

LIBERTY



• CONTENTS •

Between Ourselves.

The Commune of Paris.

By LOUISE MICHEL.

Socialism in Danger.

By F. D. NIEUWENHUIS.

Parliamentary Politics in the
Socialist Movement.

By ERRICO MALATESTA.

Monopoly and the Making of
Criminals.

By HENRY C. DONOVAN.

"The Prejudice against
Property."

By L. S. BEVINGTON.

International Federation of
Anarchists.

W.M. ROSE

• A JOURNAL OF •

• ANARCHIST COMMUNISM •

MONOPOLY AND THE MAKING OF CRIMINALS.

By HENRY C. DONOVAN.

At a recent meeting of the British Phrenological Association Mr. Webb read a paper which he entitled the "Uses of Phrenology." The paper was a very good one of its kind, but he dealt lightly with the uses of this science, and devoted much of his time to a defence of Gall and his co-workers, and to an expose of the unfair attacks that have been made on phrenology from time to time, and not only that, but he went on to show that even medical men of the modern school will not hesitate to take unto themselves the credit of some so-called discoveries which Dr. Gall, Spurzheim, Vemont and others had discovered long ago.

A discussion followed, in the course of which Mr. Donovan said that the reader of the paper had referred to Cardinal Manning whose portrait was before the audience. It was easy for any one having the slightest knowledge of Phrenology to see that, owing to a very small development of the organ of Alimentiveness, the Cardinal must have led an abstemious life, not from any process of reading on his part, or from a knowledge that in order to lead a good life it was necessary to be abstemious in eating and drinking, but from the fact that he could not do otherwise, and therefore unto him it was a property of easiness. But mental organization get no credit for this; none of those who had sung the praises of this good man had ever hinted that he was by nature filled to lead an abstemious life; the credit was given to his religious mind.

And if a further glance is devoted to the Cardinal's head it will be seen that, though his desire for food and drink was small, yet it can be noticed from the fullness of that part of the head where is situated the organ of "Faith," that it cannot be said that he was moderate in that direction. The menu provided for him by the English Church was not enough for his spiritual appetite; he wanted more, and in order to gratify his desire for such kind of good living he went to another place where he could get the dishes he required served up hot. His perceptive vigour was not very well developed, but the reflective and speculative portion of his forehead was, hence his life can be explained without the assistance of the New Testament and the early Fathers of the Church of Rome.

With regard to Mr. Webb's remarks about the criminal classes Mr. Donovan did not quite follow him. As far as his knowledge and observations on the heads of the criminal classes went he did not see how phrenology could be of much use in this direction, because men became members of the criminal classes more from our economic conditions than any predisposition on the part of most of the men, women, and children who happen to get into prison. It was all very well to talk of the influence of religion and education having a deterrent effect on the lower classes. It had, as far as he could see, no good effect whatsoever, for a knowledge of the ten commandments and good instructions in the very peculiar history connected with the books of Genesis, together with the details associated with the birth, life, and death of Jesus Christ, would not in any way prevent the religiously instructed child, youth, or adult from feeling the pangs of hunger caused by a flow of gastric juice into the stomach, and the corrosive action of which on the coats of an empty stomach was in no way affected by the preaching of the hosts of professional soul-savers outside the prison walls, or the gentlemen of the same calling who are provided by the State for the benefit of the prisoners inside. It was very soothing, no doubt, to hear a good preacher hold forth on the sins of the world when the stomach was in a nice con-

dition, and the gastric juices pleasantly engaged in digesting food and not gnawing at the coats of a empty stomach. For men to be good, to lead a life without inflicting discomfort and annoyance on others, they must have some means of getting a sufficiency of food, clothing, and shelter. We were told that these things are around us in abundance: that there is over production of food and clothing, and a good many houses unlet. That was so, but they were not free, they were held by the monopolist. Hence there was starvation in the midst of plenty, and the shivering outcast in sight of empty houses.

A man with an evenly balanced head was just as likely to suffer the pangs of hunger as the man who not even a phrenologist would call of a high type. There could be no classification in our present disorderly system. The physical labor type had often, through stress of circumstances, to follow pursuits and callings for which they were not mentally fitted. If a youth with a full development of the organs in the base of the brain, such as amativeness and alimentiveness and not much controlling power, was sent into the city—say for instance into a bank, where he has to lead a sedentary life, it was very certain that he would be more likely to fall into temptation and thereby become one of the criminal classes than one who was more fitted to lead such a life. The temptations for one man were no temptations for another; what was one man's food was another man's poison. For the first man should never have been put to such employment, but put to his proper sphere, that is, in some occupation where fresh air and wholesome toil would produce a desire for repose and such recreations as would stimulate those parts of the brain that had been quiet during the hours of legitimate toil. Jabez Balfour is a case in point. As a farmer he would have been a very useful member of society, but as a city man he had caused, as many men are doing now, a great deal of unpleasant feeling amongst the investing public. This topic recalled (said Mr. Donovan) to his memory the case of Mrs. Manning, who was a native of Switzerland, and who, had she been left there to spend her days in the open air on a frugal and wholesome diet, would have led a harmless life, and would no doubt have married and lived happily. But no, Swiss lady's maids and Swiss valets were the fashion in England at that time, so in order to improve her condition she left her country side and ultimately became Lady B's maid, when a life of idleness and high-pressure living had its natural effect on such a mental organization as she possessed—a large brain and a very full development of amativeness and alimentiveness. Her career downwards was that which any phrenologist would have predicted. Lady B. was compelled to dismiss her; she married a publican; and ultimately the hangman at Horsemonger Lane jail sent her into eternity with a sure and certain hope of immediate resurrection. Her cast is to be seen on the shelf of many phrenological collections as one of the criminal type.

Our game laws are excellently fitted for the manufacture of criminals; in fact it is on a par with all our connected with the protection of property, and when blackberries and mushrooms become private property (as some of the country county councils have suggested) there will then be a marked increase of crime amongst the children of the lower classes.

In the Cape Colony and Natal the possessing classes have manufactured a means of turning men into criminals which does not exist in any other part of the British dominions, that is, it is a crime to have in their possession a piece of crystallized carbon without being able to produce a broker's receipt for the same, but it is not a crime if the diamond has been cut and set in metal.

In Great Britain it is game: in the Cape it is rough diamonds: in India it is a crime to be caught manufact-

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uring salt from saline earths or sea water; again in great Britain it is a crime to collect the vapor arising from the fermentation of sugar, starch, or vegetable fibre without a permit from the government: in the Straits Settlements it is not a crime to have in your luggage tobacco without declaring the same on landing: in England it is. And so we might go on and enumerate many innocent acts which the law makes criminal in one country and not in another; so that a great deal of our crime, and, in fact, all of it can be laid to the credit of our economic system. In order to retain the powers of monopoly it is necessary to have the tyrannical power of making, or rather turning harmless men into criminals.

