

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

VOL. XI.—No. 113.

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MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

TO OUR READERS.—An Extra Two-page Supplement is published with this issue, which accounts for our lateness in appearing, but as it is of the first importance that all comrades and as many of the public as we can reach should know the facts relating to the barbarous trial and torture of the Barcelona Anarchists, we decided to include all matter bearing on the case in the present issue.

THE POLICE PLAGUE.

The Apotheosis of Authority.

For the last few years one can observe a striking increase of power on the part of the police authorities. Not only in Turkey does the Police organise the murder by the thousands of defenceless women and children; not only in Russia is the liberty, the safety, the honour, and frequently the very life, of the best citizens given over to the arbitrariness of spies, the mercenary police, and to a rudely ignorant gendarmery, but also in constitutional and republican Europe did the police succeed in putting itself above all laws, charters, and parliaments.

The police in Italy arrests and banishes whomever and whenever it thinks fit. In Paris we saw the police beating the deputy Baudin, brutally ill-treat the Anarchists of Levallois-Perret, bands of drunken police kept in a state of siege the peaceful inhabitants of the *Quartier Latin* for a whole week, killing the defenceless visitors of the cafés, assaulting the women and children that happen to come in their way. That same police of Paris, when it comes into their head, throws into prison scores of people without any legal proceedings. To the question of a Royalist reporter, "Why the police arrested, before the arrival of the Tsar, about thirty people?" he received the reply of the prefecture: "Because we, the police, regard them as Anarchists and as dangerous people. To watch them while they are free is not so convenient for us as when they are in prison, under lock and key!"—"Perhaps for the police it is convenient, . . . but the law, the rights of the individual." . . . "The police," replied the impudent prefect, "can arbitrarily arrest half of Paris under the pretext of the safety of its other half."

And the police arrests whomever it wants, keeps them in prison for months, for years. They even found the means to keep people life-long in prison under a pretence for madness. After arresting a man, the police calls to aid miserable dregs of science—the jesuitical and police school of charlatans à la Lombroso, Bertillon, Hamel, and others, and these pensioners of the police budget and secret funds are bidden to declare the arrested man a madman, and there is an end of it: the mercenary representatives of charlatanism, for an additional hundred francs, are always ready to corroborate the order of the police. . . More than that, the police exhorts these their servants to defend its right of imprisoning people for life, and all these Ferris, Bertillons, Lombrosos, and Hamels are using all their powers in order to prove that every Revolutionist, and especially every Anarchist, is a madman and maniac whom the police can keep and leave to rot in the prisons. . .

Just such tactics have been adopted by the once free Switzerland. The public has not yet forgotten the slaughter of workers at Zurich, the repeated arrest of an American tourist. But what is not known to the public at large is the actual suppression of one of the fundamental laws of the Swiss constitution—the law of asylum. If you, a revolutionary Socialist, have escaped by flight from the persecutions of the police of your country, then the land of Tell will not deliver you . . . oh no! However, the police finds your sojourn not quite convenient, and consequently asks you to leave. If, within 24 hours, you have not left the country, the police will accompany you to the frontier. What frontier? O, the police is very humane; it will never bring an Italian, a Frenchman, or a German to a frontier where one does not speak their native tongue, always to their native one, their own, and even informs beforehand the police of his native country, in order that the man should not remain without guardianship; and so he is delivered from hand to hand. . . .

"Shame! The violation of *habeas corpus*! The trampling down of the law!" the English reader will exclaim. "That means that on the continent the police has become all-powerful, but here—" And here too the police, especially the spies—i.e., that scum of humanity to whom no honest man will extend his hand—these have become the absolute managers of the honour and liberty of everybody. Those men condemned at Walsall by means of the dynamite conspiracy organised by police agents; the case of Tynan, Bell, etc., as well as the disgusting confessions of the spy Jones as to the provocations to explosions and bloodshed. . . all these are the work of the secret police, which has become international and powerful.

One of the most remarkable cases of their acquired power we saw in the recent political scandal of Berlin, in which ministers and ambassadors found themselves caught in the trap of the secret police. These administrators of the affairs of "great Germany" were found to be the victims of the intrigues of their own agents—the spies. Thanks to the energy of Marschall, this affair meanwhile ended there with the exposure of the scandal; but it is likely that the secret police of Germany will have an energetic revenge.

Who of us, whether rich or poor, whether private people or public agitators, even among the members of both Houses, who is it that can say with certainty that he is safe in his own house from the intrigues and violation of the police? Who can guarantee that the agents of the new jesuitical order, invested with power, supported by the government, and whose ranks are filled by the dregs of all classes, that the agents of this brotherhood do not, in the rôle of servants, commissioners and so forth, ransack their houses, taking copies and photos of the most secret documents, of the most intimate correspondence with their beloved ones? Nobody and nowhere. Without exaggeration, can it be asserted that even the aged Gladstone is not swarmed, in accordance with the orders of the Sultan and with the assent of Said Pasha* and his international colleagues, by some disgrace of humanity of the type of Jones.

Some time ago, not so very long, all honest and thinking people in Europe carried on an open and energetic fight against the absolutism of monarchs. It was by means of revolutions that our ancestors limited the power of kings, submitted to the law the right of military interference with the private and social life. On the ruins of absolute power, on regulated militarism grew up the shameful arbitrariness of the international and local spies. Our forefathers had to fight the arbitrariness of militarism. But in the army there are men of talent, education, honour—and yet their arbitrary power has been limited.

Men of talent, education, honour, will you consent to become spies? No? And our generation has transferred the old arbitrary power of militarism and absolutism into their hands, and, to all appearance, we did not even take into consideration how fatal their power threatens to become to civilisation and the social development of European mankind. They restored the Inquisition in Spain, the *lettres de cachet* in France, they are poisoning our intellectual and moral life.

But this is not enough that we will refuse to become spies. People of all parties and social positions should take measures for the protection of the honor, freedom, and life of the citizens. . . . Otherwise the spy system will crush us.

JOHN NEVE.

EARLY in December, 1896, John Neve died in the convict prison of Berlin, after undergoing there and in the prison of Halle nearly ten years of penal servitude. He had been, at one time, almost the soul of the German Anarchist movement, and was one of those comrades who devoted their lives fully and unreservedly to the cause. Like with most of the early German Anarchists, Reinsdorf, Stellmacher, Kammerer, Eisenhauer etc., death, on the scaffold, in the hospital ward, in the prison cell, was their immediate reward; whilst a grateful memory by all friends of the cause, and the conscience that the seed they sowed would grow and ripen—as it has done since—is their definite reward.

Johann Christoph Neve was born on April 12, 1844, at Ulversbuell, in the duchy of Schleswig, belonging at that time to Denmark. It is strange that nothing is known of his early life, except that he worked as a joiner in various countries, including England and the States. We met his name in print for the first time in the first number of the *Freiheit* (London, January 4, 1879) as a member of the editorial committee. This paper of John Most rapidly developed from a Social Democratic into a Revolutionary Socialist organ, until—first by an article on organisation, published on July 10th, 1880—August Reinsdorf raised the subject of Anarchism, hitherto ignored by the paper, but soon taken up with sympathy and fully developed. John Neve, while working at his trade—and a very skilled and steady worker he is said to have been—devoted all his spare time and money to the work of sending out the *Freiheit* and the many thousands of leaflets reprinted from it to the continent, and doing other work connected with the paper. This was no mere routine work, as the *Freiheit* was the most eagerly hunted counterband in Germany and Austria, and any amount of skill and pluck was required to invent everchanging devices for sending it over the frontiers.

The paper was equally persecuted by the official Social Democrats, whom it exposed without mercy, and who replied but by insults and by sneers

* The Minister of Police in Constantinople.

at the alleged cowardice to attack them from the safe asylum of "free England." In this, however, they were soon disproved, for after publishing the article "*Endlich!*" (At last!), dealing with the death of Alexander II. at the hands of the Nihilists, the *Freiheit* was seized and John Most arrested and sentenced to eighteen months' hard labour. Undaunted, the *Freiheit* continued publication and more than ever it fell to the lot of Neve to carry the paper over all difficulties. Nor was the slightest compromise dreamed of; bolder the paper became number by number, and on May 13th, 1882, the defiant article "*Der Rebellen Antwort*" (The Reply of the Rebels) was published, approving of the assassination of Cavendish and Burke in Phenix Park. Up till then the paper, published at 22, Percy Street, had given Neve's name as the publisher; when this article appeared, a new raid was made by the police and the compositors Schwelm and Merten were arrested and sentenced to eighteen and three months' hard labor respectively. Neve had escaped to the continent, perhaps to Paris. The *Freiheit* was carried on for some time here, and later on in Switzerland, until after the release of Most, in the autumn of 1883, it was transferred to New York.

During this period nothing is known of Neve, which simply means that he was active and managed not to get arrested; for nothing is said to have been more against his way of action than to give any prominence to himself; all his work was of a silent and practical character, and we hear of him only when he is arrested.

At that time the Austrian movement had taken a definite turn towards Anarchism, to which the government replied by arresting, in August 1882, the most able men of the Vienna movement, who were tried only in March 1883 and mostly acquitted. During this period of persecution Neve came to Vienna, where, after a week's stay, he was arrested on December 23, 1882. According to the Austrian law he would have been made responsible for every word published in the London *Freiheit* that was against the Austrian laws—and almost every line *was*—because he had sent the paper to Austria. Ten years were at that time in store for those who merely circulated copies of the paper. Neve declared that he was not Neve but Ernest Stevens, and an English workingman. For seven months he was kept in prison, and all means—save torture, the revival of which, in Spain, was left to the end of our glorious century!—were used to disprove his assertion, but his ruse won. He was not tried as Neve; but instead of being released as "Stevens," he was handed over to the German police at the frontier and rearrested—an act of self-contradiction which led large numbers of Vienna workers to make a hostile demonstration before the buildings of the Chief of Police of Vienna, on August 8, 1883.

By the way, one of the chief arguments that the government possessed for the identity of "Stevens" with Neve was a note published in the *Sozial-Demokrat* of Zürich (on February 8, 1883) that "in Vienna the Anarchist Neve, the former manager of the *Freiheit*, was arrested." It was generally known at the time that Neve denied his identity, and the *Freiheit* passed him off as being in New York; yet this paper—repeating what it had done to August Reinsdorf two years previous—was careless or reckless enough to publish this information.

At Hanau, Neve was kept six months more in prison and then tried (early in February, 1884), when the court—assuming his identity with Neve—sentenced him to six months' imprisonment, having been unable to prove anything against him save sending some numbers of the *Freiheit* to a workingman in Hanau.

Liberated in June, 1884, after eighteen months' imprisonment, he went to Zürich. In the meantime the Austrian movement had been broken up by atrocious persecutions, early in 1884, and Switzerland was a centre of agitation, until the expulsions of 1884 and 1885 reduced it to the level of the monarchical States of the continent. On August 8, 1884, Stellmacher had been executed at Vienna, and a broadside published by the *Freiheit* in commemoration of his death was widely spread in Switzerland. Neve and others were arrested, midst of September, and on December 15 he was expelled from Switzerland.

He managed to reach London, but to stay here and be "safe" (as long as he was doing nothing) was not in his line. More and more, the introduction of revolutionary literature into Germany and Austria had become difficult; Hungary and Switzerland had persecuted and expelled the refugees, and the north-western frontier alone was left. Here Neve went. In the latter part of 1885, he went to Belgium and settled at Liège. As everywhere, he here also worked at his trade and used the sparetime on Saturdays and Sundays to pass the frontier and travel to the neighbouring towns of Aix, Cologne, etc., to post from there parcels of *Freiheit* and *Rebell*. Of course, his action would not be limited to that, which made it still more dangerous for himself and imposed the pledge of absolute secrecy upon all who knew where he was. His prudence and caution must have been enormous, for he passed at Liège the time of the 18th of March revolt and of the subsequent miners revolt all over the coal districts of Belgium (in the spring of 1886). And he might have continued his almost single-handed propaganda at this time of the utter depression of the German movement, had he not fallen a victim to one of the foulest traps ever laid.

