situation; many thousands of signatures were appended to Michelet's letter protesting against the execution, which letter we—Adèle Esquiro, André Léo, and I—were charged to deliver to the governor of Paris.

It required all our feminine obstinacy not to give back their signatures to certain timid individuals who had signed in the first moment of indignation but were now attacked by misgivings. Their lives, they said, were at stake. They expected that the Emperor would condemn not only the actual revolutionists, but also all those who had anything to do with them.

It was no easy matter, either, to approach Trochu, or rather the general who represented him. We effected an entrance more or less by surprise; and on being requested to go away, we sat down inside, declaring that, as messengers from the people, we would not leave until we had received an answer. Tired of seeing us seated there immovable as statues, and not venturing to turn us out by force, one of the individuals present at last went off to Trochu's representative, who no doubt felt the weight of the voluminous packet, and noted with some consternation the number of signatures. At any rate, answer was sent to us that the matter would be taken into consideration. Such promises went small way to contenting us; for we knew how worthless they would prove if the Empire remained. However, the calamity of Sedan dealt it a mortal blow.

Events, meanwhile, moved quicker as the days passed. This same deluded crowd, which had thought to wait till after the war in order to overturn the Empire, applauded departures which were no part of the plan of Governor Trochu. It was not till January 19th that the National Guard were allowed to attempt the recovery of Montretout and Buzenval. Possession was taken of these places; but the men, wading ankle deep in wet mud, were unable to mount their field pieces on the heights and had to fall back. There it was that the National Guard fell by hundreds; men of the people, artists, young fellows for the most part; the earth drank the blood of this preliminary hecatomb. It was yet to drink the blood of many another.

* * As *Liberty* is now publishing a translation of Louise Michel's "Recollections of the Commune," scarcely differing from this, we think it advisable to reserve the space hitherto devoted to these memoirs for other matter.

Our Literary Supplement.

RICHARD JEFFERIES.

"THE STORY OF MY HEART." By Richard Jefferies. (Longman: Silver Library, 2nd edition, 1891. 1 vol., 3s. 6d.)

From the autobiography of this too little known writer we give the subjoined extract, the significant bearing of which our readers will not fail to grasp. It might well be called an essay on:

OUR STUPIDITY.

The most extraordinary spectacle, as it seems to me, is the vast expenditure of labor and time wasted in obtaining mere subsistence. As a man in his lifetime works hard and saves money, that his children may be free from the cares of penury and may at least have sufficient to eat, drink, clothe and roof them, so the generations that preceded us might, had they so chosen, have provided for our subsistence. The labor and time of ten generations, properly directed, would sustain a hundred generations succeeding to them, and that, too, with so little self-denial on the part of the providers as to be scarcely felt. So men now, in this generation, ought clearly to be laying up a store, or, what is still more powerful, arranging and organising that the generations which follow may enjoy

comparative freedom from useless labor. Instead of which, with transcendent improvidence, the world works only for to-day, as the world worked twelve thousand years ago, and our children's children will still have to toil and slave for the bare necessities of life. This is, indeed, an extraordinary spectacle.

That twelve thousand written years should have elapsed, and the human race—able to reason and to think, and easily capable of combination in immense armies for its own destruction—should still live from hand to mouth, like cattle and sheep, like the animals of the fields and the birds of the woods; that there should not even be roofs to cover the children born, unless those children labor and expend their time to pay for them; that there should not be clothes, unless again time and labor are expended to procure them; that there should not be even food for the children of the human race, except they labor as their fathers did twelve thousand years ago; that even water should scarce be accessible to them, unless paid for by labor! In twelve thousand written years the world has not yet built itself a House, nor filled a Granary, nor organized itself for its own comfort. It is so marvellous, I cannot express the wonder with which it fills me. And more wonderful still, if that could be, there are people so infatuated, or rather, so limited of view, that they glory in this state of things, declaring that work is the main object of man's existence—work for subsistence—and glorying in their wasted time. To argue with such is impossible; to leave them is the only resource.

This our earth this day produces sufficient for our existence. This our earth produces not only a sufficiency but a superabundance, and pours a cornucopia of good things down upon us. Further, it produces sufficient for stores and granaries to be filled to the roof-tree for years ahead. I verily believe that the earth produces enough food to last for thirty. Why, then, have we not enough? Why do people die of starvation, or lead a miserable existence on the verge of it? Why have millions upon millions to toil from morning to evening just to gain a mere crust of bread? Because of the absolute lack of organisation, by which such labor should produce its effect, the absolute lack of distribution, the absolute lack even of the very idea that such things are possible. Nay, even to mention such things, to say that they are possible, is criminal with many. Madness could hardly go farther.