Phrenology would no doubt be of great service in the classification of crime. It would be of value in guiding men and women to the work in harmony with their mental and physical capacity; but by the time we are wise enough to employ this science in the classification of men and women inside our prison walls, we shall be wise enough to abolish the means by which useful men and women are turned into useless criminals outside the prison. We shall know that in order to get the best results from mankind—that is to make men good and useful to one another, the means of food, clothing, and shelter must not be kept under the lock and key of private ownership, but must be free to all.

Phrenology teaches us that there are no bad men; but at the same time we can see that men must inevitable be driven to do dreadful and degrading things under dreadful and degrading conditions; and those dreadful and degrading conditions exist now, when we see wealth, luxury, and idleness on one side, and poverty with all its accompanying temptations on the other. When men are free to live and work in accordance with their mental and physical capacity the days of crime will be over, and prisons will be no more.

Page 106, twentieth line from beginning, read reasoning for reading.

SOCIALISM IN DANGER.

By F. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS.

[Continued from No. 13.]

Where are we to look for the revolutionary Liebnicht who was wont strenuously to maintain that "Socialism is no longer a matter of theory but a burning question which must be settled, not in Parliament but in the street and on the battlefield, like every other burning question?" All the doctrines promulgated in his treatise are deserving of the widest possible circulation, so that every one may be able to weigh the difference between the brave champion of the proletariat who lived years ago, and the shopkeepers' representative of to-day. After having said that "with universal suffrage, to vote or not to vote is only a question of expediency not of principle," he concludes:

"Our speeches cannot have any direct influence upon legislation.

"We shall not convert Parliament with words.

"By our speeches we can only scatter truths among the people that it is possible to proclaim more effectively in another way.

"Of what real service then are speeches in Parliament? None. And to talk merely for the sake of talking is the business of fools! Think of it: Not a single advantage. And here, on the other hand, are the disadvantages:

"Sacrifice or compromise of principles; degradation of a sublime political struggle into the discussion of a debating society; and encouragement of the idea among the people that the Bismarckian Parliament is destined to settle the social question.

"And for practical reasons, should we concern ourselves with Parliament? Only treachery or stupidity could persuade us to do so."

We could not give utterance to our convictions more forcibly or more exactly. But mark the notable inconsistency. According to his premises, and after having reckoned up all the profits and losses greatly to the discredit of parliamentary action, he might be expected inevitably to have given a verdict in favour of non-participation. However he delivers himself as follows: "To prevent the Socialist movement sustaining Caesarism, it is necessary that Socialism should enter into the political struggle." It is past comprehension how so logical a mind can thus bury itself in contradictions!

But they are themselves in doubt and confusion. Evidently parliamentarianism is the bait by which the catch of fish must be obtained, and yet they try to make it look as if it were a desirable thing in itself, an end as well as a means. Thence the dubiety and indecision on the question.

For instance at the Erfurt congress Bebel said:

"Social Democracy differs from all preceding parties, inasmuch as they have all been established for a totally different end. We aim to replace capitalistic production by socialistic production, and are consequently obliged to pursue our objects by ways and means radically opposed to all preceding parties." ("Protokoll," p. 25).

Perhaps that is why they advise us to take the parliamentary road, the way pursued by all the other parties, and why they tell us it will lead us in quite a different direction.

Singer found himself in a similar dilemma when he said at Erfurt: "Supposing that it is possible to obtain anything valuable through parliamentary action, that action would necessarily weaken the party, since any possible advantage can only be obtained by means of the co-operation of parties." ("Idem," p. 199).

Isolated, the Social Democratic members can do nothing, and "a revolutionary party should hold aloof from any kind of policy which can only be pursued with the assistance of other parties." What business then have they in such a Parliament?

The *Zürcher Sozialdemokrat* wrote in 1883: "Parliamentarianism as a general rule shows nothing which can be viewed with sympathy by a Democrat, especially by a thorough Democrat, that is a Social Democrat. For him, on the contrary, it is antidemocratic because it means the supremacy of a class, mostly the middle class." And again it affirms that "the struggle against parliamentary action is not revolutionary, but reactionary." That is to say quite the opposite. The risk of compromise was apparent, and if the government had not been obliging enough to disturb that condition of things by the law against Socialists, who knows where we would now stand? If there had been a real statesman at the head of affairs he would have given the Social Democratic party a free hand and rope enough with which to hang itself.

With much truth the above-mentioned paper in 1881 wrote as follows: "The anti-socialist law has done much for our party, which stood in danger of enfeeblement. The Social Democratic party had become too pliable, too popular; it latterly had opened the door to political ambition and personal vanity. To prevent it becoming a middle-class party; in theory as well as in action, it was essential that it should experience persecution."

Bernstein said something similar in the *Jahrbuch für Sozialwissenschaft*: "In the later years of its existence (before 1878) the party had wandered far from the direct road, so that the propaganda was now very different from that of 1860-1870 and of the years immediately following 1870."

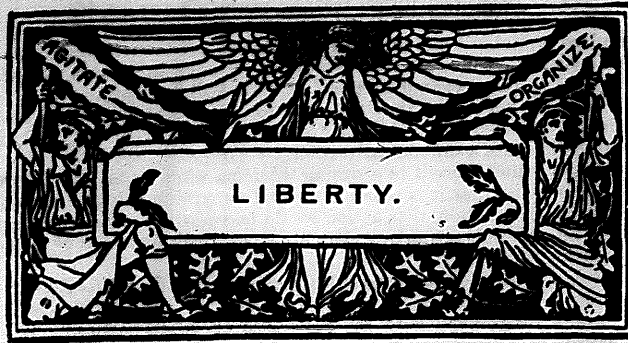
A small social democratic sheet too, edited by an enlightened socialist, A. Steck, wrote as follows: "There are comparatively few who think that logically the whole party should forsake its principles, as it would by a union of the active and scientific Marxians with the moderate disciples of Lassalle. The watchword of the Lassallians—'Through universal suffrage to victory'—a motto often ridiculed by the Marxians before their surrender, now constitutes in very truth—shame that we should say it—the guiding principle of the German Social Democracy."

It was just the same with the early Christians. At first the various schools of thought were in strong opposition. Do we not read that the war-cries were, "I am of Paul," "I am of Cephas," "I am of Apollos." Gradually their differences became less pronounced, they became more friendly. Opposing doctrines were reconciled and at last one saints' day was established in honour both of Peter and Paul. The antagonistic disciples were united, but at what a sacrifice of principle!

Very remarkable is the analogy between primitive Christianity and modern Social Democracy. Both found their disciples among the poor, the outcasts of society. Both were subject to persecution and suffering; and yet both grew in numbers and importance in spite of oppression. In the fulness of time came an emperor, one of the most licentious who ever climbed the steps of a throne (and that is no small thing to say, for licentiousness is at home on a throne), who as a matter of policy became a Christian. Immediately a change took place, the salient points of Christianity were rubbed off, and it was made popular. Its adherents obtained the most lucrative posts in the state, and orthodox and sincere disciples were banished as heretics from the Christian community.