On this subject a great deal has been written, and it would require a small book to gather and sift all the positive and circumstantial evidence brought forward. Everybody who is interested in the matter has long since formed his own judgment, and the general public could not judge from the rapid *resumé* which alone space would permit here. Yet it is due to the memory of Neve to give an account of bare facts, showing how he met his dire fate.

It appears that early in 1887 the German police wanted to get hold of Neve by all means, hoping, in their minds, to bring a capital charge against him. This has never been substantiated, as the trial was secret,

and all we know is that he was found guilty of sending some dynamite from places within Germany to persons who turned informers on him. In any case, the police must have absolutely ignored his address and temporary personal appearance (for he knew how to change this), else they would have arrested him on German territory, which he often entered. It became necessary for them that he should be identified by one whom he had known as a comrade and who knew him.

At this time Theodor Reuss lived in London; he had been expelled from the Socialist League, in the middle of 1886, as a supposed police spy, yet had found people who took up his case, chiefly among the German section that gathered round J. Peukert. At present it is known as an absolute fact that Reuss was a police spy; at that time anybody would have been absolutely careful in all relations with him, most of all a man of the experience of J. Peukert—who had managed to come unscathed off from Austria after the stormy years of 1882 and 1883, when robbery and assassination were committed round him, and the press denounced him as the moral instigator of all; a man who had eluded all the traps that must have been laid for him at that time must have been cool-headed and unable to commit a reckless, unpardonable indiscretion as the following act was.

At New Year of 1887 J. Peukert and Theodor Reuss travelled together to Brussels, thence to Liège, where Peukert went to see Neve, and brought Neve and Reuss together. It was since published—by one of the spies who watched them, and where it is possible at all independent evidence confirmed it—that at Brussels and Liège every step they took was watched by German spies, save when Peukert went round to look for Neve at Liège; this latter fact, if the witness is believed at all, can be differently interpreted. It is not proved that Neve himself consented to see Reuss—for we do not know what reason Peukert gave to him to meet Reuss or somebody* at a coffee shop; in any case, Neve would not speak to Reuss, who had to leave; and later on, when Neve went home, he did so running, being aware, it seems, of foul play. Yet he was followed by the spies to his lodging, and henceforward an easy victim.

It is said that the spy who published these details—Trautner—in a minute of remorse, warned Neve not to cross the frontier again; anyhow, Neve did not do so, and after they had waited in vain for six weeks, by an infamous and at that time unprecedented act of the international police, he was arrested at Liège on February 21, 1887, and whilst he was all along in employment as a joiner, was sent the next day to the German frontier on the pretext of being a vagabond—and there arrested as an Anarchist.

It is evident that the action of Peukert laid him open to the gravest charges which were openly published and discussed; but this does not concern us here. I repeat, the above facts are what all sides admit.

Neve again tried to hide his identity, it is said, but at the trial (Oct. 3—10, 1887, at Leipzig) he admitted to be Neve. He was sentenced—after the secret trial—to fifteen years penal servitude, whilst the public prosecutor, Tessedorf, one of the bitterest enemies of Socialists and Anarchists, had "only" demanded ten years; he was found guilty of sending to others dynamite and publications inciting to high treason, also of perjury—because, when arrested in 1883, and passing under the name of Ernest Stevens, he had sworn not to know a comrade with whom he was confronted.

Besides two letters—published in the *Sozialist* of January 2, 1897—nothing was made known from him since the prison gates closed behind him. Three or four years afterwards the rumour went abroad that he went mad. Nothing definite is known about this. We have heard John Daly's description of how the prison authorities gave out Dr. Gallagher's madness for shamming, and continued their brutal task on his body void of reason. Perhaps it was the same with John Neve, for it is reported that he died in the convict prison, and not in an asylum; or are the rumours false and, to lighten his sufferings, did he keep his reason until his death? His sister was informed on the bank-holiday in December last that he died "*some weeks ago*"—that is all the trouble taken by the government upon the death of one of its victims.

He will always live in the memory of comrades.

**

REMINISCENCES OF WILLIAM MORRIS.

BY A WORKING COLLEAGUE.

(Continued.)

Government he held in supreme contempt. He says, "It is but the necessary result of the careless, aimless tyranny of the times: it is but the machinery of tyranny. And not only in the affairs of the nation, but everywhere." He says, again, "In State, in Church, in the household, we must be resolute to endure no tyranny, accept no lie, quail before no fear." This innate aspiration for freedom, and his contempt for rulers and opportunism, was at the root of the split in the Federation; and, as the facts are now well-nigh forgotten and in some cases misrepresented, I think it necessary to reproduce some of them here.

It is well known to the older members of the Socialist movement that attempts had been made to crush out local freedom in affiliated bodies, and to expel or render unpopular those individual members who had asserted their independence. The organ of the party, also, had been in the hands of an irresponsible editor who had declared himself determined

* From a letter by Neve—published, after the above was written, in the Berlin *Sozialist* of Jan. 9—it is now evident that Neve was not aware that Peukert led him to meet Reuss.

to resign rather than allow the Federation to have any control over the conduct of the paper. There was also a tendency in the S. D. F. to political opportunism which, if developed, would have involved us in alliances, however temporary, with one or other of the political factions. There was also, among those who favored these views of political adventure, a tendency to national assertion, the persistent foe of Socialism; and it is easy to see how dangerous this might become in times such as we were then passing through. All this became intolerable to a majority of the Council, and it was decided to part company.

The first work of the new organisation, the Socialist League, was to make the position clear as to its attitude towards parliamentarism; and a circular to Socialists was issued, signed by Morris and the other seceders. After explaining the cause of our resignation, the circular goes on: "Our view is that such a body in the present state of things has no function but to educate the people in the principles of Socialism and to organise such as it can get hold of to take their due places when the crisis shall come which will force action on us. We believe that to hold out as baits hopes of amelioration of the condition of the workers, to be wrung out of the necessities of the rival factions of our political rulers is delusive and mischievous. It would have weakened our propagandist force by driving us into electioneering and, possibly, would have deprived us of the services of some of our most energetic men by sending them to our sham Parliament, there to become either nonentities, or perhaps our masters and, it may be, our betrayers."

As we are more concerned with Morris than with any particular period in the history of the movement, we will give his own views of parliamentary action. In the little pamphlet, *For Whom Shall We Vote*, written in 1885, just before the General Election—"Workingmen, keep away from the poll altogether!—Do NOT VOTE. You are governed as a lower class by an upper class: let the class that governs you take all the responsibility of its government, and itself bear all the fear and hatred that may come of it! the one thing which the ruling classes desire, whether they be Conservative, Liberal or Radical, is to make you the accomplices of your own enslavement. We show you the snare; avoid it, and do not vote." "When those who govern you see the number of votes cast at each election growing less and less, and note at the same time the growth of Socialist bodies in every town, in every village throughout the country, terror will fill their souls, and one of two things they must do—either use violence against you, which you will learn how to repel, or quail before you and sit helpless not knowing what to do, until the time shall come when you, well knowing what to do, will step in and claim your place and become the new-born society of the world."

"Compare the ideal which we International Revolutionary Socialists offer you, and which it lies in your own power to realise, with the miserable pettiness of parliamentary party life and the mean lies and hollow pledges of an election contest, and then surely you will agree with us that it is your business *not to vote*, but to prepare yourselves to bring about the Social Revolution and accept its happy consequences."

Again, in *The Labor Question from a Socialist Standpoint*, a lecture delivered in 1886. After enumerating some of the things the worker has to pay for, he says, "He has also to pay for the thousand and one idiocies of parliamentary government, and ridiculous monarchical and official State; for the mountain of precedent, nonsense, chicanery, with its set of officials whose business it is, under the name of law, to prevent justice being done to any one."

It may be said that all this only applies to Parliament as at present constituted; but Morris has made quite clear his deprecation of parliamentary reform and his entire sympathy with all revolutionary attempts of the workers to gain their freedom in the *Commonweal* of May 1st, 1886, in which he says, "But there is another thing besides bourgeois stumbling into State Socialism, which shows which way the tide is setting, and that is the instinctive revolutionary attempts which drive them into these courses. What is to be said about these? They are leaderless often, and half blind. But are they fruitful of nothing but suffering to the workers? We think not; for, besides the immediate gain which they force from the dominant class as above said, they are a stern education for the workers themselves. And, however bitter that education may be, it surely is not so much worse than the periods of quietude they have had to endure; the worst thing we have to dread, though every day now it is less to be dreaded, is that the oppressed people will learn a dull contentment with their lot, and give their masters no more trouble than may come of their dying inconveniently and being terrible objects to look at or speak to while they live; the rudest and most unsuccessful attempts at revolution are better than that, though *that* is what is chiefly aimed at by middle-class social reformers."

"With all genuine revolutionary attempts, therefore, we must sympathise, and must at the least express that sympathy, whatever risk its expression may subject us to; and it is little indeed if we can do no more than that."

"*The Commonweal*, then, will steadily continue to put forward the principles of International Revolutionary Socialism; will deprecate all meddling with parliamentary methods of reform. Constitutionalism means the continuance of the present system; how can Socialists, therefore, who aim at abolishing the system, support its support? With all revolutionary movements the *Commonweal* will sympathise as it always has done, and will not accuse the people of rashness for doing what they have been forced to do, or of blindness for making the only protest against their wrongs that they are able to make."

This was written, not in a time of peace and quietude, but when the whole civilised world was in the throes of revolution; when the workers of all countries were expressing their discontent with their miserable

surroundings. In London the Trafalgar Square riots, which caused such a panic among the middle-class that commerce was paralysed for a few days, and in order to appease this terrified class the authorities were compelled to discharge their chief of police, and repressive measures were put in force against us. In Belgium the riots of March and April at Liege, Ypres and Charleroi. In France the Decazeville riots, in which M. Watrin was thrown out of window and trampled to death by the workmen whom he had robbed and tyrannised over, raising such a wail in the middle-class of not only France, but every country in which the popular fury was feared. In America the agitation for lessening the hours of labor had commenced, ending in the throwing of the bomb in the Haymarket and the loss of so many staunch comrades. For us who are in the van of the movement this expression of sympathy with revolutionary attempts on the part of the workers is of the greatest value.

(To be continued.)

S. MAINWARING.

The circulation of "Freedom" and the propaganda.

Comrade W. Wright sends us the following suggestions to aid our circulation and to help the propaganda:

All comrades who can to order two or more copies from a newsagent.

A copy to be sent to all Socialist societies.

That a notice be put in *Freedom* asking all comrades to subscribe for it.

That a propaganda fund be started to thoroughly organise London groups and meetings for the coming summer.

That a Conference be called for Easter Sunday to discuss the organisation of the propaganda.

Freedom "Social" at the Holborn Town Hall.

The above gathering was a great success. From 5 till 8 o'clock the little ones—to the number of two-hundred or more—enjoyed themselves to their hearts' content. The small hall was crowded, and presented a most animated appearance while the youngsters enjoyed a free romp. Some comrades and friends had supplied plenty of substantial refreshment, and each child carried home a souvenir of the occasion. From 8 till 12 the adults had a mixed concert and dance, which was slightly confused by the children who hadn't "cleared out"; but before the end everyone had a chance of enjoying himself, and all's well that ends well. The financial result will be given in our next issue.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

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The Editors are not necessarily in agreement with signed articles.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

- L. SMIRNOW.—MSS. safely to hand. Shall have early attention.
 EMIL F. RUDEBUSCH.—Your work, "The Old and the New Ideal," has reached us, and shall be reviewed in our next issue. Thanks for letters to hand.
 E. DALY.—We have read your letter carefully, and although there is some truth in what you say, there is also much we cannot agree with, that seems to us an incorrect estimate of things. Can you give us any suggestions for strengthening the propaganda?
 J. MARCH, Deptford.—Your letter should certainly be read at the conference rather than printed in "Freedom." Shall we hand it to J. Perry?