That selfishness has all to do with it I entirely deny. The human race for ages upon ages has been enslaved by ignorance and by interested persons whose object it has been to confine the minds of men, thereby doing more injury than if with infected hands they purposely imposed disease on the heads of the people. Almost worse than these, and at the present day as injurious, are those persons incessantly declaring, teaching, and impressing upon all that to work is man's highest condition. This falsehood is the interested superstition of an age infatuated with money, which, having accumulated it cannot even expend it in pagentry; it is a falsehood propagated for the doubtful benefit of two or three out of ten thousand. It is the lie of a morality founded on money only, and utterly outside and having no association whatever with the human being in itself. Many superstitions have been got rid of in these days; time it is that this, the last and worst, were eradicated.

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

H. S. Salt, in his "Study of Richard Jefferies" (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Macmillan & Co.; 1894), says: "The key to Jefferies's character is to be sought in his rich sensuous disposition, full of passionate yearning for physical no less than spiritual beauty. His natural religion may be summed up in his own words: 'I believe in the human being, mind and form, flesh and soul.' He held it to be the sacred duty of every man and woman to cultivate by all the means in their power, all possibilities of physical health, inasmuch as a deficiency in bodily vigour must inevitably warp and stunt corresponding vigour of the soul. An idealist of this kind could hardly fail to resent and rebel against the sordid heartless conditions of modern society, in which half the grace and joy of living are strangled in the wolfish struggle of competitive existence. . . . There are many indications in his later volumes of his Socialistic or rather Communistic spirit, which is the more remarkable as having developed itself quite spontaneously from his own personality, in direct opposition to all the associations and surroundings of his youth and manhood."

This spontaneous development of a striking personality is traced by Mr. Salt with an accurate sympathy, that arouses in his readers a desire to be better acquainted with the writings of Richard Jefferies.

"THE ANARCHIST PERIL." By Félix Dubois. 1 vol. Translated from the French, and with a chapter on English Anarchism, by Ralph Derechef. (London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1894.)

Whatever of peril to society from Anarchism M. Félix Dubois discovered during the compilation of this volume, it must be admitted that some slander might fall upon Anarchism were such books suffered to pass unchallenged as an authentic history of our movement. At first when it appeared many of us were doubtful whether to regard it as likely to further or damage our cause. That it has been hailed with effusion and read with eagerness by State Socialists as well as highly praised in the pages of the *Daily Chronicle* and *Justice* are facts which alone ought to remove any doubts as to what object it serves. There is no need to suppose that the author meant to deliberately deal a treacherous blow to the adherents of Anarchism, it is sufficient to accept the statements of his friends that he wrote it to put money in his purse, and for that purpose sought chiefly to make his book one long string of sensationalism, from the presentment of a bursting bomb on the cover to the last of the 284 inaccurate, and often contradictory, pages within.

The first chapter pretends to sketch the origin of the Anarchist party, but is mainly a libel on Bakounin. The chief reason for charging Bakounin with being a traitor to the cause he espoused seems to have