Similarly in our day we see the the selfish and the powerful endeavouring to nobble Socialism. "We are all Socialists now," and we find the doctrine made acceptable to every palate; and if we give them the chance the opportunists will triumph, while thorough and uncompromising Socialists will be excommunicated from the political party, simply because their unbending straightforwardness is regarded as hostile to the schemes of the men plotting for place and power. The victory of Social Democracy will thus mean the defeat of Socialism, just as the supremacy in the state of the Christian church was contemporaneous with the decay of Christian principles. Already international congresses are like economic councils, where the majority presume to expel those who are bold enough to differ from them in opinion. Even now there is a censorship applied to socialist writing; only after Bernstein in London has examined it, and Engels has placed on it the seal of orthodoxy, is the pen-work regarded as canonical and permitted to be published among the faithful. The form of creed in which Social Democracy is to be enshrined is ripe for promulgation. What more can they do? Ah! who can say? At any rate we have sounded the alarm and we shall see how far these absurd pretensions will be carried.

To be continued.



"LIBERTY" is a journal of Anarchist-Communism; but articles on all phases of the Revolutionary movement will be freely admitted, provided they are worded in suitable language. No contributions should exceed one column in length. The writer over whose signature the article appears is alone responsible for the opinions expressed, and the Editor in all matters reserves to himself the fullest right to reject any article.

We would ask our contributors, to write plainly and on one side of the paper only. All Communications should be addressed, — The Editor, Liberty, 7 Beadon Road, Hammer-smith, W.

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LONDON, FEBRUARY, 1895.

Between Ourselves

The Italian High Court has decided that the condemnation by default of Comrade Merlino for press offences is not legal, and that he must be judged again by jurors. We hope he will be acquitted, because another comrade who was some time ago judged for a like offence was acquitted, and because in the present condition of Italy it would be very difficult for the government to find jurors willing to condemn a man for speaking the truth against governments and masters. If Merlino is acquitted he will still have to serve about one year in prison because of the old conviction as a member of the International Association of Working men.

The European bourgeois papers are favouring the despotic government of the Czar. They constantly speak of the good actions of paternal Alexander and Nicholas. When an independent writer ventures, from time to time, to discuss the oppression and the atrocities of the Russian government, the sincere and stupid or hired admirers begin to proclaim the fact that the Czar Alexander was faithful to his wife, and consequently it is not true that the Russian peasants die of hunger, that the Standists are tortured and deported for their religious convictions, that the rising young generation of the country is persecuted, thrust into fetters and sent to the Siberian mines, where many die flogged to death by the knout—as Madame Sighida, or pierced by bayonets—as Miss Gurevitch. All this is nothing: all these fine flowers of Asiatic despotism must not be mentioned, for Alexander III. was faithful to his wife, and paid liberally the European writers who sold themselves to him.

At present we must not speak against our despots, for the Czar Nicholas is too young (27 years), yet his tender age does not prevent him from signing laws which declare the Standists a very dangerous sect which must be exterminated, or other laws, according to which nobody in the whole of Russia may lecture on any subject without a special authorisation of the ministers of the interior and of public education. Before this monstrous law Russians had to abide in silence all the same, but it was considered as the consequence of an abuse of power on the part of the administration, the police. At present it is done in consequence of this law of the young Czar, to whom the intention of established obligatory primary education is attributed.

This will be a nice education, indeed, headed by the police,—when no independent scientist, men of high instruction and enlightened spirits, are allowed to give a lecture, even to their friends, without a ministerial authorisation, without the good will of the local police....

It is not too much to say that France has entered a revolutionary period. The third republic is in agony and with it the whole bourgeois regime is dissolving itself into mud.

The French people have lost faith in the idea that the republic and universal suffrage would bring about liberty and well-being, and have become enlightened by the scandals of all sorts which have cast broad daylight upon the deep-rooted corruption of the governing classes. The people are beginning to show an intention to do away with the existing institutions. Socialism becomes every day more powerful and more threatening. The bourgeois, bent on resisting with all the egoism and violence which characterise them, believed they had found

the right man in Casimir Périer, the stronghearted capitalist who exploits the miners of Anzin. But Casimir wore only the mask of energy and ran away from the struggle, not knowing how to face the attacks of the Socialists, nor to find a remedy for the folly of the majority who had elected him and who would have had an interest to support him.

After the resignation of Casimir, the same majority elected for the office of President of the Republic Félix Faure, a shipowner, who has become rich by the exploitation of working men, and he is to accomplish the mission in which Casimir failed.

But Faure does not know where to turn his head, and begins by betraying the majority by addressing himself, for the constitution of his ministry, to a radical, Mr. Bougeois, who is at this moment trying to form a hybrid ministry, which will satisfy nobody and will soon fall, perhaps causing thereby the fall of President Faure himself.

What can be expected of the immediate future? Perhaps an attempt at violent reaction—military dictatorship or monarchical restoration; but the present state of France offers no great chance for adventurers. More probable is the election of Brisson and a trial of radical politics, but radicalism which is nothing but bourgeois liberalism, will only create hopes which it cannot fulfil and raise forces which it cannot keep back, and it must soon make way either for reaction or for revolution. Things are marching on: Let us hope that France will emerge from the crisis with a determination to inaugurate the reign of the Socialist Commune.

Our Italian comrades who are doing their best to establish an Anarchist Federation of revolutionary Anarchist Socialists are fully aware of the difficulties attending such a task. In England however the conditions are somewhat different: we still have the liberty to publish our papers and the freedom of speech: were the Government to suppress our meetings then the necessity for secret organization would arise and we would be justified in using every means within our power for emancipating ourselves. We have a strong sympathy for all those who by whatever means, are fighting for the good of mankind.

We regret that the Programme of "International Federation of Socialist Anarchists" which appears on our 8th page has been printed incorrectly. A most important mistake occurs in the fourth "considering", which should be as follows: "Considering: That owing to the solidarity of the various economical and political institutions it is impossible to substantially change the present organization by means of partial or gradual reforms, it is necessary to change it altogether by revolutionary means and by violation of established laws."

Correspondence.

Sir,
Saying that the superiority of Anarchism over Communism, or vice versa has not been thoroughly thrashed out in "Liberty," and being aware that the great demands upon your limited space preclude any voluminous correspondence on the subject, although properly speaking this matter is of first importance and should claim priority over all others, I desire to throw out a challenge open to any Communist, to discuss the question: "Anarchism versus Communism," by private correspondence; but I am no speaker, I mean private so far as the discussion itself is concerned, for I should have no objection to the publication of my remarks thereon, afterwards. My confidence in the principles of philosophic Anarchism and my desire to have the thing tested is my only object in addressing you on the subject. Hoping by these means to thoroughly clear up the ground of argument I await a communication from the first who will accept my challenge.

W. J. Robins, 16 Gee Street, St. Pancras, W.

PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

By ERRICO MALATESTA.

I.—UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE (continued from No. 12).