NOTES.

THE poor savages of Benin have aroused the white man's ire, having resisted his intrusion into their country in a manner that has cost the lives of several of Her Majesty's subjects. No doubt these poor creatures have some very objectionable ways, and occasionally indulge in human sacrifices to propitiate their gods. Britannia cannot allow this, as it's a thing she never indulges in herself. But the poor Benin savages, if they could read, for instance, the list of workmen's accidents as published in the *Daily Chronicle*, if they could comprehend the sacrifices to commercialism, cruelly and cynically enforced by "Britannia's" economic conditions, they would prefer extinction to the "civilisation" that the white man will force upon them.

THE disgraceful proceedings in connection with the Bell case clearly show the mean and despicable tricks to which governing powers are driven to have recourse in order to uphold political and economic injustice. For that is really at the bottom of it all. No increase of political liberty, as that saps the power of the rulers; no active crusade against private property, for that will bring economic equality and justice for the workers, and consequently an end to the robbery practised by the exploiters.

Such a glaring iniquity as the Bell case is authorised by Scotland Yard to gull the public and to frighten the upholders of privilege. This time they have, however, gone too far, and the eyes of many will be opened; whilst the thirty or forty thousand pounds (it is said that Bell alone received ten thousand for his "trouble") which goes to Scotland Yard will be spent in rewarding that most degrading of all callings—the work of the spy. Thus governments breed and spread corruption.

AT the final meeting of the Hammersmith Socialist Society at Kelmscott House, on Sunday, January 17, Andreas Scheu, in his remarks, asserted that the Socialist League was a failure and this failure resulted from the fact that Morris was no leader. Commenting on this, a comrade writes:

Out of the Socialist League a considerable portion of the present Anarchist movement has directly grown, and if the S.L. ceased to exist, the reason was that its existence was no longer felt to be necessary. During the latter period of its existence, most of the members had studied and adopted Anarchism, and thought best to act on their own lines; so the loose forms of a constitution and rules were dispensed with.

It should be emphasised that Morris, honest and fair-minded as he was, never tried to make use of this machinery of power to impose his particular views on the main body. Whilst he disagreed with Anarchism to some extent, he never tried to stamp it out by intolerance and authority. When he saw no longer his way to agree, he left—as he did in 1884 in the S.D.F., when he and others have left that body though having a majority on the Council, and formed the S.L.

In this way of broad tolerance the S.L. differed from almost all Socialist organisations, and this will constitute it a more proper place in the history of the movement than big numbers pledged to constitutions, rules, and platforms would ever have achieved.

"TATTLE," that mighty logician of *Justice* who cannot or will not see any distinction between Anarchist Communism and the individualism of Lord Wemyss, is mightily pleased to find that we have noted some tendencies in G. B. Shaw to kick over the traces of Social Democracy; or in other words, that G. B. S. isn't so deep in the mud of Parliamentarism and Bumbledom as "Tattler" himself. We are not defending Shaw, who is quite capable of taking care of himself—which is not the case with "Tattler," whose principal anxiety is to take care of other people, if they'd be simple enough to allow him.

We are afraid "Tattler's" life is not a happy one, for he would not, if he could help it, have Social Democracy criticised; and yet there are some obstinate persons who will criticise—Anarchists above all!

And "Tattler" naturally likes to defend his little ideas about individual liberty and so forth as best he can, but unfortunately he doesn't

understand Anarchism, and the pretty little discussion recently on the question of State interference with individual liberty between Hunter Watts and Belfort Bax (who, by the way, haven't decided yet how much liberty we are to have, or even if we shall have any at all, under the fatherly rule of the Social Democratic State) doesn't seem to have enlightened him much. "Tattler" is in a parlous state; who will help him out of the mire of dull incomprehensibility?

THE following letter by Ernest H. Lane (in the *Clarion* of Jan. 16th), who writes on behalf of the Queensland Socialist League "to warn European workers against the Government agents sent out to encourage immigration to that colony," conveys a moral well worth reflecting upon by Socialists of all schools:—

"Let me correct an erroneous opinion you English reformers have regarding the twenty Queensland Labour members. They are not twenty Socialists, as is generally claimed for them; some half-dozen or so are, but the rest decidedly not. With the exception of three of their number, they all declined, 'for various reasons,' recently to address meetings held under the auspices of the Queensland Socialist League. You must remember, in connection with this, that nearly all of them got into Parliament through street-corner orations. But now, alas! the corroding influence of Parliamentary life is making itself felt, and I am very sorry to have to say it, but the Parliamentary Labour party of Queensland is not the sturdy band and true it once was; of a truth, 'all men are born equal, but some descend to Parliament.' If some of the Socialists in England who rejected at the late Congress those who were non-parliamentarians were here, and could watch an advance party in Parliament (and out), perhaps they might regret their stubborn allegiance to parliamentary methods."

SIR CHARLES DILKE tells a French correspondent that in his opinion "A dead world," international politics will be "a dead world" in twenty-five years hence. Let us hope so. But can Sir Charles conceive of the end of international politics (as to-day understood) without the end of international capitalism or class privilege also? To us they are inseparable forces, and the end of one means the end of the other. We believe Sir Charles is wise enough to credit such a would-be phenomenon. But does he mean it? Anyhow, we are confident of and are working for a joint burial.

The ANARCHISTS OF BARCELONA.

The evidence of the tortures inflicted upon Anarchist prisoners in the fortress of Montjuich (Spain) is accumulating. There are two letters from warders of the fortress addressed to the *Intransigent* (Rochefort's organ) and published in that paper. There is, further, Antonio Nogues' (sentenced to death) letter from prison, the report of the sitting of the Court Martial, and the letter from Joseph Thioulouse, a prisoner—all these were published in the *Libertaire* and in the *Père Peinard*, of Paris, some also appeared in *Les Temps Nouveaux*, *Revue Blanche*, and extracts from them in the *Intransigent*.

The *Despartar*, of New York, further publishes extracts from Spanish papers: Pi y Margall's (the veteran republicans) *El Nuevo Régimen*, of Madrid; other papers are *El País* and *La Justicia*; the *Dominicales*, of Madrid, contains the following:

"We have received some little time ago not one but a dozen letters from the Montjuich prisoners, one and all arguing: We are innocent! We are innocent! Don't believe this on our mere assertion only; we can prove it before witnesses, but for this purpose it becomes necessary that we should be tried in public, and not in the subterranean prisons of Montjuich.

"Have not these unhappy men proved their innocence by demanding a public trial?"

"And yet of these protests, accompanied by convincing proofs, and addressed to all papers like they were to ours, not one paper has mentioned a word (excepting *El País* and *La Justicia*). The veil of silence covered these cries of pain.

"Later on, fearful rumours circulated; the declarations were wrung from the prisoners by means of torture! In the Montjuich prison the Inquisition ruled supreme!

"If these rumours were false, why were they not denied by those concerned? Was it not incumbent on them to justify themselves in the eyes of Spain and of the whole world?"

"In spite of the outburst of indignation, the trial took place with closed doors, and the press, in official reports, had to state: The chief accused declared before the Court Martial that their confessions were wrung from them by atrocious procedures. Also the indignant protests of counsel for the defence and their taunts against the prosecutors were reported.

"Public opinion has now decided.

"Better the guilty escape punishment than torture one innocent. Since the confessions were obtained by violence, the trial is null and void."

This is published in the capital of Spain.

All these are bourgeois papers: no Anarchist paper can be published at present in Spain.

No official contradiction was published, and the authorship of an apparently "well-informed" denial published in the *Journal*—a daily paper of Paris—was soon traced to a despicable Spanish agent, and the editor is well castigated in the *Libertaire* of Jan. 15 for being bribed by the Spanish torturers; he is now labelled "the valet of the hangman."

All that the French government did—whilst one of the letters published comes from a French prisoner at Montjuich fortress—was to arrest about a dozen Spanish refugees in Paris, some of whom have already been sent over to England.

Our French comrades carry on a vigorous agitation. Similar efforts are now being made at Berlin, where all the documents have also been translated and published in the *Sozialist*; several capitalist papers also quoting portions from the latter.

All documents have now been collected in the French paper *L'Incorruptible* (5, rue Briquet, Paris), a special number, to which most of the French Anarchist writers contributed; also in a pamphlet, *Die Justiz-*

greuel von Barcelona, published at Berlin (office of the *Socialist*, 105, Frankfurter Allee, S.O.).

Captain Juan Morales, one of the counsel for the defence, has committed suicide in Madrid. The scenes he had witnessed in Montjuich fortress have doubtlessly proved too awful for him—though as a member of the Spanish army he must have been well used to mete out harsh treatment himself—and may have driven him to end his own life.

The names of the torturers and the names of the victims have been published in full; both are yet alive, and the statements can be investigated. Will civilised Europe shut her ears and allow new horrors, the murder of eight innocent men, to be added to the horrors already committed?

All the "records" of the trial are now at Madrid, submitted to the revision of the higher authorities; hence the delay of so many weeks, leaving these helpless men in suspense of their fate; hence, also, a short time left to us to make their sufferings known, and to prevent if possible the repetition of the judicial murders of Barcelona in 1894, of Xeres in 1892, of Chicago in 1887, and—of *everyday* in what is called *administration of Justice*!

* *

THE INQUISITION REVIVED!

Proceedings of the Court Martial

HELD AT MONTJUICH FORTRESS, DECEMBER 15, 1896.

ANTONIO NOGUES declares that everything he has said against himself as well as against the other accused is absolutely false; that if he has made any confessions they were extorted from him by tortures.

CALLIS, MOLAS, and SUNYER also declare that they were subjected to the same tortures as was Nogues.

All the counsellors for the defence are in the audience chamber. The reading of the documents presented by the latter finishes about a quarter past one in the afternoon. At two o'clock the sitting of the court is adjourned. At three o'clock, all the accused are brought in; but they are removed before the sitting had been reopened. The accused remain outside.

Then ASCHERI is told to enter. Ascheri admitted his having confessed to be the author of the attempt, adding however, that he has made that declaration only when *obliged by a superior force*.

It is now CALLIS's turn. Scarcely had he uttered a few words when a great agitation was produced in court. This was caused by seeing the examining magistrate ENRIQUA MARZO open the door by striking against it with his foot and pushing Callis out of the court. Immediately after this the hangmen get hold of him and take him to an upper apartment whence a few moments later one can hear loud screams.

The judge hastens to order another of the accused to be brought into the court, in order that the court may not pay attention to what had just taken place. Several counsel for the defence have remained standing up and the commotion caused by the treatment of Callis does not pass away for a long time.

Then the lawyer PIERRE COROMINAS is ordered to enter. He begins by drawing the attention of the tribunal to certain points which have remained obscure during the trial. He specially points out that in the course of his confrontation with Nogues, who had accused him with having attended secret meetings, he had asked him to name the others who were present; Nogues then mentioned Ascheri, Mas, and some others, and all these have formally denied it.

COROMINAS points out that having been confronted with Ascheri, the latter declared that he never met Corominas at the secret meetings. This, added the accused, had been stated in the procedure, but the judge suppressed it in his summing up. Mas has also made the same statement, which has not been taken notice of either in the said summary (resumé).

Corominas added that he demanded to be confronted with the president and the door-keeper of the *Centro de Carreteros* (Carmen's Club), in order that they might be asked as to whether they had seen him at the club on any other occasions but the time of the conferences. But he has been refused these confrontations, rendering thus impossible an evidence solicited in conformity with the rules of procedure.