been that, although he was sentenced to death three times, he was never executed. Before the book appeared in English form a long account of it appeared in the *Daily Chronicle*, to which paper Sergius Stepniak wrote as follows:—"I hope you will allow me to protest without further delay against the calumny upon the memory of a man who was my friend, and who has done so much for the awakening in Russia of the noble spirit of rebellion against tyranny . . . thousands among the most active of the so-called 'Nihilists' revere his memory as that of their first teacher, who was instrumental in directing the whole course of their lives. To this service, rendered at the close of his eventful life, Bakounin might add the record of eight years' imprisonment partly in the Alexeévsky Ravelin and of six years of Siberian exile; three sentences of death passed upon him by different government; and fifteen years of incessant work in direst poverty for the freedom of the world as he understood it." We have never yet known a spy to be rewarded with prison, although it is seldom the trade brings in more halfpence than kicks. And, as Stepniak further says, to admit the probability of such a man as Bakounin being a spy is quite as absurd as to suppose that Mazzini was a spy of the Austrian Government. As "the resolute antagonist of the State and all class distinctions," Bakounin came into conflict with the arch priest of State Socialism, Karl Marx, who seems to have helped largely in circulating this unfounded charge. We hope to publish a full record of the most unbecoming attitude of Marx and Liebknecht in this affair. Both Marx and Bakounin were friends of George Sand, and this lady, becoming weary of Marx's continual whispered accusation of "spy," while maintaining a friendly demeanor towards the man he slandered, one day finding them together turned to Marx exclaiming: "Why do you always call Mr. Bakounin a spy behind his back and yet greet him in my presence as an honest man?" To which Marx could make no reply. M. Dubois has chosen to record in his pages specimens of the venom that has ever since been flowing from Marxist pens concerning Bakounin. Even his advocacy of Pan Slavism is adduced as another proof of his insincerity. To most people his desire "to deliver the Slavs who groan under the yoke of Teutons and Turks" would be a desire very natural to an ardent revolutionist, just as a Socialistic Irishman of to-day might cry "hands off" to England, before he could propose the foundation of a "strong and free federation" of the Kelts in one of Nature's groups. As a specimen of the author's inaccuracy, compare page 12, paragraph 4, where it says that Bakounin's "personal influence was practically nil," with p. 20, par. 2, where it is stated that, when Bakounin visited London in 1861, "his immense power of seduction was almost all that remained to him . . . he still possessed the art of winning the confidence and sympathy of of all who approached him without being previously prejudiced."

Passing to the second chapter, which deals with the last twenty years of Anarchism, it might be expected to find statements concerning the men and things of to-day accurately set down, but this is not so. The chronological sketch is, we believe, taken from a pamphlet by Comrade Darnand, itself a compilation from newspapers, not always the best sources of information. On page 35, and later on, p. 268, it is briefly stated that Kropotkin was expelled from Switzerland "on account of his incendiary speeches in London" 1881. The true facts are so interesting and apparently so unknown that we here take the opportunity to state them. Kropotkin was expelled in 1880 from Geneva for the part he took in Socialism and Anarchism altogether, but chiefly for what he said in mockery about electioneering. The decree of expulsion was rescinded with excuses. In 1881 he was expelled from Switzerland after the killing of Alexander II. to please the Russian Government, the pretext being the proclamation signed by all the Labor Organisations of Geneva against the quintuple execution, "the most horrible ever seen," as the *Times* then said. Kropotkin wrote the protest; it was at first prohibited then permitted by the police, and finally posted on the walls.

Chapters III. and IV. give some details, interesting despite the author of the methods of organisation and spread of ideas among the French Anarchists. Chapter V. treats of the Anarchist press, and here again we come on a fine sample of the author's method. Specimens of various papers are given, one being a quotation, probably from *La Révolte*, warning its readers that "the informer Coulon, who came out in his true colours at the Walsall trial, is issuing a new paper, the *International*." Notwithstanding this, when the reader reaches Chapter VII., he will find that Dubois quotes pages full of rubbish from this very *International* as genuine Anarchist literature, though every one knows it was penned under the noses of Melville & Co., Scotland Yard. The crimes of Ravachol are harped upon, while the brutalities committed on helpless Anarchist prisoners by the police at Clichy, which led to the first Anarchist bomb in France, are passed over as being only what Anarchists said about the affair (p. 170).

Chapter IX. is the only one worth careful consideration. It is from the pen of M. A. Hamon, whose "Psychology of the Professional Soldier" we noticed in our last April number. It is a serious and sympathetic attempt of a clever man to classify and elucidate the mental characteristics of those who profess Anarchist principles, and is the summary of a book entitled "The Psychology of the Anarchist," which M. Hamon is about to publish.

As to the conclusion by Mr. Ralph Derechef, the less said about it the better. It is the history of English Anarchism with the Anarchists left out. It looks as if Mr. Derechef got tired of his task before he well began it, or that he cut his chapter according to Mr. Fisher Unwin's cash.

The book is worth borrowing for the sake of the numerous reproductions it contains of the clever drawings taken from *Père Peinard*.

"CRUELITIES OF CIVILISATION: A Program of Human Reform." Being Vol. I. of the publications of the Humanitarian League. (London: Wm. Reeves, 185, Fleet-street, E.C. In paper cover, 1s.; cloth, 2s.)