Nor could the parliamentary system yield other results. The community at large has not a single common interest, but it necessarily has many of a diverse and often opposite character, which cannot be regulated by the same individual or by the same assembly. Any authority which legislates on every subject and for everybody must needs be arbitrary and despotic; and the voter who imagines himself free and independent because he drops a ballot in the urn at election time, while on the other hand he tamely submits to any law that may be imposed upon him, is the victim of an illusion, and in reality he is a slave in whose hand has been placed a toy sceptre.

These remarks on Parliamentarianism pre-suppose that the vote of the citizen is unfettered and enlightened. But what shall we say of the franchise exercised by a mob steeped in poverty, brutalized by ignorance and superstition, and at the mercy of a cunning minority in the exclusive possession of wealth and power, and which holds at its absolute disposal the means of existence indispensable to the majority? As a rule the poor elector is neither capable of voting with intelligence, nor free to vote as he wishes.

Without preliminary education, and destitute of the means for self-instruction, obliged to place implicit faith on what he reads in some irresponsible newspaper (assuming that he has the ability and the time to read), knowing nothing of men and things apart from his own narrow life, how can the workman know what things to ask from Parliament, or through what channel to make his wants known? Is it possible for him to have any clear idea of the nature of a Parliament?

Assuredly workmen and peasants, even the most uneducated know far more than professors about political economy in things where their own interests are at stake: the things they see and touch, their work,

their daily life. Most assuredly they can form an opinion on all questions that touch them, when put to them in a simple straightforward way. They know full well if they like their master, who has not done a stroke of work, to take the greater part of their labor. They know full well if they like military service or not. They would know well enough how to make use of the riches of their commune or country if they had the necessary data as to the disposable products, and as to the power of production and the needs of their fellow-countrymen. They would know how to teach their children to work. And they would learn very quickly all they do not know or do not understand if they were compelled to look after their own affairs when brought face to face with some pressing necessity. But if the questions put to them do not concern them, or if they are so complicated by foreign interests that they do not recognize them; if the most simple things are obscured by a technical terminology which turns policies into an occult science; if they have no time for study and for reflection, and if they do not feel the necessity of doing so, knowing, that whatever happens they will not be called upon to decide the question and that others are thinking for them; then their vote will be necessarily unconscious, as indeed is usually the case.

Supposing that a poor elector understood how he should vote, would he be really free to vote as he wished?

His life and that of his children are at the mercy of an employer, who can, by refusing the labourer work, reduce him to a state of starvation. And not only employers; but agents of the government and of the stronger parties have a thousand ways of avenging themselves by open or hidden means on the laborer who has not voted as they wished. On the other hand, a thousand promises, a thousand cajoleries, a thousand favours, may at any moment bring doubt into the soul of the worker, in bringing into conflict his conscience with his tenderness and duty to his family, and compel him either to sell his conscience or refuse those he loves a life a little less miserable, or at least a temporary relief of their daily sufferings. The vote is secret our opponents say. But what does that mean when the employers, or the government, or the parties can make their dependants vote under the inspection of their agents, and can by some tricks of the trade control each vote, or even only make believe that they can control it? What is the use of secret balloting, when the very fact of exacting that it should be secret, is a proof of hostility to the employer, and makes the man liable to be hated and sent away from the workshop or farm? And it is worse when an employer makes all his dependants conjointly answerable for the election of a deputy by threatening the stoppage of the works or some other retaliation, as has often happened in large establishments that take in government contracts and that need a deputy to protect their interests. Then it happens that the workers watch and spy one another for fear the candidate of their employer should not succeed. So corrupting is the fear of misery! The proletarian masses may revolt and risk everything in the hopes of an immediate victory, but with great difficulty they risk their work, that is to say their bread and peace, when a struggle is at issue which offers them only a promise, a hundred times belied, of a slow and distant amelioration, and which leaves the combatants, be they victorious or vanquished, at the mercy of the employer. No, the poor elector is neither conscious nor free: and it would not be possible for him to be otherwise. If misery did not brutalize men, if economic pressure and the fear of to-morrow did not make men submissive and timid, if in fact the people were conscious of their rights and were determined to enforce them, they would not need to be looking for men, more or less capable and honest, to entrust with the carrying out of their claims. They have always the means of emancipating themselves to hand and they would use them. The workers would refuse to work for their masters; the taxpayers would refuse to pay the taxes; the soldiers would refuse to obey, and thus would be destroyed at one blow, private property and the political state, the two links of the chain that binds and torments mankind.

Having thus demonstrated by facts and arguments that popular suffrage, such as is understood by the parliamentary system, is powerless as an instrument of emancipation, it is plain why the privileged classes, who formerly feared it and fought it to death, have now found in it an efficacious means of prolonging their rule and of calming revolutionary tempests. When it becomes impossible for them to keep the people in subjection by brutal force, and the lies of the priests have no longer the power to make them accept misery as a law made by God, when the people no longer expect a paradise, and do not fear the police, then there is only one way of keeping them enslaved; and that is to give them an illusion of liberty, by making them believe that they are masters, and that the social institutions are made by them and can be altered by their will.

The bourgeoisie shows political talent in conceding to the people the right of suffrage, that would only be the right of choosing one's master when exercised in a condition of consciousness and independence, and that, in the present condition of ignorance and economic subjection, is only a vulgar mystification with which imposters cheat their consciences and speculate on the suffering of some and the enthusiasm of others.

But, is it possible that Socialists, who sincerely wish the liberty and the well-being of all, put their hopes in that same suffrage that has been, up till now, a weapon of the government in the hands of the bourgeoisie?

HOW LONDON ANARCHISTS TREATED A SPY.

The story of the spy Cotin—a man in the employ of the French and the English police, of his discovery, of his confession, of his being sent back to France—has already been told, but not fully or altogether truthfully. The police, as might be expected, told the press agencies and the special reporters as little as possible to their own disadvantage, and as much as they dared that was likely to be detrimental to Anarchists.

The London dailies, ever ready to write down Anarchism and Anarchists, garbled the information supplied them, and concluded they had done a clever thing. In no one instance that we know of was a really honest attempt made to ascertain the complete facts. How very much we are warranted in making these accusatory statements will be seen at once on comparing what follows in this column with the other versions already circulated.

Cotin—whose portrait is given herewith—although a young man, had seen a good deal of the rough side of life before coming to this country. He appears to have been discarded by his parents at an early age, for reasons which he seems unable or unwilling to explain. He pleads that poverty brought him in contact with the French police. He admits he was in their employ before he came to London and that he came here at their direct instigation and engaged to do certain specific work. It was part and parcel of this scheme that he should arrive here in apparently destitute and poverty stricken circumstances in August last. For a man without means he managed to live without being starved until he had quietly formed the acquaintance of the very people whose capture and ruin it was his aim to accomplish.