With the accused MOLAS this scandalous treatment is brought to the highest pitch. As soon as brought into court, Molas states that he had been martyred in order to force him to tell lies. The president threatens not to allow him to speak. But Molas expresses himself in such energetic terms that one member of the tribunal in rising and addressing the president exclaimed: "Mr. President, he must be allowed to speak—this accused man—for he has a right to do it!"

From all the benches where the counsel for the defence were seated a murmur of approval accompanies these words, which cause Marzo to become confused.

Molas then recounts the story of his *Calvary*. A sepulchral silence prevails in court. The story told by Molas, impressed by an undeniable accent of sincerity, produced a profound emotion. Marzo is terrified. Molas had been threatened to be subjected to fresh torture if he will tell before the tribunal of all the cruelties he has had to undergo. That meant placing this accused between the death sentence or martyrdom.

Molas, while leaving the court conducted by his hangman who takes him back to his dungeon, is placid and calm and appears to be facing without fear the martyrdom with which he had been threatened.

After Molas one of the accused who had not been tortured was brought in.

NOGUES, while being brought into court, cries, for he has had to suffer martyrdom before. This is what Nogues declared: After having been several times subjected to torture, the pains made him confess to being the author of the attempt. His torturers, however, told him that it was not this that he ought to declare, that he ought to confess some other things, and that he ought to charge his comrades. He also told the tribunal that after four months of imprisonment, he still bears the traces of the wounds inflicted upon him by burning. He adds that he has spent eight days without eating or sleeping; that his nails had been torn off; that he has got numberless blows with the rod; that he has had the gag applied to him and his testicles compressed by means of a guitar string.

When Nogues is leaving the court, his face is contracted with the pain, his eyes start out of the socket, but his steady gait and his proud look seem to say: "You can torture me, you can deprive me of nourishment and of sleep, I am satisfied now!"

MAS follows after Nogues. Mas has become insane. He could not stand the sufferings, and the tortures have caused him to lose his senses. The words addressed to him he absolutely fails to understand. His body is covered with such infirmities, he is so atrociously mutilated that they have had to take off his handcuffs for fear of breaking his wrists. During his appearance, the physician of the regiment examined him.

Finally, SUNYER is heard, who equally tells the story of the tortures he has had to undergo. He speaks in the presence of PORTAS, lieutenant of the gendarmery. His statements produce among the audience a sense of horror, so much so that several gendarmes leave the hall in exclaiming: *Assassins! Assassins!!*

A young lawyer (one of the counsel for defence), being a prey to the emotion aroused in him by the poignant tale of the accused, cannot bear it any longer and leaves the court. Some of the other counsel for the defence utter vehement shouts of protest, and it is reported that Ascheri's counsel has challenged the lieutenant of the gendarmery, Portas.

Some gendarmes indignantly declare that the gendarmery has been converted into a body of hangmen, and in their anger they take off the prisoners' handcuffs.

The latter are formed into two rows in a room close to that wherein the court-martial is seated, and the exasperated gendarmes tell the accused of all that is going on in court. . . .

In consequence of these incidents, an energetic protest is drawn up and addressed to the president of the tribunal, in which the release of all the accused is demanded.

This demand is rejected, and people who desired nothing else but to unravel the iniquities of the procedure, and to bring to light their innocence, have to be quiet.

However, all the accused are led into court. Several among them try to recount some facts already known.

CASANOVAS and others say that during the examinations, they noticed that their accusers showed their blood-stained wrists.

The Frenchman, JOSEPH THIOULOUSE, who does not know a word of Spanish, asks for an interpreter. This quite natural demand is met with a refusal. The military judge, Marzo, shrugs his shoulders and makes a sign to his guards. These understand at once, and again remove the unfortunate man to his dungeon. There he is firmly chained to the wall. Then the hangmen (private gendarmes) began kicking him about everywhere, and after this they opened his mouth and put into it a small wooden cylinder, made like the bridle of a horse, from the ends of which two strings are hanging down. These are fastened behind his neck, and Thioulouse is obliged to walk, while numberless smacks with the whip are applied to him. All the while the gendarmes insulted him. When he made his declaration before the judge Marzo, his counsel said with a revolting cynicism: "It seems as though this blackguard needed another lesson in Spanish!"

Little OLLER states that in order to force him to declare himself the bearer of the two bombs found a few days before the attempt in the Rue Fivaller, he had been shockingly tortured. (One will remember that this youth of twenty has succeeded in resisting the tortures and has signed nothing). Another one shows a letter which the martyred comrades have passed on to him.

All are avowing their innocence most energetically, and while proclaiming themselves Anarchists, they deny having been implicated in any conspiracy or having participated in the attempt, which was the act of a single man.

Thioulouse, the Frenchman mentioned above, while pointing to the judge who had cowered down on his seat, said: "It was you who ordered me to be horse-whipped, under the pretext that I did not want to speak Spanish, of which I then did not understand even one word!"

All declared that they pardoned their accusers, since the latter were forced by torture to state what was evidently false.

To sum up, there was not a single comrade who did not loudly avow his innocence, and who did not vehemently resent the accusations made against him.

It is stated that the court has ordered an inquiry to be made, and that the physician of the fortress of Montjuich had been commissioned to examine the tortured Anarchists.

It is known, among other shocking details, that the fire-torture had been practised in a place well-known to the inhabitants of the fortress: la Cuadra de Artilleria (the stables of the artillery) where one can still see the stones recently blackened by the fire.

Letters from Montjuich.

Letter sent by a jailer of Montjuich prison to the *Intransigent* of Paris:—

Barcelona, December 16, 1896.

MR. EDITOR,—The sittings of the court martial lasted for five days, and were rigorously kept secret.

On the first day the judge read a record of the events that led to the trial, full of exaggerations and untruths.

On the second day the public prosecutor read the act of accusation, calling them "wild beasts" and "bloodthirsty criminals." After finishing the reading of this act he avowed that he "shut his eyes against justice" and demanded the death sentence on twenty-eight and penal servitude for life for the remainder of the prisoners.

On the third day the presiding judge asked the accusers whether they maintained their accusations against the rest of the prisoners, and they assented, with slight alterations. After this the speeches for the defence were made. All the counsel for the defence were military officers; nearly all demanded the acquittal of their clients.

On the evening of the fifth day all the accused were led before the court, where they maintained their innocence with the utmost energy.

[The details of their declarations—how by torture they were compelled to make statements incriminating themselves and others, are identical with those contained in the fuller report of the court-martial's last sitting.—ED.]

It is not known what will follow, but it is certain that the condemnation of a single one of those unfortunate men would under these circumstances be a monstrous iniquity.

Here are the names of the officers who, under the orders of Lieutenant Narciso Portas, perpetrated the tortures: José Mayans had to put on the *mordaza* (gag) and the instruments for compressing the head, squeezing out the testicles, belaboring the flesh on throat and temples; he also commanded the flogging, executed by other warders, to keep the prisoners constantly running along without allowing them sleep, food or drink. Manuel Carreras had to apply red hot irons to their flesh; Tiburcio Estorqui had to mutilate the genital parts by means of reeds and guitar strings. To relieve this gang the following other torturers acted: Felix Corral, Rafael Mayans Botas, Cirilo Ruiz Osma, Leandro Lopez Parralles and Sergeant Botas.

I ask you to publish the names of these wretches, and receive the thanks of all the unhappy prisoners.—Yours, etc.,

A LETTER FROM THE TORTURED NOGUÉS.

[This is the letter that Nogués has succeeded in transmitting to one of his friends.]

COMRADE,—You know that I am one of three accusers (*the other two are Aschéri and Molas*) who figure in the trial. I could not bear the atrocious tortures of so many days. On my arrest I spent eight days without food or drink, obliged to walk continually to and fro or be flogged; and, as if that did not suffice, I was made to trot as though I were a horse trained at the riding-school, until, worn out with fatigue, I fell to the ground. Then the hangmen burnt my lips with red hot irons, and when I declared myself the author of the attempt they replied, "You do not tell the truth; we know that the author is another one, but we want to know your accomplices. Besides, you still retain six bombs; and, along with little Oller, you deposited two bombs in the rue Fivaller.—Who are your accomplices?"

In spite of my desire to make an end of it, I could not answer anything. Who should I accuse, since all are innocent? Finally, six comrades were placed before me whom I had to accuse, and of whom I beg pardon. Thus my declaration and the accusations that I made (I cannot finish, the hangmen are coming). NOGUÉS.

A LESSON IN SPANISH, AT MONTJUICH.

One of the tortured at Barcelona has succeeded in passing through the following letter to a comrade:

MY DEAR FRIEND,—This is what has happened to me on the day of the declarations, after which I was called before the judge whom I had given to understand that I did not know the Castilian language, still less the Catalan dialect. Therefore I had asked for an interpreter, lest I should mistake one word for another, also for my personal safety and for the authentication of the judge.

Thinking the spirit of equity to be one of the foremost duties of the judge, I believed myself confronted with a superior officer worthy of the instruction which he has received, in consequence of his education and his promise to me, on the word of a *caballero* (gentleman), to pay attention to my demand at the next cross-examination.

I am taken back to my habitual *dormitorio*, to remain there scarcely a quarter of an hour; the guard calls me and puts me in the hands (or at the mercy) of private guards, who make me put down my meagre baggage in a corner of the passage leading to the great descent of the staircase to the zero. I am left to wait for a little while in the middle of the staircase, near the platform which communicates with the *calabosillos* (small dungeons); then we resumed the march to the place indicated and known under the name of zero. (Note that on the way from the staircase I received a fearful slap in the face!) Imagine the terrible aspect of such a vast place, at midnight, with two civil guards following behind and one going in front of you with a candle in his hand; a staircase that reeks of carbolic!

Arrived at the *ante-zero*, I am bound up like a sausage; one of them opens the door and lets in another unfortunate victim, who did not utter a sound and passed me by like a ghost; the poor wretch, whose features and appearance I had not time to recognise, must have known for what purpose this gloomy retreat served—well fitted for the things that were displayed there.

I am ordered to undress, or rather I am undressed—waistcoat, jacket, trousers and pants—all these were placed in one corner and myself in another, my hands tied by the wrists and the arms taken backwards by a strong cord to the height of the biceps, afterwards bound tightly round so that the cord penetrates the flesh. The civil guard, with a stout whip in his hand, says to me, "You do not want to speak Spanish? I will make you speak before you leave this place!" And, by heaven! he showers a quantity of lashes upon me, on the calves, on the knuckles—everywhere. At the end of five minutes I did not know which part ached most. Again the question was put to me: Was I determined to ask the aid of an interpreter; or would I make my statements in Spanish? I make a sign that I cannot; because I do not understand the language. Then the flogging begins afresh: on both sides, on the legs—each lash producing a fresh smile on the countenance of the official,—lasting another five minutes. Seeing that I did not speak, they put a *mordaza* (gag) into my mouth; I was then tied down and the torture recommenced—on one side the whip, the string by which the gag was fastened on the other. Once more I am told that, if this should not suffice, they have some other means which are infallible; that this is only the beginning; that I did not know as yet what was in prospect for me. After a number of lashes bestowed with the utmost force, I am freed of the gag and I am asked whether I have made up my mind to obey; that, if not, there are some other things.

Then I said that I spoke a few words with difficulty, and that I would pronounce them as well as I could. One of them told me that this would do.

Then I was taken to the judge, Marzo, who thus addressed me: "You can speak now! He put a number of questions to me which I scarcely understood, and to which I replied full of fear lest I had misunderstood them.

Aschéri is brought in, looking like a spectre, and does not even look at me. A presentiment paralyzed my pains when thinking of what those others had to suffer during the two months and more at the hands of the hangmen-inquisitors. Aschéri's new blouse and trousers told a harrowing tale in the light of my experience: It showed that his old clothes must be in rags or stained with blood; and his voice sounded as if it came from the grave.