This volume contains the following essays:—(1) "Humanitarianism: Its General principles and Progress," by H. S. Salt; (2) "I was in Prison: A Plea for the Amelioration of the Criminal Law," by Robert Johnson; (3) "A Plea for Mercy to Offenders," by C. H. Hopwood, Q.C., M.P.; (4) "Women's Wages and the Conditions under which they are earned," by Miss Isabella Ford; (5) "Dangerous Trades," by Mrs. C. Mallet; (6) "The Humanising of the Poor Law," by J. F. Oakeshott. A second, volume containing the essays on vivisection, sport, private slaughterhouses, etc., will shortly follow.

RECEIVED: "The Land for the People," by C. Wickstead; "Margaret Dunmore," by J. H. Clapperton; "Slaves to Duty," by J. Badcock; "Literary Humaniores," by H. S. Salt; "The Villagers' Magna Charta," by J. Morrison Davidson; "Bombs," by W. A. Whittick; "The Social Question" and "A Handbook of Anarchy," by J. A. Andrews, and various Australian papers of much interest. Comrade Andrews has also sent an article on Australia, which unfortunately arrived too late for insertion in this number.

THE PROPAGANDA. REPORTS.

LONDON.

Peckham.—Comrade J. Turner lectured to a packed audience at the People's League, on Saturday, September 16, on Anarchist Communism. Our comrade gave a magnificent defence of Anarchism, and the slashing manner in which he replied to his opponents, utterly pulverising their arguments, we shall not soon forget. A debate will shortly take place between our comrade and Mr. Lees, the President of the League. Literature sold well.—W. H.

Deptford.—Still progressing. On Thursday, September 6, Comrade Sherman gave his maiden speech from the platform. On Sunday, September 9, in the morning, a mass meeting was called by the I.L.P., in the Broadway, in favor of their candidate for the School Board. When we started, their "mass meeting" consisted of about five boys and a dog, all the rest flocking around us. Robert Harding addressed our crowd on the "Fallacies of Voting," counteracting finely the rubbish that was being spouted at the vote-for-the-right-man-which-is-me meeting. Audience enthusiastic. In the evening we held a mass meeting to commemorate the murder of the miners at Featherstone, on September 7, 1893. By means of our black bannerette, inscribed "Remember Featherstone," we held a fine crowd together. Speakers: Carter, Tochatti, and Forrester. Thursday, September 13, Forrester lectured on "Objections to Anarchism answered." He was opposed by a Social Democrat, who said that Social Democrats did not believe in government, and that they went "for absolute freedom and a little bit more." Thursday, 20th, Comrade Ebb gave a fine speech on "The tendency towards Anarchism." Comrades Tochatti, Turner and Kitz have helped greatly. Mr. Hertzfeldt, of the N.S.S., has also delivered a course of Secularist lectures, meeting with very poor opposition from the sky-pilots. On Sunday, September 16, the followers of the meek and lowly Jesus hoisted a placard on a pole, round our meeting, warning the people to "Beware of Infidelity," and also containing libels about Secularists. This very quickly disappeared from sight—the crowd tearing it to ribbons. We are trying to arrange for a Hall for the winter.—W. H.

Stratford.—We still continue to hold big meetings, in the Grove, every Sunday. We have had Leggett, Mowbray, Turner, Kitz, and Peddie to speak for us.—G.

PROVINCES.

Burnley.—Here in Burnley, one of the greatest strongholds of advanced thought and especially of Social Democracy, an Anarchist group has sprung into existence, causing no little amount of lively interest to be taken in its proceedings. Sept. 3rd, Comrades McQueen and McCabe opened fire upon a large gathering, which was chiefly composed of Social Democrats, in Burnley Market-place, and were very well received. At the close of the speeches many questions were asked and much discussion indulged in, which brought the meeting to a decidedly successful issue. The discomfiture manifested by a number of official Social Democrats at the favorable and often enthusiastic tone of the meeting was most amusing, especially during the discussion. Their Club is almost within hearing distance from the market-place, and, to prove even more forcibly than we could, that authority is a vile monstrosity, they—during the progress of the meeting—summoned a special committee meeting whereat it was resolved that any member known to participate in Anarchist propaganda would be expelled; also that all members be requested to keep away from Anarchist meetings. (See *Socialist*, September 7th and 28th.) Comment is needless. Despite these despicable authoritarian tactics, the propaganda has grown so strongly that we can well afford to pity those who initiate them.—Large and interested gatherings have been addressed since then by Comrades Barton, Stockton, Banham, and Caplan, and plenty of literature has been sold at each meeting. Withal the prospects for Anarchy in this district are bright and encouraging. Accrington, Rochdale, Oldham, and other places are showing unmistakable signs of advancement, and will ere long be heard of fighting in the ranks of the army of Freedom.—P. M.