So soon as he was in touch with them his plea of poverty was more urgent than ever, and his dire want was an excuse for accepting food from one comrade, lodging from another, and clothes or anything he could get from others. Of course his professions of sympathy with the Anarchist movement were hearty, although not obtrusively so. In this he showed his natural qualifications for the despicable calling he had voluntarily or otherwise adopted. He was trusted and believed so far as to allow of his attending ordinary meetings of the groups, and in consequence of this he was able to give information to both the French and the English police. The leading spirits of the movement soon discovered there was a traitor somewhere in the camp, and certain trifling events even pointed to the culprit. Cotin received a letter from France out of which dropped a note for 100 francs. He explained with unmistakable confusion that this money was from his father, although he had previously said that his father had utterly discarded him. Shortly after this a comrade was about to return to France on business, and Cotin asked to be allowed to go with him. This was agreed to. At Dieppe the comrade was arrested, the police having, there could be no doubt been accurately informed as to the time of his arrival on French soil. Cotin returned to London, and explained his return on the ground that he was not allowed to remain in France.

The comrades in London had in the meantime taken the necessary steps for ascertaining Cotin's real character, and were prepared to deal with him. At a special meeting, which Cotin was purposely permitted to attend, the final step was taken. Cotin was directly charged with being a spy, and with having supplied both the French and the English police with information as to the movements of the Anarchists in London. He vehemently protested his innocence, and, spy and coward like, endeavoured to place the act with which he was charged on the shoulders of two others. In this he did not succeed. He was asked to produce what papers he had on his person. There was not, as has been lyingly alleged, any unnecessary force or violence used at this interview. Cotin saw his game was played out, and, with the cunning of the very ordinary spy, sought by every means in his power to obtain the clemency of those who had found him out and unmasked him. He produced letters from the French police, and made a full confession of his connection with that body and his acquaintance with the London police. The wisdom of at once returning to France was pointed out to him, as other comrades would not let him off so easily. The comrades not only showed themselves merciful, they were also generous, for they positively assisted the wretch—who would not have hesitated to betray any one of them to death or imprisonment—with the wherewithal to get back to France as soon as possible. After this Cotin's stay in the country he had contaminated by his presence was a very short one. Since his return to France he has written saying that the charges he made against the two persons previously named were made without any foundation whatever.

Exit Cotin. But what about the police system which breeds, supports, and uses such reptiles?

A fool in revolt is infinitely wiser than the philosopher forging a learned apology for his chains.—ROSSITER.

THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.

By LOUISE MICHEL.

PART I.

(Continued)

THE DEATH-AGONY OF THE EMPIRE.

CHAPTER III.

THE LAST DAYS OF THE EMPIRE.—SEDAN.

The empire held on till Sedan. Meanwhile that to which we aspired was the republic of the whole human race—"The Beautiful, for which the whole earth is waiting," as was said long ago. Aye, and the earth awaits it yet!

During this armed vigil, when all held themselves ready, heroic tales went round; songs of freedom were sung, and men's hearts steelled themselves for approaching events.

Rocheport's journal, *La Lanterne*, lighted up the dark recesses of the cut-throat Empire.

"Ring to-day the great bell of Notre Dame—
To-day, a knell; to-morrow, the alarm."

And it was indeed the alarm—the tocsin—that was rung. What event will be proclaimed by the immense bell just now sent from Russia? When this prophetic gift rings forth in full swing, it will surely avail to shake the little hill where Varlin ascended his Calvary.

At that time it seemed to us as if the denouement was close at hand. Around us circled a vast horizon. It reached in opposite directions, past and future, from the scaffold of Orsini to the scaffold of Vaillant; and despite the surrounding darkness, we felt that day-break was very near. We used to meet at night, we indignant ones who chafed beneath the black and sinister yoke of the "Man of December" (Louis Napoleon). We quivered as dumb beasts in a slaughter house.

The murder of Victor Noir by Pierre Bonaparte aroused a thrill of popular horror; then the tremor more resembled that of a bull in the ring, when he shakes his hide pierced full of darts. Freedom, just brushed us with her wing; but that was all, as yet.

It seemed that revolution might break out at Victor Noir's funeral.

The evening before, the *Marseillaise* called to arms; the event was one of those symbolic occasions on which much depends. The revolutionists believed they would return home having achieved the republic; or else never return at all. All took what arms they could. And the Empire also had taken its precautions. The barracks, the prisons, the public buildings were full of troops. No such display of force had been seen since the *Coup d'Etat*. Now-a-days, indeed, such displays are equalled or even exceeded in May of every year, when the crowd goes to the cemetery to remember its dead.

As Victor Noir's funeral proceeded, Delescluse, who remembered the outbreaks of '48 and '51, restrained Rochefort; while Louis Noir, brother of the murdered man, cried that he desired no bloody obsequies for his brother. Meanwhile, fate decided the event. The immense cortège contained two elements; those who wished to wait for the disintegration of the Empire, and those who desired to attempt immediate deliverance.

There was a moment when the crowd swayed violently; it was a struggle between those who desired to bear the corpse towards the streets of Paris, and those who preferred to follow it to the Neuilly cemetery. The latter prevailed. Half the delegates of the *Chambres Syndicales* were on one side, half on the other; there had been no pre-arrangement, each followed the dictates of his own feeling or his impulse at the moment.

Varlin said afterwards that had the struggle really taken place that day, the best soldiers of the revolution would have perished. But, after all, the number of those who perish as victims of poverty or by the accidents that so constantly befall the workers, is far greater than that of the victims of a revolution.

With humbled heads we returned—subjects of the Empire still!

This time in truth it was no plot; it was the muffled threat of revolution. The so-called Blois conspiracy was got up by the agents of Louis Napoleon, and described as a plot against the State; it is the usual formula.

Known revolutionists were easily compromised; and with them there were arrested, at random, some of the thousands of rebels who cursed the Empire, yet knew nothing of one another. The accused were divided into classes as had been done in the case of the "Internationalists." The sentences varied from 25 to 50 years of transportation!

Mégy was condemned to hard labor; a few whose papers had been badly put together were acquitted; among these was Ferré, howbeit he had insulted the court; so inconsistent was the prosecution!

Protôt, subsequently a member of the Commune, defended Mégy before this tribunal, which was called the High Court of Blois. The principal agent provocateur had himself proposed the use of bombs, which made an excellent means of discovering some.

On August 14th, 1870, an attempt was made at La Villette to proclaim the republic, howbeit the defeat of the Empire was not consummated. On this occasion too, there was treachery; for warning was

given to the police in time; while certain groups, as those of Montmartre, were only informed too late. Thus it happened that from Montmartre, elsewhere the groups arrived on the scene only to find that the two chief movers in the attempt, Endes and Bricadeau had been arrested; while a howling mob, incited by the police, surrounded the cab into which they were thrown, crying "To the Prussians with them!" And shutters were already closed all along the empty boulevards.

The heroes of La Villette were calumniated, some of the Radicals even speaking of them as bandits, and Gambetta proposed that they should be executed without a trial. Had it not been that a letter written by Michelet and signed by an immense number of others, was handed to Trochu (then Governor of Paris) Endes and Bricadeau would have been executed before the proclamation of the republic. As things fell out, this letter delayed the execution, and on the fateful Sept. 5th the people exacted their release—the Homeric crowd of great days began to awake.