The question having been put to him in an imperious tone by the judge as to whether he had seen me at the public or secret meetings. He replied in a death-like voice with this single word, "Public." "Several times?" queried the judge. "Once," replies Aschéri. He signed his deposition and went away in accordance with the orders of the judge. This man seemed like a hypnotised being; he walked away with a halting step, like a man suffering from a venereal disease.

The judge says to me, "*Seis una banda de pillos!*" (You are a band of good-for-nothing creatures). His secretary burst into a roar of laughter, quite amused by this insult; to which I replied in the following words: "*No sólo que entende usted para pillos!*" (I do not know what you mean by the term "pillos").

Since then, the day when we were photographed, the same civil guard who inflicted the lashes on me, said to me, "*Ten ricardaras.....ya, ya!*" On the day when we were brought up in order to ask for a counsel for defence, this same guard asked me whether I had forgotten to speak! Another day, when I was called before the judge—I do not know why,—there were several military physicians there, they told me. I could not see what purpose this formality served; I was with Rogiero and I thought that it was because we were foreigners. We were asked our profession, why we came here, our age—which these men seemed to verify.

Afterwards, on the day when the charges were read, the judge had the cynicism to ask me—in front of fourteen or fifteen counsel for defence,—whether I remembered that they had the means to make anyone speak; that I ought to know it! You want no more cynicism.

This is, as briefly as possible, my sorrowful history of the part played by me in the monstrous trial.—Your unfortunate comrade

JOSEPH THIOULOUSE.

PROTEST MEETING in LONDON.

A mass meeting was held at the Club and Institute Union Hall, on Jan. 28, 1897, to protest against the torturing of Spanish Anarchists in the prisons of the fortress of Montjuich. The proceedings were opened by comrade J. PERRY, who read letters received from Edward Carpenter, Walter Crane Tom Mann, H. S. Salt, F. Volkovsky, Avetis Nazarek, R. Blatchford, the Rev. Stewart Headlam and others, explaining the reasons why they could not attend at the meeting, and all expressing sympathy with the work we had undertaken to raise a humanitarian protest against the new Inquisition. He also laid before the meeting the documents published in this issue, and the extract from *Los Dominicales*; he alluded to Spanish cruelty against the insurgents in Cuba and the Philippine Islands, facts recorded by the daily papers and which give ample ground to believe the statements of the tortures of Barcelona. All this is done in the name of law and order—the order which ruled at Warsaw after the people had been massacred, the order in the name of which John Brown and the Chicago Anarchists, Vaillant and Pallas were killed—the peace which we see in Madagascar, in Rhodesia, in Ireland.

H. STOCKTON, who followed, contrasted the tears shed by politicians and capitalists, bishops and parsons all over England about the Armenian horrors to the indifference shown on the present occasion. He also insisted that prison in itself is nothing but torture. Those who speak most of order are just those who cause most bloodshed all over the earth. Nobody can be happy when he knows that such things not only occur but might occur.

J. C. KENWORTHY: These horrors cause no greater indignation in me than there is already. This system metes out perpetual torture to millions of men, women and children by the power of government; the difference is only one of fashion. In England, convicts are shot upon merely trying to escape. The Irish prisoners are released after having become mad by years of torture. This is done by persons who in ordinary life need not be monsters but who are under a fascination perpetrated for centuries, the superstition of government by force. He reviewed Spanish history: the orgies of patriotism, triumphing in the expulsion of the Moors and the crushing of the free cities of Flanders, all under the sign of the cross of religion, by armies arranged as though a church procession, and having attached a regiment of prostitutes to them with the Pope's blessing. If we can only make people see, that right cannot be brought about by compulsion, these tortures might cease. Their work is done not by their own power but by that of the people which supports them. Anarchism means to withdraw all support from government, to leave them alone and soon they will have nobody to govern nor to torture. We must ourselves set the example of living together harmoniously, without compulsion.

HERBERT BURROWS (S.D.F.) then expressed the most severe condemnation of these tortures. In every war even, certain fair rules of the game used to be acknowledged in modern times; in Spain it is otherwise, and the country has been thrown back to the middle-ages. Having mentioned the tortures Lord Penrhyn inflicts upon his workers and their families, and the tortures of everyday slum life, he admitted that political action, in the face of things like these seems to be completely in the background. Where are the Republicans and Emilio Castelar, whose eloquent speeches he read with enthusiasm in his earlier days? All are silent, politics are silent. He rejoiced that there is something broader than all our differences to bring us together, the common humanity that lies in us, and that our differences will become smaller until they reach a vanishing point, and then tortures like these will be no longer possible. If civilisation cannot exist without them, then civilisation must cease to exist.

P. KROPOTKIN: These tortures, at first looked upon as exaggerations, are now known to be true. Our comrades were expelled from Paris, because they had been made known there. The Spanish ambassador denies them in the same way as the Russian government denies the horrors of Siberian exile, and their agents maintain that there are no exiles in Siberia. He remembers the repression of the cantonalist revolt of 1873, how prisoners were shot by scores in the ditches of the fortress or drowned in batches in the Guadalquivir: at that time the bourgeois press was silent, and the Socialists (Marxists) replied by "The Bakunists at Work" (a German pamphlet by F. Engels, an insult to the Spanish revolutionists). In 1894, after the acts of Pallas and Franch, arrests were made in masses and torture took place—five, six, seven men "confessed" to have thrown the bomb which only one can have done; this shows how the confessions must have been obtained. Now again more than 400 have been arrested to crush the Anarchist movement, the continuation of the International Workingmen's Association. This time the priests joined the government; the blood of the Inquisition rose again in these priests, and torture was resuscitated. A

layer of five or six feet of human bones, discovered in the old prisons of the Inquisition, and their documents published some fifty years ago, showing that 31,460 were burned by them and that 251,000 passed through their hands—the upholders of this tradition and this spirit come forward again in Spain. But everywhere, where there is a prison, there is torture. He saw people going mad in Russian and French prisons and the same happens in England. Does the judge, this maniac of law, when he sends men to prisons ever think of the tortures he inflicts upon their wives and children by this! Those who act in this way have no right to protest against vengeance because they are setting up the example of it.

Space forbids to report fuller the speeches made by LOUISE MICHEL, JOHN TURNER, N. TCHAIKOVSKY, A. HALL, S. MAINWARING and a Frenchman. Turner set forth how this system of government by torture overreaches itself; how by the very enormity of the atrocities sympathy is created everywhere, and the best men and women of all parts of society will feel induced to examine the ideas of men against whom such means of extermination are resorted to. And by this Anarchism will gain new adherents. Hall insisted that such actions are the politics of all government. Whoever takes part in a government, that man is a tyrant at heart. All governments, if scratched, reveal the same amount of tyranny that lies at the bottom of them. Whoever, has power over another man, if he is an angel, he will end by becoming a devil. Mainwaring dealt with the particularly disgusting aspects of cant and hypocrisy in so-called religious countries, and brought forward examples from Wales and America, etc.

The meeting (which was suppressed by the London press) was in thorough sympathy with the speakers, and it is hoped that all who took part in it will spread the information here obtained in the widest circles.

In the same way the provincial comrades are asked to make the facts on the Spanish tortures continued in this and previous numbers of FREEDOM known to as many friends and other societies as they can, and also to use the press wherever possible for their further dissemination.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTERS ADDRESSED TO THE MEETING.

HENRY S. SALT.—I wish all success to the protest now being raised against the inhuman treatment of Anarchist prisoners in Spain, and I think the promoters of this meeting are doing a public service in challenging an inquiry into the facts. If the charges so clearly made in the *Daily Chronicle* are exaggerated or untrue, it is for the Spanish authorities to disprove them. *Prima facie* it is to be feared that the revival of torture in Spain, the home of the bull-fight, is not so incredible as it might be elsewhere; and the rumours of Spanish outrages in Cuba have been many and persistent. It may be said, with some show of reason, that a nation which treats its own prisoners as barbarously as we English do, has small right to remonstrate with other countries on the use of torture. But if *Cruelty* is international, that is all the more reason why *Humanity* should be international also, and why a protest of this sort should be made as worldwide as possible.

EDWARD CARPENTER.—If this is in time for your meeting, I should like to add my protest against the abominable tortures now being inflicted on Anarchists in Spain. Such conduct is a violation at once of justice, good sense and humanity. Nothing but abject fear could inspire such cruelty of a government towards its own subjects, on the mere suspicion of their holding certain political opinions endorsed by some of the foremost thinkers of the day—and without a vestige of proof of complicity in the throwing of the bomb at Barcelona. We execrate such cowardice, and call on the workpeople of Spain to add their voices to ours.

WALTER CRANE.—I fear I shall not be able to be present at your meeting, but of course I sympathise with the protest against the detestable, shameful practices—the tortures inflicted upon Spanish Anarchist workmen against whom no evidence of complicity in outrage has been forthcoming—although, of course, under any circumstances such revolting methods would be perfectly inexcusable and abominable. One would fain hope, for the credit of humanity, that the reports are not true.

FELIX VOLKHOVSKY.—“I am no Anarchist myself, but it is indifferent to me what is the platform or the doings of any victim of such a mockery of justice, such fiendish cruelty to man; and just because I believe in the possible good working of a popular government, I feel the more keenly the urgent necessity of watching and combating the practices of uncontrolled, usurped power.” He hopes, in the interest of humanity, that the information about tortures may prove incorrect, “yet,” he adds, “as a Russian, I know only too well from the martyrology of the movement in my own country..... that the representatives of unbridled power are capable of the most incredible baseness, injustice and cruelty when their wrath against freedom and independence is aroused. Suffice it to mention the case of Karakozov and the Yakovsk butchery..... Let us hope that the warning cries raised in France and England will not be too late for some kind of justice to the defenceless prisoners of Barcelona.”

A. NAZARBEEK (Editor of the Armenian *Hentshak*) writes, that he sympathises very much with the object of our meeting, but ill-health prevents him from taking part in it.

Rev. STEWART HEADLAM writes, “The news from Spain as reported in the papers is about as horrible as can be imagined, and you are doing a righteous thing in endeavouring to call attention to it.”

ROBERT BLATCHFORD.—If the facts as given in the French papers are found to be true, I think you may rely upon the support of the best men and women in Europe being given to any effort to put a stop to such barbarous and cowardly acts..... Torture is a thing too base and brutal to be used against any criminal, even when guilty. It is a survival of the blackest days of tyranny and superstition. I hope the day is not far distant when all men will see that brute force is only for brutes to use. The idea that when a man commits a crime against another man, or against the State, a crime should be committed against him by way of “justice,” seems to me a false idea, and one from which only violence and hate can spring. The torturing of prisoners is an act of which only cowardice and ignorance could be guilty. And I am with you in your desire that the charges against Spanish officials should be investigated, and the practice stopped. At the same time I must add, to prevent mistakes, that I consider the use of bombs and daggers—the resort to murder and other wrong in the hope of securing right—as being nearly as dastardly as the cruelties used to punish those who resort to such measures. I believe that few men and women are wicked enough to use dynamite; that those who resort to bomb throwing are almost invariably insane, and should be treated as lunatics and not as assassins. Let us try to win perfect freedom of thought and speech. Pens are sharper than stilettos and reason is more destructive than dynamite.

TOM MANN.—I am sorry not to be able to be with you to-night at the meeting to protest against the iniquitous behaviour of the Spanish Government. I thank you and your comrades most heartily for taking the matter up when all else seem silent. I am very full of work which prevents my presence; but I am in entire agreement with your object and congratulate you on your vigour in ventilating the matter.

J. MACDONALD and W. M. THOMPSON were prevented by other engagements from being present.

CONSTANT MARTIN (of the *Libertaire*, of Paris) expressed full solidarity with our meeting in the name of all libertarians of Paris and, he believes, of all France as well.