Since the above report was sent in, we have held meetings every Sunday morning and evening in the Market-place, and occasionally on Woodhouse Moor in the afternoons. Our local speakers, Murdoch, Barnes, Sollitt, Simmons, Drake, and Cores, have all worked hard, and we have exchanged speakers with the groups in Leicester, Manchester, and Liverpool. For the winter months we have taken a club in conjunction with our Jewish comrades, and intend to carry on a vigorous propaganda there, in both Yiddish and English. It is close to the centre of the city and adjoins the Market-place. At a lecture in the Co-operative Hall, on October 13, Mr. Owen Greening, of London, administered some severe knocks to the State Socialists. In the discussion succeeding the lecture our Comrade Murdoch took part, and his remarks were received with loud applause by the audience many of whom were middle-class people. The lecturer spoke up in favor of the Anarchists, although he disclaimed any connection with them. He stated that he knew both Bakounin and the brothers Reclus, and told the audience that the former was "a giant both in mind and body." Altogether, things are going on well here, and next summer we hope to open up some new ground in other parts of the city.—W. H.

Dublin.—A very large meeting of the Sheridan Literary Society was held on October 16th, in Quinn's Hotel, Great Britain-street, Mr. J. F. S. Parker in the chair. The debate, which attracted a good deal of attention—"Is Anarchy Inevitable?"—was opened by Mr. L. G. Sherlock. The speakers on the affirmative side quoted several instances from history to prove their assertion. They showed the degraded condition of society at the present date, and claimed that a change in the ruling of that society was necessary and imminent. Monarchy had governed in the past most tyrannically, but it could not do so in the future, as the people are becoming more educated it must finally go under and Anarchy

become inevitable &c. The speakers on the opposite side endeavored to refute their arguments. The chairman criticised the various speakers, and pointed out the great success of the debate. Putting the question to the meeting, the latter decided in favor of the arguments of the affirmative by a majority of two. Bravo, Dublin!

Leicester.—During the last two months the comrades here have not been asleep. In September we held Tuesday evening meetings at the Cross, in Belgrave-gate. We distributed old *Freedom's* and made very fair collections. Comrade Smith opening and Banham following. Very little opposition, except on one occasion, when a temperance fanatic told the crowd the old tale, that their poverty was the result of intemperate habits. He was easily disposed of by our comrades, much to the amusement of the crowd. Occasionally Comrades Smith, Banham and others have held forth on Anarchy to small audiences in Infirmary-square, on Thursday evenings. Our Sunday meetings have also been very good. At the morning meetings in Russell-square, where we have no outside speakers, Comrades Cores and Banham have delivered addresses. The audiences have been of a very sympathetic and enquiring turn of mind. The evening meetings in the Market-place have been a great success. During the election we held grand meetings. They were addressed by Warner, Smith Banham, and Cores, who proved to the satisfaction of the crowd the fallacy of voting being a means of their emancipation. We have had Comrades Nicoll, Mowbray, Barton, and also made an exchange with the Leeds group. Comrades Barnes and Cores coming here, and Banham and G. Cores going to Leeds. All comrades from other towns have made good impressions on the audiences, especially Mowbray, who related his experiences in America. In addition to the above propaganda we have conducted a series of lectures in the Gladstone Club, on Friday evenings, opened by Banham on September 14th and followed by Barclay, Cores, Wynne, and Miss Barclay. By these means several thinking men have been attracted to study our ideas. On the whole, the propaganda is very promising, and we are now busy arranging for the Chicago Commemoration.