Meanwhile beyond Paris defeat followed defeat in ever quicker succession. Forty thousand Prussians had decimated an isolated French division. At Froeschwiller, McMahon, counting on the insignificant number of the enemy, took up his position between Reichshoffen on one hand and Elsasshausen on the other. Here he was surprised by Frederic of Prussia, whose troops, arriving in small detachments, accumulated to the number of 120,000. The French numbered only 40,000. The German forces with 400 cannons did the rest.

De Failly, whom the French were awaiting, did not arrive. But as formerly Blucher appeared at Waterloo when Grouchy was looked for, so now again it was the enemy who arrived, and broke up the two wings of the French forces. Once again it was the Cuirassiers who sacrificed themselves in the charge of Reichshoffen.

The same day at Feurbach, a whole army of Germans overcame the 2nd Corps. France was entered from three points at once. Nancy, Toul, Luneville were taken. Frederic of Prussia was marching on Paris in pursuit of McMahon, who obstinately followed his own plan, doubtless invoking Notre Dame d'Auray. Another German army under the command of the Prince of Saxony descended the Meuse.

A new army, got together in haste and composed of divers elements, was going to try and re-take Metz.

The rear-guard, under command of General de Failly, being routed on August 20th, fell back on Sedan.

On Sept. 1st they were surrounded, and broken up as in a crucible by the German artillery ranged on the surrounding heights.

General Tillard was killed in the morning by the explosion of a shell.

General Margueritte was mortally wounded. His division fell under the command of Colonel de Baufremont who received from Duerot orders to charge.

Then it was, in his place of battle at the head of the divisions, that Baufremont led the regiments against the Prussian battalions. They were the 1st Hussars and the 6th Chasseurs of Tillard's brigade and the 1st, 3rd, and 4th African Chasseurs of Margueritte's brigade. It was horrible, and magnificent. This was the Charge of Sedan.

"Oh! the brave men!" cried the Emperor William. The slaughter was great, so that the town and the surrounding fields formed one immense charnel house, over which in the mists of evening the musical German voices, full of dreams, sang a canticle of thanksgiving.

Bonaparte had desired no desperate risks; he gave himself up, and with his 300,000 men, also the arms, and the flag.

The empire was ended, and so profoundly buried that nothing of it could revive. The Man of December, ending his career as the Man of Sedan, took with him his whole dynasty. Henceforth all was over for the Bonapartes; nothing but the ashes can be stirred of the imperial traditions.

Over the valley of Sedan there seems to pass a flight of spectres, come to see the passing of the imperial fête, led by the two Offenbachs and the jocular orchestra of *La Belle Helene*, while the myriads of dead also spectrally arise.

A herd of 24,000 prisoners were conducted into Germany. Six months later the commission charged with the disinfection of the battle-field had the pits opened in which the corpses had been laid, almost even with the ground, to avoid infection during the heat of the summer. Coal tar was thrown over the heaps of decomposing dead; then petroleum; and with the help of larchwood they were slowly reduced to ashes. And on the calcined débris quick-lime was poured.

That year quick-lime was a terrible devourer of men.

End of Part I.

Joint Responsibility.

Between the government which does evil and the people who accept it there is a certain shameful solidarity.—VICTOR HUGO.

Multum in Parvo.

The stomach has more rights than even the brain, for it is the stomach that sustains the whole structure.—P. KROPOTKIN.

Self-development is greater than self-sacrifice.—Grant Allen.

"THE PREJUDICE AGAINST PROPERTY."

(MR. SEYMOUR'S GROUND RE-SURVEYED.)

In your October number Mr. Seymour criticised some of my objections to the property idea—an idea which Anarchists regard as inherently incompatible with individual freedom, and consequently with social prosperity, but which Individualists regard as modifiable in such ways as to make it reverse the part it has hitherto invariably played in human affairs, and disclose itself as a means of emancipation and of true progress.

We Anarchists have controversial reason to grumble at our Individualist antagonists. We cannot get our questions answered. I asked Mr. Seymour what he meant by "owning;" what he meant by "appropriation;" what he meant by a "right." He did not reply. They never do. I have tried for years to discuss the basis of the property idea with different Individualists, but they always stop short of essentials, and slide off on side issues. Let me put the preliminary questions once more: (1) What essentially is it that is stickled for as property, if *not* the prohibitive custody of something not wanted by the individual for his own use or enjoyment, but which other people are needing for their use or enjoyment? (2) Why does anyone care about retaining this prohibitive custody if *not* as a means of bending and shaping to his own ends the activities and opportunities of those with whom he deals, from that point at which their need and his ownership of the propertised utility meet, and compel them to deal with him?

Pending proof to the contrary, I continue to see in this relation of man to man an economic absurdity, and a moral atrocity—the root-cause, in short, of all human fault, and feud, and failure. I am aware of limiting the equal liberty of my fellows wherever I limit their free access to anything whatever which awaits human use, and of which their need is greater or occurs sooner than my own. In a society freed of devices for penalising propertylessness (or the non-possession of superfluity) I would not burden myself with the precautionary custody of a superfluous pin.

It is fair to ask Individualists how, in the absence of any Government to enforce property owning, and submission of all citizens to the property idea; they propose to deal with their Anarchists—those irreconcilables who are determined to repudiate respect for any property as "theirs," and are equally aware of the fitness of making use of whatever is necessary for life, locomotion, and exercise of faculty? What is to be done with the men (and there are more of them from day to day and from hour to hour) who don't want to own property, or to control others, but who do want freedom to live, to work, and to hand on, as they choose? Are these servicable and inexpensive persons to suffocate to the end of the chapter, in their surely false position as mendicants at the gates of the over-supplied bargain-monger? Yet why discuss improbable contingencies? The deeper currents of human character and human tendency are to-day setting full towards unalloyed freedom; and the economies of to-morrow will know no rules but the unwritten ones of compunction, courtesy, and common-sense.

But now for Mr. Seymour. Waiving inquiries as to first principles, he (1) explains what he means by the individual producer. (2) Supposes me to pretend that opportunities of production are limited apart from the incidental consequences of a vicious monetary system, and of "re-stating the monstrous proposition of Malthus;" and (3) declares that Communism is now impossible; primitive man "only tolerated it" because he had to; the communistic instinct is being "outgrown," and liberty approached in proportion to the outgrowing. "Civilized man could not go back if he would."