ANARCHISM: ITS PHILOSOPHY AND IDEAL.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

(Continued.)

In a Communist society such estrangement, such confidence in an outside force, could not exist. Communist organization cannot be left to be constructed by legislative bodies called parliaments, municipal or communal councils. It must be the work of all, a natural growth, a product of the constructive genius of the great mass. Communism cannot be imposed from above; it could not live even for a few months if the constant and daily co-operation of all did not uphold it. It must be free.

It cannot exist without creating a continual contact between all for the thousands and thousands of common transactions; it cannot exist without creating local life, independent in the smallest unities—the block of houses, the street, the district, the commune. It would not answer its purpose if it did not cover society with a network of thousands of associations to satisfy its thousand needs: the necessities of life, articles of luxury, of study, enjoyment, amusements. And such associations cannot remain narrow and local; they must necessarily tend (as is already the case with learned societies, cyclist clubs, humanitarian societies and the like) to become international.

And the sociable customs that Communism—were it only partial at its origin—must inevitably engender in life, would already be a force incomparably more powerful to maintain and develop the kernel of sociable customs than all repressive machinery.

This, then, is the form—sociable institution—of which we ask the development of the spirit of harmony that Church and State had undertaken to impose on us—with the sad result we know only too well. And these remarks contain our answer to those who affirm that Communism and Anarchy cannot go together. They are, you see, a necessary complement to one another. The most powerful development of individuality, of individual originality—as one of our comrades has so well said,—can only be produced when the first needs of food and shelter are satisfied; when the struggle for existence against the forces of nature has been simplified; when man's time is no longer taken up entirely by the meaner side of daily subsistence,—then, only, his intelligence, his artistic taste, his inventive spirit, his genius, can develop freely and ever strive to greater achievements.

Communism is the best basis for individual development and freedom; not that individualism which drives man to the war of each against all—this is the only one known up till now,—but that which represents the full expansion of man's faculties, the superior development of what is original in him, the greatest fruitfulness of intelligence, feeling and will.

Such being our ideal, what does it matter to us that it can not be realised at once!

Our first duty is to find out, by an analysis of society, its characteristic tendencies at a given moment of evolution and to state them clearly. Then, to act according to those tendencies in our relations with all those who think as we do. And, finally, from to-day and especially during a revolutionary period, work for the destruction of the institutions, as well as the prejudices, that impede the development of such tendencies.

That is all we can do by peaceable or revolutionary methods, and we know that by favoring those tendencies we contribute to progress, while who resist them impede the march of progress.

Nevertheless, men often speak of stages to be travelled through, and they propose to work to reach what they consider to be the nearest station and only then to take the high road leading to what they recognise to be a still higher ideal.

But reasoning like this seems to me to misunderstand the true character of human progress and to make use of a badly chosen military comparison. Humanity is not a rolling ball, nor even a marching column. It is a whole that evolves simultaneously in the multitude of millions of which it is composed; and if you wish for a comparison, you must rather take it in the laws of organic evolution than in those of an inorganic moving body.

The fact is that each phase of development of a society is a resultant of all the activities of the intellects which compose that society; it bears the imprint of all those millions of wills. Consequently, whatever may be the stage of development that the twentieth century is preparing for us, this future state of society will show the effects of the awakening of libertarian ideas which is now taking place. And the depth with which this movement will be impressed upon the coming twentieth century institutions will depend upon the number of men who will have broken to-day with authoritarian prejudices, on the energy they will have used in attacking old institutions, on the impression they will make on the masses, on the clearness with which the ideal of a free society will have been impressed on the minds of the masses. But, to-day, we can say in full confidence, that in France the awakening of libertarian ideas has already put its stamp on society; and that the next revolution will not be the Jacobin revolution which it would have been had it burst out twenty years ago.

And as these ideas are neither the invention of a man nor a group, but result from the whole of the movement of ideas of the time, we can be sure that, whatever comes out of the next revolution, it will not be the dictatorial and centralised Communism which was so much in vogue forty years ago, nor the authoritarian Collectivism to which we were quite recently invited to ally ourselves, and which its advocates dare only defend very feebly at present.

The "first stage," it is certain, will then be quite different from what was described under that name hardly twenty years ago. The latest developments of the libertarian ideas have already modified it before hand in an Anarchist sense.

I have already mentioned that the great all-dominating question now is for the Socialist party, taken as a whole, to harmonise its ideal of society with the libertarian movement that germinates in the spirit of the masses, in literature, in science, in philosophy. It is also, it is especially so, to rouse the spirit of popular initiative.

Now, it is precisely the workers' and peasants' initiative that all parties—the Socialist authoritarian party included—have always stifled, wittingly or not, by party discipline. Committees, centres, ordering everything; local organs having but to obey, "so as not to put the unity of the organisation in danger." A whole teaching, in a word; a whole false history, written to serve that purpose, a whole incomprehensible pseudo-science of economics, elaborated to this end.

Well, then, those who will work to break up these superannuated tactics, those who will know how to rouse the spirit of initiative in individuals and in groups, those who will be able to create in their mutual relations a movement and a life based on the principles of free understanding—those that will understand that *variety, conflict even, is life, and that uniformity is death*,—they will work, not for future centuries, but in good earnest for the next revolution, for our own times.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ANARCHY AND ORGANISATION.

In reply to C. T. Quinn in October number *re* my comment on "The Associated Anarchists" :—

I define Anarchy as that condition of life in which, both socially and also separately, each person determines his own action and the manner of them according to his perception and judgment of what are the facts to be met and their real bearings, clear of conventional interpretations and consequences.

Consequently, it is not the voluntary entering into any arrangement which constitute it Anarchistic, but that it leaves the individual thus free when it has been voluntarily entered into.

When a person knows precisely what the alternatives are in a particular matter, he is then in a position to say, if he pleases, as a matter of free and reasoning choice, that he will go with the majority though they should happen to differ from him, as well as if they should happen to agree.

But when he does not know what subjects of difference there are going to be, and nevertheless pledges his support to the majority, he renounces Anarchy and accepts law instead.

The economic basis of "The Associated Anarchists" includes a principle capable of being summed up as "From each according to his capacity, to the majority according to their demands."

As an occasional or even habitual expedient which is always optional, "To the majority according to their demands" may be right enough; but as a basis of organisation it ceases to be a "matter of convenience" and becomes a positive principle.

In that connection it is a social lie, and contrary to Anarchy, as much as if it were the social doctrine "From each according to his capacity, to Albert Edward according to his demands."

I have no doubt Quinn and his comrades are as much enamoured of freedom as I am, but though good intentions may avail for a long time to prevent errors of principle in methods from taking effect as tyrannical abuses, all the good intentions in the world will not do away with the fact that a false principle has been admitted, and (if not rectified) will inevitably, sooner or later, make its influence felt.

J. A. ANDREWS.

[The above reply will end this discussion.—Ed. *Freedom*.]

TOLSTOY AND ANARCHISM.

To the Editor of *FREEDOM*.

Dear Comrade,—With regard to your footnote on page 3 of *Freedom* for January, your remarks seem to me to show the danger of confusing Christianity with the teaching of Jesus as set forth in the four books called the "Gospels." It always seems to me to be a pity to talk of the philosophy of Jesus as Christianity, which is a name given to so much that he is represented as having opposed. Now the Jesus of these "Gospels" seems to have been a thorough-going Anarchist and exponent of a most enlightened philosophy of life, and his doings and sayings are, therefore, surely well worthy the study of all Anarchists.

Your remarks seem to me to show your lack of this study.

In the quotation with which you conclude your footnote you are either (please pardon my saying so) juggling with words, or quoting words you do not know the meaning and context of. The sword of which Jesus speaks is evidently not a steel one, requiring physical force for its use, but metaphorical, denoting that dividing of people one from another which necessarily occurs whenever a hearing is gained for a fundamental truth whose tendency is to undermine superstitions and invested interests. We see this sword at work to-day. So that this quotation, "I come not to bring peace, but a sword," is not in contradiction to Jesus' consistent advocacy of gentleness, peacefulness, and non-resistance to wrong-doers.

In arguing that such teaching is criminal you make a statement which I challenge you to prove. Was the life of Jesus, or his teaching, "a downright encouragement of all the tyrannies and infamies that mankind has suffered through the long ages"?

The fact is that Jesus, unlike some people who call themselves Anarchists to-day, was logical and consistent. Having made up his mind that coercion is evil and under no circumstance a fitting instrument of goodwill or intelligence, he dropped the use of it altogether, and taught men so. The instruments of coercion are violence and fraud, but these must be shunned by all true Anarchists, whose appeal is only to reason and goodwill.

Yours fraternally,

ARTHUR ST. JOHN.

NOTE.—Our comrade St. John's objections to our remarks are raised upon the following points: That Jesus was "a thorough-going Anarchist"; that his remark about bringing "not peace but a sword" was metaphorical; that he preached non-resistance to evil, and was therefore the best and most consistent of Anarchists.

Although there may be much Anarchism, conscious or unconscious, in the teachings of Jesus, it is certainly not correct to assert that he was a "thorough-

going Anarchist." He was sometimes for the law, and always for the ten commandments. And dreadful indeed was the punishment to be meted out to those who disobeyed these commandments: "The angels shall come forth and sever the wicked from among the righteous, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be the weeping and gnashing of teeth." Is this consistent from a preacher of peace and forgiveness and non-resistance to evil-doers? We are quite willing to admit the "sword" may be taken metaphorically; but is this metaphorical? If so, what is *not* metaphorical?

After all, it is a fruitless business this hunting down the inconsistencies in the Gospels. If Comrade St. John wishes to study the subject (which he seems to think we have not done) we may refer him specially to Bauer's criticisms of the Gospels, to Strauss's "Life of Jesus," and to Zeller's masterly essay on Strauss and Renan.

Let us come to the vital point at issue. Is the preaching of non-resistance to evil and evil-doers, the giving our enemies entire freedom to do as they will with us, good or bad? Our answer is, worse than bad: a direct encouragement to tyranny. Is it possible to conceive what we might be enduring to-day if this teaching had controlled the long-suffering people? Ought we not to thank the rebels who by deed and word have fought the tyrants of the world? Are we in future then to regard all resistance to oppression, from Marathon and Thermopylae to the barricades of the Commune, as so much stupidity and crime? We say again, we feel sure neither Comrade Kenworthy nor Comrade St. John mean this; but our only anxiety is to know exactly how the matter stands.—Ed. *Freedom*.

A LETTER FROM NEW AUSTRALIA.

From London to Paraguay is a long cry, and yet the strong voice of Comrade James Leatham comes waiving over the wilderness of watery waves.

It is a real good thing for the world that the parents of Comr. James Leatham met, otherwise millions of well-intentioned and weak-minded people would have gone on believing in Christianity.

All this is altered now. Christianity is not what it is "cracked up" to be. Comrade James Leatham has spoken, and our darkness is illuminated! "Jesus was no Socialist," and Leatham made the discovery. He ought to get it patented.

We gather that Jesus was a sort of impracticable and emotional demagogue whose vapourings consisted "merely of denunciations of social abuses or passionate assertions of the Brotherhood of Man." Like all impracticable Socialists, Jesus had no cut and dried "scheme" for making the other fellow do right and be happy. He just simply did the correct thing himself, and asked his followers to do likewise. For this he has been excommunicated by Comrade James Leatham of the S.D.F.

Just imagine a person like Jesus attending the International Congress for the purpose of preaching his particular heresy. Do you think the S.D.F. would stand him? No sirree! he would be evicted and cast into the outer darkness of Anarchist Communism, to which limbo Comrade James Leatham commits him.

Poor Jesus, always among the outcasts and reprobates!