Liverpool.—The Anarchists in this city have for some time past been carrying on a very successful campaign. Numerous meetings have been held each week. Splendid audiences, all more or less in sympathy with our views, have listened attentively to the lectures, and purchased a good deal of literature. We have also forced our way into the Tory stronghold at Birkenhead, and opened fire on the enemy, who at first threatened to give us some little trouble. We have stormed their fort, destroyed their fortifications, and fixed our camp in an almost impregnable position. On a Sunday evening some few weeks ago, Comrade Despres of Liverpool with Comrade Barton of Manchester arrived in the town as usual with the intention of holding a meeting at the Park entrance. Something like an organised attempt was made to put a stop to the proceedings. The police and their inspectors stood by and laughed heartily while a gang of cads, who had been well supplied with drink in an adjacent hotel, were led on by a solicitor and town councilor and by a son of a late mayor and President of the Oxford Union Debating Society, to make a disturbance. One of our comrades was arrested, marched through the town by four "snuffers," and detained for three hours, during which time the authorities, aided by the cuff and collar brigade, tried by every means in their power to trump up some charge which would stand investigation. Having failed in the attempt, our friend was released. This was a splendid advertisement. On Monday evening four or five thousand People assembled in the Haymarket, to express their sympathy with "the Anarchist." We have had first class meetings since, for although we were threatened with arrest if we attempted to speak again, we have done so and set the police in defiance, as they have not dared to put their threat in execution.—T. W. B. T.

Leicester Prize Drawing.—Winning Numbers.—507, 1034, 929, 400, 144, 703, 704, 361, 264, 1053, 452, 376, 758, 601, 1035, 395, 943, 863, 444, 182, 673, 159, 270, 460, 363, 796, 756, 450.

Chicago Martyrs Commemoration.—For the first time since the death of the Chicago Martyrs, this year London Anarchists did not commemorate that event by one great united meeting. Comrade John Turner has tried hard to procure a large hall, but failed to obtain one. There were, however, a number of local meetings, the most successful of which were that at the Grafton Rooms, on Monday, November 12, and the one convened jointly by the Canning Town Anarchist Group and the S.D.F., at the Shirley-street School Room, on Thursday, Nov. 15. At the former the speakers were Comrades Werner, Morton, Wichers v. Gogh, Leggett, Young, Wess, and two French, while the local German choir rendered some revolutionary songs. At the latter, Comrades Godbold, Tochatti, Vincent, Agnes Henry, and J. Turner delivered spirited addresses. The large audience was quite enthusiastic. During the evening, Mrs. Tochatti sang "Annie Laurie," "All for the Cause," and the "Mars Hailse." A letter was read from Comrade Kropotkin, which was heartily received by the audience.

In Manchester a very successful Commemoration Meeting was held on Sunday, November 11th, in Stevenson-square; Comrades Barton, Drake, McQueen, Stockton, W. K. Hall, and Despres kept an audience of fully 2,000 people, standing in the cold and damp, for fully two hours, and evoked much sympathy.

NOTICES.

LONDON.

Open-air meetings, addressed by Anarchist speakers, are held on Sundays, at Hyde Park, Regent's Park, Victoria Park, and Hoxton Church, at 11 a.m.; Hyde Park at 3.30 p.m.; Hyde Park and corner of Wood Green-road, Tottenham at 7 p.m.

Deptford.—Open-air meetings are held on Deptford Broadway: Sundays, at 11.30 a.m. and at 8 p.m.; Thursdays, at 8 p.m.

Canning Town Anarchist Group.—Open-air meetings every Sunday, 11.30 a.m., at Beckton-road.

To South-London Anarchists.—The Deptford Group have taken rooms at 395, New Cross-road (top floor), and trust that all South-London Anarchists will turn up and support. Gifts of books, pictures, or anything suitable for a club will be thankfully received by W. Hart at that address. Group meetings every Monday. All South-London comrades invited.

PROVINCES.

Leeds.—Open-air meetings are held every Sunday morning, at 11 o'clock, in Vicar's Croft, and at 7 o'clock in the International Workers' Club, New York-st. The English and Jewish Groups have taken this Club for the indoor propaganda during the winter months.

Leicester Open-air propaganda.—Sundays, Russell-square, at 10.45 a.m.; Market-place, at 6.15 p.m.; Humberston-gate, at 8 p.m.

Glasgow Anarchist Group.—Lectures every Sunday evening, at 6.30 p.m., in Wellington Palace. Comrades and friends desirous of assisting financially in the large expenditure of this series of indoor lectures will please communicate with J. Elair Smith, 66, Brunswick-st.

Comrade Austin, who has been in correspondence with Comrade Malato, is requested to kindly send his address to *Freedom*, 61, St. Augustine's-road, Camden Town, N.W.

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