(1) Mr. Seymour's "individual producer" is, then, not necessarily the commodity-finisher after all. He is only "each contributor to a product from beginning to end;" plainly, then, only an infinitesimal unit in a crowd of collaborators. It is pleasing thus to see the Individual Producer, that new pretender to future world management, throw up his hand directly he is challenged to show his title. The efforts of his forefathers, and his fellows, have helped him into the position of being able to *buy* what he needs in order to be a producer. He has bought some material, fetched by others, bought some tools, made by others, and then, with the co-operation, either direct or indirect, of others, has turned out a product which he may or may not want, when produced, for his own individual use or enjoyment. If he wants it, Mr. Seymour would agree with us that he has the first comer's economic right to its use. If he does not want precisely it, but something else, we should say that, other things equal, his freedom is best secured by simply letting the product go, unmeasured and unweighed, wherever it is needed; so as to be rid, head and hands, of what he does not want, while receiving freely from some other quarter that which others likewise have to spare, and which he does want. Mr. Seymour on the contrary thinks that the individual's freedom (for he declares it is not mastership he desires) would be better secured by constituting himself the arbiter of that product's further utilization, and by being at the trouble of safe-guarding it in his own custody for purposes of merchandise. Each individual is to be denied free access to unemployed tools; he is not to be a free worker in a freely fluid, self-adjusting society; his fellows are to charge him for leave and means to support and occupy himself; and he likewise is to charge his own price on society, before he will let the product of his industry flow freely where it is of natural service. But mark, "come woe, come woe, Nature will have her way," at thwart all our didacticisms and perversities; and the commercial producer's own price for the

product will always be, virtually, the whole amount of everything he is himself in need of, *minus* only what he cannot induce society to give him. I mean he will always aim at getting as much as possible of things or liberties valuable to himself, in exchange for that which is immediately valueless to himself; in a word, everything for nothing. That is what putting one's own price on anything always, at bottom, means. It is only a perverted action of the natural law of self-preservation. It would be all right to claim all one wants every time, were it not for the artificial limitation of supplies by supposed possessions, which causes the natural tendency to work inharmoniously and disastrously. Well, is the sordid bargain driving, the squalid, self-centred caution, the sour old property-tussle to have no end? To Anarchists it is pain and grief—it is *bondage*—to be compelled to charge anyone anything. To Anarchists, individual buying and selling, weighing and counting, accumulating and safe-guarding, appear methods as barbarous and absurd as they are grievous and wasteful, in a world where there is enough, and might so easily be abundance, of everything for all.

Meanwhile, note that the question as to how buying the material or tool, or working on the product, make them "mine" to withhold, remains unanswered. "Purchase makes it *his*"—his to waste (if his innate sociality does not check him) while another perishes for need of it. "His?" How? Why? The dogma that a right of prohibitive custody, whether of objects or privileges, is acquired by something done or sacrificed by the individual, is re-stated. That is all.

(2) Then, what is that about Malthus? Where and how is it pretended that opportunities of production are limited in respect of all men's needs? The very opposite is what we Anarchists are always pointing out. Remove the artificial and legal disabilities which are inseparable from any property system whatever, and natural opportunity abounds. And the monstrous proposition of Malthus remains monstrous to all time.

(3) Lastly, Communism is impossible. "Primitive man only tolerated [this impossibility] through sheer necessity." It was due to a communistic "instinct," and man was driven by necessity to tolerate the gratification of his instinct(!).* "Civilized man," having partly "outgrown" the instinct, has acquired some liberty instead. "He could not go back if he would. He must advance. If individual liberty has been found wanting by the worker it is because it has been denied to him."

Read "property," for "liberty," in the last few sentences, and I agree. I perceive, however, that just in proportion as property has been the award of the minority who have violated and ignored the communistic instinct, liberty has gone on diminishing for the rest of mankind. Under even primitive communism—no starvation! and where food is, life is, and with it all the progressive possibilities inherent in that which lives. It seems to me that Mr. Seymour reads human history and human nature very superficially. For my part I am struck at every turn with the indomitable vitality of the blessed communistic instinct. It is born anew with every little child, and it is the last thing to go when Shylock, in the eager process of gaining the world, says goodbye to his own soul. Civilization (curse it!) never has and never will become hereditary or instinctive. It has consisted mainly in an attempt to run life for all in grooves marked out by the will of the least scrupulous. We look forward to a society in which the individual of finest social sentiment, and of quickest compunction, shall have the best and not the worst chances of success *along the lines of his own individuality*. Under any property-regarding system whatever, social scruple must go, cap-in-hand, begging for tolerance and a crust. We have for long centuries wheeled away from communism and freedom, and yet we have, howbeit lamely, progressed. Oh yes, I admit it. We have had other absorbing jobs on hand; we have made great way, despite property checks, in geology, astronomy, electricity, neurology, and so on. We shall want it all yet. It is no ill store. Man does not go back on the whole, though he proceeds rather by indirection than straight-forwardly. In the spiral ascent of his nature, he is, at his best, already *coming round again* to a point where the painfully checked instinct of solidarity is once more claiming recognition and liberation, *but on a higher plane*. To ascend spirally is not to go back. Civilization or propertyism is not a final development. Already it is cracking and crumbling at all points, and the world-wide sociality that has been ripening within its confining institutions is fast preparing to force an outlet and try its wings.

Instinct does not speak in terms either of business, or of policy. All that appertains to these unhappy devices has to be sadly and slowly learnt afresh from the beginning by each growing youth and maiden, and in most cases a deal of teaching and terrorism is required to drive the lesson home. If, meanwhile, one wants to know where instinct lurks, and what it is that individuals, in intervals of non-coercion, tend to be, watch the every-day mode of action and speech when your ordinary citizen (the man or woman of moral and intellectual mediocrity) is off guard—when legalities and conventions leave him at liberty to be natural, and when he is in no civilized anxiety as to the safety of his privileges or his property, for to-day or to-morrow. See him then very gladly "unbend;"—yes, that is it. Instinct lurks in that word. It lurks in the simple modes of speech—"Yes, and welcome;" or "Pray don't mention it;" in all the little gratuitous graces and courtesies and neighbourlinesses which prevent absolute

* That communism was, is, and ever shall be a deep-seated human instinct I heartily allow; but I had always imagined that sheer necessity pressing from without was in no wise needed to induce an instinct to seek its appropriate satisfaction; it being sufficient to remove extraneous impediments to ensure its certain activity. It is of the nature of an instinct to be its own prodder and its own rewarder; and to grow ever stronger with exercise. In absence of forcible deposition, its mandates, ever life-regarding, are spontaneously obeyed; and in the case of the communistic instinct, nothing but force has compelled it into prolonged but temporary abeyance.

social suffocation even under that sordid burden of "legal tender" with which our poor groaning and trawling lines have invested themselves. Social free access, as tacitly claimed and as granted before asking, by full-blown individuality, will truly, when established, differ widely from the primitive communism in which conscious individuality played no part. What was blind and haphazard will be conscious and discriminative. What was merely tribal and communal will be human and social; and whereas Nature was formerly a mere propeller, she will be at once the accepted instructress and the most effectual co-operator.