Jesus can "most fittingly be claimed by the Anarchist Communists," asserts Mr. Leatham, and yet he says, "We admire the Jewish Carpenter." How kind! Would that admiration secure him admission to the International Congress? D'ye hear? Would it now, honest? Jesus allowed pretty free discussion when he was "on the job." Perhaps that is one reason why he is relegated to the ranks of Anarchist Communism.

Comrade James Leatham has sat in judgment, and Jesus is sentenced.

Masquerading all these centuries as Reformer, Leatham has found him out at last and exposed him, and the millions will not be deceived any more.

It is a good job Leatham was born to shed the light of his mighty intellect upon the world.

Lift up your voice, ye people, and sing hymns of praise to the Deliverer.

Oh Thou monument of judicial sapiency that sitest on the judgment seat of the S.D.F., we thank Thee!

Continue to shed the beams of Thy effulgence upon your benighted worshippers!

Oh Thou profound Leatham, illuminate us with Thy sublime wisdom!

Shelter us from all error, and penetrate us with Thy immaculate reasoning power!

To Thee be all praise, for it is Thou who hast rescued us from false teaching!

Thou art the true Teacher who brought back to the fold the wandering sheep and lost lambs, the bleating ewes and the rollicking rams!

Continue to watch and guard us!

Chasten our spirit and incline our ears to Thy doctrines!

Protect us from the guile and blandishments of unregenerate Anarchist Communists; and save us from those who believe in reforming themselves first, and we will, as in duty bound, ever pray, etc., etc. Amen!

What a pity Leatham wasn't born sooner. We haven't heard the last of him either. The man who sets the world to rights after it has been going crank for nineteen hundred years is sure to come again.

It was Leatham who dug up the fallacies that Jesus palmed off on an unsuspecting, juvenile, and innocent world.

Here what he says. "Jesus expressed no desire "to amend the political institutions of his country."

There you are! Imagine a man like that coming away down the centuries gammoning to be a Reformer. But Leatham twigg'd the game just in time. Had Jesus gone around mending political institutions like Leatham is doing, instead of fooling around trying to improve men, see where we would be now.

Again Leatham says: "The legislator, the judge, the officer would have no place in his [Jesus's] scheme of society." Great Scott! There would be no Law and Order at all. Who ever thought Jesus was so bad before? No wonder they crucified him; he wanted to abolish all the soft jobs with big pay. He was a regular Anarchist—no legislators and no laws of course, no judges and no gaoles, no police and no prisons, and probably no taxes to pay. Why, things are better than that now; we are taxed to support a parliament, to maintain judges, magistrates, policemen, prisons, warders, and what not. Then, if we want a little justice, we have to purchase it from a lawyer, and the biggest purse purchases most; it's sold to the highest bidder. Stick to them, Leatham!

"It would be based on voluntary association alone," says Mr. Leatham, in reference to the scheme of society approved of by Jesus. Just so; there would be no compulsion making Social Democrats associate with Anarchists as there was at the International Congress, eh?

Mr. Leatham says: "One policeman at a crowded crossing can accomplish by a wave of the hand what could not be secured by filling all the draymen and cabmen chock-full of the virtues of Charity, Humanity, and Self-sacrifice." Perhaps the gentleman is right, and all we need is less virtue and more policemen, when this would be the best of all possible worlds.

The great wonder is that no one ever thought of it before.

And yet—there are doubts about it.

For example: Speaking of William Morris, Bernard Shaw says, "He saw the serried columns of the proletariat, thousands strong, break up and fly in ludicrous rout before the onslaught of a couple of dozen white faced, excited policemen."

Long live the Policeman!

Vive la Authority!

Hurrah for the rule of Force and the people's blind submission!

Three cheers for Leatham!

Amen.

Perhaps Mr. Leatham will forgive us for believing that the laws of any country

are most always behind the people in the march of progress ; that laws are as a rule the crystallised ignorance, intolerance, and stupidity of past ages ; that all reform comes and has come, and can only come, through the repeal of statute law ; that the law can never be better than the people who make it ; that the study of natural law is of much more value than the tinkering with statute law.

To give an instance of Voluntary Association : During the Shearers Strike of 1891 in Queensland, Australia, there were over 12,000 men banded together. These men were voluntary associates. They were scattered over 700,000 square miles of country.

They were called upon to endure pain, to submit to indignity from police and soldiers ; privation and hardship was their lot for long, weary months, and Voluntary Association kept them solid.

They were offered high wages, police protection, constant work, exceptional agreements, and all sorts of inducements to blackleg, but they wouldn't.

Throughout all that trying time, and in spite of all the tempting offers made, these men remained firm and true to the purely voluntary agreement made with each other.

It didn't want any policemen to enforce the decisions of the Strike Committee. It didn't want any judges to punish offenders, nor any goals in which to imprison them.

The Press, Pulpit, and Parliament were against these men, and yet the desertions could be counted on the fingers of one hand. How is this for "Voluntary Association" ?

As an Anarchist Communist, I believe in Voluntary Association. It may seem strange to add that I also believe in Social Democracy. The Social Democrats are right, and so is Jesus. Funny, isn't it ? Jesus wants no State, and the Social Democrat wants all State ; and to say that they are both right seems contradictory.

Suppose Jesus could have his own way. Even then it would be a physical impossibility to abolish the State right away, no matter how moral or virtuous people were.

What would be done with all the useless people who can't work ? The Civil Servants, the Legislators, the Lawyers, the Soldiers, the Policemen, the Clerks, the Shopkeepers, the Stockbrokers, the Auctioneers, the Commission Agents, the Pressmen, the Parsons, Card Sharps, and Bookmakers, the government informers and private detectives would all be idle and have no work to do, and if they had would be unable to do it.

Jesus and Anarchist Communists have forgotten all about these people !

Then again, what would become of the great mass of workers when they had lots of leisure time upon their hands and no capacity for occupying it profitably to themselves or others ?

It is right here that Socialism comes in and covers the whole space. There is no short measure about it, it just about fills the billy-case.

The useless and so-called respectable classes would have light official duties allotted to them, and would be paid from the proceeds of the workers' labor.

Under this plan the workers would not have too much leisure. It would be given to them gradually as the official classes died out.

The sweet reasonableness of this will be easily seen. Given a large number of educated, shrewd, and clever men unable to engage in hard manual labor, and another large number of laborers with abundance of leisure and no capacity for enjoying it, and you have all the elements of a successful volcano under any system.

It would be no use "filling them chock-full of the virtues of charity, humanity, and self-sacrifice." That doesn't get rid of the difficulty at all. That is what Jesus would do, and he wasn't a Socialist.

Say what you will, you've got to make policemen of them !

Hitherto the "policeman's lot has not been a happy one." In future this will be altered. The world has grown tired of the old quack remedies of "charity, humanity, and self-sacrifice."

It wants a drastic remedy and has found the panacea in Policemen, if it only takes enough of them ; at least so says Comrade James Leatham, and he ought to know, because he has seen one at a crossing with his hands held up.

With regards to all comrades, yours truly,

A. KOPPMANN.

New Australia, Nov. 24, 1896.

LONDON ANARCHIST-COMMUNIST GROUPS.

A Suggested Conference.

DEAR COMRADES,

At a general meeting of London Anarchists, held on Wednesday, December 2nd, it was unanimously agreed that there was every necessity for a Conference of Anarchist Communists of the United Kingdom.

We especially draw your attention to the Conference held at the Autonomie Club, London, in 1893, the success of which was undeniable ; for the renewed activity that ensued therefrom was remarkable if nowhere but in London.

This was the last held.

We feel sure the next would be still more successful. Such a conference would be invigorating, if only owing to the general meeting of comrades. We submit the following as reasons for the necessity of the said Conference :

1st. Our numerical growth necessitates an understanding whereby we can work on definite lines of propaganda.

2nd. Our growth as a moral force in society, furthermore, necessitates the discussion of such points of difference that exist, bearing more especially on principle.

Should such a Conference take place, we suggest the next Easter holidays, 1897, as the time to be fixed on.

Before proceeding further, a reply by return is requested, stating whether you favour the idea and will send a delegate to such a conference. Should you agree, we beg of you to add to your reply any questions for discussion, as the constitution of the agenda is left entirely to suggestions from groups and comrades.

On behalf of the London Anarchist-Communist Groups,

J. PERRY, Sec.

7, Lamb's Conduit Street, London, W.C.

NOTE.—The provincial groups and comrades who have received the above circular are kindly requested to immediately communicate their decision, so as to facilitate any arrangements we may make.

J. PERRY.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

The German police do all they can to stop the publication of the two Anarchist papers of Berlin, *Sozialist* and *Arme Konrad*, yet without success. The responsible editor, Miss Rosa Bareiss, one of the chief contributors, G. Landauer, and the printer (who is not an Anarchist) were arrested, and Landauer is kept in prison since December to await his trial for being supposed to be the author of some incriminated articles. The manager, Comrade Spohr, and others connected with the papers are now used to have their rooms searched on every possible occasion ; and whenever a number is seized the police use the opportunity to pocket whatever they find of manuscripts and letters about the office.

Still the papers are published without interruption, and in defiance of the threat of the public prosecutor, uttered at a trial, that the papers will be hunted down until they die. By the way, everybody remembers the recent discomfiture of the German political police at the Lutzow trial, at Berlin, when even the Foreign Secretary of the Government openly stated that he had to "seek a refuge in publicity" before the insidious plotting of Tausch, the inspector of the political police. A colleague of this worthy, Boesel, whose speciality is the spying upon Anarchists, had a similar pitfall recently which is much less known and explains the hatred of the police against the *Sozialist*.

When the international "Fenian-Anarchist-Nihilist" plot of Sept. last was in full swing—in the columns of the "well-informed" English and continental press—a German comrade, Th. Machner, happened to be on his way to Copenhagen, to assist there in publishing *Proletaren*, the Danish Anarchist paper. The Tsar was staying then at Copenhagen, and the arrival of this solitary Anarchist in Denmark upset the usual peace of that country for a day or two ; he was sure to have come to murder the Tsar. He was arrested on the steamer, and some dreadful appliances were found upon him, supposed to be the latest in the bomb line. By and by, they turned out to be a Norwegian apparatus for—angling. Still he was expelled and sent back to Germany. The police there, who three days before had allowed him to pass through that country, now rearrested him—merely to have him at the disposal of inspector Boesel, who then tried to enlist him as a spy. Machner apparently adopted this proposal, and was liberated. He communicated at once with the Berlin comrades, and was able to get from Boesel some very characteristic letters and oral information. The inspector said, he wanted most of all to destroy the *Sozialist*, and suggested to start a more violent paper in opposition to it in London. Yet the Anarchist movement must not be suppressed altogether—"for heaven's sake, not ; else our occupation would be gone !" etc. Finally, the Berlin comrades arranged to be present at a secret meeting of Boesel and Machner, and so they were ; and this led to a rather funny scene, when the inspector saw that he had all along been the victim of a very practical joke. He waxed furious and decamped, and, as the constant persecutions show, he is anxious now to make up in brutality what he is short of in intellect.

Since the above was written, Friedrich, the responsible editor of the *Sozialist*, was sentenced to four months' imprisonment for having given publicity to these facts, and Landauer was acquitted.

The corrupting influence of authority and political ambition is demonstrated once more in what was to be a model of fraternity and solidarity realised—the *Verrerie Ouvrière* (co-operative glass bottle works), at Albi, started as a sequel to the strike at Carmaux last year. The inner history of that foundation comes now to be known ; at the beginning lay a struggle between the politicians, who wanted the profits to go towards electoral funds, and the trade unionists, who deprecated any such use. The latter prevailed, and, as we now hear the financial support from the political groups was very small. At this no one would grumble if they had kept aloof from the new enterprise altogether ; but Carmaux being the electoral district of M. Jaurès, they found means to predominate in the local administration of the society, draconic rules were framed, the place of fines being taken by suspension from work ; thus, who would be more than five minutes late would lose half-an-hour ; who would not submit to observations made to him by members of the administrative council would be suspended for a period of one to eight days, or discharged altogether, etc. Now the committee, with Baudot at their head, the very man to protest against the arbitrary dismissal of whom the Carmaux strike had taken place, use these rules to mete out suspension from work to all who in any way commit the heinous offence of criticising their action ; every free word is punished, and recently four workers, said to be Anarchists, were discharged. This brought the matter to a crisis ; the failure is now being fully discussed in the French organisations, and papers and a cry of protest against this indignity is raised. Baudot and Anseele, Anseele and Baudot, are all the same ; victims of the demoralising effect of authority.

In general we pass a period of quiet, only that everywhere protests against Spanish atrocities are heard. In Italy, after almost two years suppression from the surface, Anarchist propaganda is again carried on in public. Papers are about to be published at Parma, Mantova, Ancona (L'Agitazione), Spezia, Leghorn and Rome, and pamphlets have been published at Messina, Ancona, Torino, Forli, etc. It is to be noticed that younger elements are breaking away from the electoral party and joining revolutionary Socialism, a stepping-stone towards Anarchism.

A Polish paper, *Swit* (The Dawn) is now published in London, and at Budapest *Ohne Staat* (Without the State), "organ of the idealist Anarchists," is published in German, and, we believe also in Hungarian. It is a paper on the non-resistance, Tolstoi standpoint ; still it is satisfactory to see it, before all in a country where since 1884 no Anarchist paper was published, and where, under the mask of "liberalism" governmental omnipotence rules. Quite recently, miners on strike there, in the Temesvar district, were fired upon by the gendarmes, eight men and two women being killed and many wounded ; in that country such events create no great sensation ; when the workers raise their voice, the repeating rifles of the gendarmes soon silence them ; this is the custom of the country !

Where "Freedom" can be obtained.

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O. MATTHIAS, 20, Little Paltney St., Wardour Street, W.
S. LEVY, 113, Commercial Road, E.

THE PROPAGANDA.

[Will comrades in the London and provincial Groups make a point of furnishing us with reports of their meetings and progress by not later than the 20th of each month.—E.D.]

REPORTS.

LONDON.

Spitalfields.—On Monday, Jan. 25, Comrade John Turner commenced a course of three lectures at Christchurch Hall, Hanbury Street, on his impressions of America, dealing that night with the political and industrial conditions there. Unfortunately the weather was unfavorable, so that the hall, which might accommodate between 500 and 600 people, was only half filled. However, the audience was appreciative and listened with close attention to the lucid and vivacious discourse of our comrade. A number of questions were put and satisfactorily replied to at the end. A collection to defray expenses bought in 9s. 11d., beside a collection of 1s. 6d. received towards it from the Hoxton Group. Fair sale literature.—On Monday, Feb. 1, our comrade delivered his second lecture, when he dealt with the Labor movement in America. Again, notwithstanding the weather being even worse than the previous week, some couple of hundred people including several Social Democrats, turned up. Collection made 8s. 2d.—On Monday, February 8th, Comrade Turner gave the final lecture of the series on America, dealing with the Revolutionary movement. The attendance was better than on the previous evenings, and the audience seemed to greatly enjoy the vigorous and lucid exposition of our comrade. We need not take up here any space about the lecture itself, as the whole series will be fully reported in the future numbers of *Freedom*. Several questions were satisfactorily dealt with at the end of the lecture, and a collection made 6s. 1½d. Altogether, we consider the lectures have been a success, and although the collections up till now have not covered our comparatively modest expenditure of 15s. per lecture, still taking into consideration the importance of spreading the truth of our ideas in this exploited locality of wealthy London, we decided to continue to hold lectures here as long as we during the winter season. (See notice of lectures.) We hope that all our East London comrades will help to make these lectures as widely-known and as useful as possible.—W. W.

Canning Town Group.—A Conference of Anarchists of West Ham was held at the Group-meeting place on Jan. 5. A large number attended, and after a long debate upon the best means of propaganda during the ensuing year it was decided to organise a keen outdoor course of lectures in and around West Ham, and that a group meeting shall be held every Tuesday evening to discuss any question that may arise from time to time. It was also suggested that occasional visits to outlying districts would greatly assist in spreading our ideas.—The propaganda last month has been all that could be expected, and the sale of literature has also been very good. The weather has been greatly against outdoor meetings, but taking everything into consideration the prospects are very good. Our Comrade Leggat has been putting in some very good work at Stratford, and the attendance at his meetings has been very large. Our Comrade R. Peddie also put in an amount of active work in a quiet way amongst our old friends the Social Democrats. We arrange a social evening in the second week of February and are expecting a good time of it.—R. LOWE, Sec.

Deptford.—The ball is still rolling. We are now having good meetings. Comrade Banham spoke on Sunday, Dec. 20th., on "The Hamburg Dockers." We made a collection of 5s. for the dockers. A Christian bully was again in evidence trying to interrupt the speaker, and generally acting in a Christian spirit. Mr. Jelly, also a Christian, took part in the discussion and complimented our comrade on his speech. On Dec. 27th., Stockton spoke on the same subject but we had practically no opposition. Collected 2s. 10d. for Hamburg dockers. Jan. 3rd., Turner spoke to an extra large audience—subject "An Anarchist New Year's Address." We sold 22 *Freedom*. Jan. 10th., over lecturer Perry did not turn up but Carter and several others made the Broadway lively, getting into discussion wherever they could. Comrade Yonng has also spoken for us.—H. B.

Brixton Group.—The few comrades in this benighted region have been doing their best to preach the principles of Anarchist-Communism. Having no speakers we have been doing the next best thing, that is, distributing literature. We manage to sell 1 quire of *Freedom* every month, and on some occasions more. One of our comrades sold 3 quire of the Nov. issue at the cab-drivers' meetings in South London. Another way we distribute *Freedom* is by sending a copy to the district trade unions and anyone we think it is worth sending to. Two or three of our comrades here are out of work, so we are not doing much now. We have agreed to take part in the Conference at Easter, believing it will give the movement a much needed impetus.—W. W.

PROVINCES.

Edinburgh.—As we anticipated we have had a severe struggle to keep afloat during the Christmas and New Year holidays. Here the people seem to hold the festive season as a time of special apathy towards Socialism. In spite of poverty they stand most religiously by the old habit and "let the wind tak' the care o' this world on its back" for the time being; consequently our audiences have been reduced very considerably and our collections in proportion. Now however we are settling down to a much brighter state of affairs, and hope to do great work during the two remaining months of the present course. The last four lectures we have to report are: Dec. 20th., "Merry Christmas" by comrade Doris, who caused great amusement by the sarcasm and humour which he threw into his remarks on these extremely charitable Christian people who make a practice of giving away blankets and coats to whom they term the "deserving" poor. Being a subject of great scope, Doris took care to have them all on his list. The lecture was both instructive and amusing, and altogether we spent a very enjoyable evening. December 27th. we had arranged to have J. Perry, of London, to speak for us on "Over Population," but were doomed to disappointment, Perry being unable to get away; his lectures in Glasgow were cancelled also. We were lucky in having comrades Hall and Doris to fall back on. Both comrades willingly took the platform and spoke for half-an-hour each on the question of over-population, vigorously exposing and denouncing the fallacy. January 3 being "the day after the fair" we had a night off. January 10, we opened again with Hall on "Philosophical Anarchism," a well thought out address in which was said almost everything worth saying on the subject. In his closing remarks the lecturer maintained all revolutions in the past, no matter how sincere the revolutionists were, had never broken the chains of economic slavery, but merely shaken them. January 17, we had a visit from Comrade McCabe his subject being "The Broad Path"; speaking of the differences of opinion amongst Socialists the lecturer pointed out that such was inevitable and even desirable; the same differences had been experienced in other movements, especially the Christian movement, and fighting had only ceased when every sect, big and small, had gained liberty to build its own church and could worship according to its own interpretation of Christianity. The lecture was greatly appreciated, and although the audience was no larger than the last two, still the discussion was of a decidedly intellectual nature, which is of more importance. In the Meadows, Hall, Godfrey, Adams and Macgregor have been doing a little; but generally their meeting have been small on account of the coldness of the weather and of course they have found a difficulty in disposing of the literature. G. R.

Leeds.—The New Year is now here, old oaths and new resolutions are sworn again and what is more, the Leeds Socialists League has fairly started on its career. We hold our meetings every week-day night at 8, in Liberty Hall, Victory Road; for further information as to membership, etc., apply F. Fox, Central I.L.P. Club, Briggate, Leeds. A few members of the League are seriously thinking of attempting to live a little more in accordance with their principles, they are going to start a Communist, or more properly speaking, a Co-operative Home. They have great hopes of being able to obtain Monston Lodge, at Crossgate, near Leeds, for this experiment. The house is in a fine, healthy, and picturesque neighbourhood, and should the experiment be carried out there is every chance of its success. Anyone asking for further information would do well to write to McQueen, 46 Banstead Terrace, Roundhay Road. On Sunday Jan. 17, a debate took place, at the Central I.L.P. Club, between comrade McQueen and Bedley on the following subject, "Should Anarchists treat with indifference the existing municipal and governmental institutions"; McQueen taking the affirmative and Bedley the negative. The debate was well attended and I noticed several prominent Leeds Anarchists there; hard knocks were given on both sides, but there was a tendency; when the debate was thrown open to the audience, to wander from the subject; however, McQueen stood his ground and made several good points. On Sunday Jan. 10, William Lane of the Cosmè Colony was lecturing in Leeds on behalf of the P.E.L., and he did effective work on behalf of the Voluntary Co-operatives, in fact, the main topic for conversation among Leeds Socialists at present is Fraternal Co-operation. We have succeeded in getting a few people in sympathy with us on the Committee of the P.E.L., and we hope before long to enable to be get some lecturers down in Leeds; would Anarchist lecturers who have dates open write to the secretary of the P.E.L. Central Club, New Briggate, and oblige yours fraternally—F. F.

RESULT OF SHEFFIELD "COMMONWEAL" DRAW.—1st Prize, 214; 2nd, 318; 3rd, 935; 4th, 105; 5th, ; 6th, 228; 7th, 107; 8th, 762; 9th, 87; 10th, 439; 11th, 200; 12th, 101.—D. J. N.

NOTICES.

Spitalfields.—The following lectures have been arranged to be given at Christchurch Hall, Hanbury Street: Monday, Feb. 15, Herbert Stockton, "Anarchist Communism v. Commercialism—Social Democracy and Individualist Anarchy"; Monday, Feb. 22, J. C. Kenworthy, "Tolstoy and Anarchism"; March 1st, (the lecturer and subject for this date will be announced by bills &c.); March 8th P. Kropotkin, "The State—Its Historical Role and Development." Doors open at 7.30 p.m. Lecture—occasionally preceded by musical selections—to commence at 8.30.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Sales of FREEDOM.—Gordon, Leeds, 1s. 4d.; W. Duff, 3s. 4d.; MacQueen, 2s. 8d.; Canning Town Group, 10s. 8d.; T. Cantwell, 3s. 2d.; W. Wess, 4s. 8d.; Ed. Carpenter, 10s.; F. Shirwoode, 7s. 6d.; W. Reeves, 1s. 3d.; O. Matthias, 8d.; F. Jones, 8d.; C. Heilingstein, 7½d.; Schreiber, 5d.; E. Row, 3d.; E. Vernon, 1½d.; Kall, 2s.; Edmonton Group, 1s. 4d.; Croydon Group, 3s. 8d.; Yarmouth Group, 2s.; Deptford Group, 1s. 4d.; Communist Club, 1s. 3d.; Stanly Hall, 9d.; Edinburgh Group, 5s.; H. Taylor, 1s.; Liverpool Group, 1s. 4d.; S. Kahan, 2s. 6d.

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