I am fully aware that all this that I have written contains nothing of "practical politics," or of business-like opportunism. Both of those branches of mental industry are likely to be sufficiently subserved by the "social" Democrat on one hand, and by the commercial Individualist on the other. I do not think we shall have freedom suddenly, or soon; but the goal has to be kept in sight, and the dust wiped out of our civilized eyes as we jog along. I think the individual producer, keeping his necessary force of hired "Pinkertons" to prevent non-commercial access to his superfluous product, could not but rapidly develop into one of the most coarsely selfish and graceless tyrants before whom the stifling social has ever had to bow the knee. And I don't think his nostrums will ever admit of the wiping of tears from all honest faces, as some pretend. "In a society such as we are striving after, there will be no direct exchange of product for product—because the real worth of products cannot by any measure be determined,—but the different producers and groups of producers will bestow their finished articles in magazines, and every individual or group will take what he needs." But in order to call this new society into life the gangrened old one must be done away. That is our first job. Health does not grow out of disease. Freedom cannot be developed out of the apparatus of bondage. Evolution requires the forcible breakage and abandonment of the effete bean-pod—egg-shell—chrysalis. This is revolution every time.

Down with Property.

L. S. BEVINGTON.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST SOCIALISTS.

This Federation has been started in Italy and is seeking to extend itself. The following is a copy of a manifesto just issued:

Considering: That the present social organization, the result of intestine struggles through which humanity developed itself, is the cause of material misery and moral degradation; and that it is urgent to substitute for it a new organization, based on co-operation and solidarity, that will give to all the means of reaching the highest possible development and be free to all future improvements;

Considering: That the primary cause of the present hatred and antagonism is the monopoly of the land and all the means of production and exchange in the hands of a few; and that to harmonize interests and live in brotherly love it is necessary that society should guarantee to all the means of working and freely associating with other workers;

Considering: That a social organization, answering as much as possible to the aspiration and the interests of all, cannot be invented and imposed by a government, but must result from the free action of all concerned, who agree and organize by the impulse of their sentiments and under pressure of their common needs;

Considering: That owing to the consolidation of the various economical and political institutions, it is impossible to substantially change it altogether by revolutionary means and by violation of established laws;

Considering: That the resistance of the bourgeoisie to every attempt of the workers to emancipate themselves renders necessary the use of force, in order to destroy the military and the police, who defend the present society by force of arms;

Considering: That a revolution which will give birth to new social conditions cannot be made by isolated individuals who act haphazard, nor can it succeed if it does not find in the people, at least in germ, the means capable of accomplishing, without an important break, the essential functions of individual and social life;

A Federation of Revolutionary Anarchist Socialists, proposing the following aims, has been formed.

(a) To propagate the principles of Anarchist-Socialism and to show the necessity of a violent revolution.

(b) To inspire the people with a consciousness of their rights and a sentiment of love toward all men, and of solidarity with the poor and oppressed.

(c) To encourage the working-class movement and stimulate the workers to organize for the three-fold purpose of: (1) resisting the pretensions of employers and authorities, and striving to gain as much comfort and liberty as possible; (2) taking part in a general strike or an armed insurrection to overthrow the present institutions; (3) taking over, on the day of revolution, the production and distribution of food, as well as other public services, without the need of trusting to new governors, who would of necessity be incompetent and who, in attempting to impose their own ideas, would impede the scope of revolution.

(d) To encourage and profit by all movements of emancipation to the advantage of Anarchist-Socialist propaganda, by all progress in ideas and facts which may be realized by the action of other individuals or parties.

(e) To co-ordinate the revolutionary efforts to attain a general insurrection, in which the people will drive away the government, take over riches now extant, and organize the new society in the interest of all.

The education makes use of all means not contrary to its principles, that will elevate the conscience of the people and bring the revolution nearer.

Although understanding the brutal actions, produced by the miserable conditions in which the people live, and by the examples of ferocity given to us daily by the bourgeoisie, and although, when they happen, trying to draw some good from them, the Federation declares that its work is one of love. It rejects every action, inspired by the spirit of hatred and vengeance, and admits violence only as a hard necessity imposed on it by present conditions and limited by the same necessity.

RULES.

I. Those who take part in the Federation must accept its aims and engage themselves to co-ordinate their activity with that of their fellow members. Everyone is free to leave the Federation as soon as its conditions or new convictions call for it; but remain pledged, on his honor, to maintain silence about secrets he has become cognizant of as a member of the Federation.

II. The members engage themselves to work for the aims of the Federation, and to take active part, save in impossible circumstances, in the working-class movement, in strikes, and in all manifestations of popular life that answer to the aims of the Federation.

III. The Federation is composed of local groups, that unite in district and in national federation.

IV. The various Federations will nominate "correspondents" whose duty it will be to transmit, to all groups, the proposals and resolutions which will be communicated to them by each group.

V. The groups of the Federation will understand one another, and decide upon a common line of action, by means of correspondence, by congress or by special delegates. No resolution of the delegates will be valid without the approval of the members.

VI. To enter into the Federation it is necessary to be accepted by a group already formed. If there is no group in the locality comrades must be accepted by a neighbouring group and take the initiative of forming a new group.

VII. The Federation provides for all its expenses by means of contribution levied on members, to be fixed by the groups or by the congress.

VIII. The existence of the Federation and its program is public. Its acts, names of members, the localities in which there are groups in existence, etc., will be public or secret, according to the circumstances of persons, locality, and political conditions. When, and where the organization is secret, or is exposed to danger, the correspondents will hand over the work to people known only to themselves, in case they are unable to perform it. Thus for correspondence, addresses, etc., all necessary precautions will be taken.

PROVISIONAL RULE.

The originators of this Federation have constituted themselves into temporary correspondents, who will find the first adherents. As soon as the first groups are formed, the regular correspondents will be nominated.

DECLARATION.

The members of this Federation know well, that many Anarchists, or men calling themselves so, will fight their program and their organization. They do not complain. What they want is, to unite for a common purpose with those who agree with them, and will be content if their initiative will contribute to destroy prevailing equivocations and will show the difference between principles, tendencies, and aims, often essentially opposed to one another and that go by the general name of Anarchy.

They desire, in other respects, that all theories and methods should be subjected to discussion and experience, and they feel a strong sympathy for all those, who, by whatever means, are fighting sincerely for the good of mankind.

Liberty Pamphlets.

16 pp., 8vo., printed on toned paper, Price ONE PENNY.

Jones' Boy: Dialogues on Social Questions
Between an 'Enfant Terrible' and his Father. By "Spokeshave."

An Anarchist on Anarchy, By ELISÉE RECLUS.

"It is a pity that such men as Elisée Reclus cannot be promptly shot."—Providence Press. This criticism is sufficient to show that the pamphlet is a strong indictment of the present iniquitous system of private property and government.

In Defence of Emma Goldmann and the Right of Expropriation. By VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

The Why I Ams: Why I Am a Socialist and an Atheist, by Conrad Naewiger; Why I Am a Social Democrat, by G. Bernard Shaw; Why I Am an Individualist Anarchist, by J. Armsden.

The Why I Ams: Why I Am a Communist, by William Morris; Why I Am an Expropriationist, by L. S. Bevington.

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