

LIBERTY



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THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.

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PART II.

THE REPUBLIC OF THE FOURTH OF SEPTEMBER, KNOWN AS
"THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE."

CHAPTER I—(Continued).

"At the Ministers' entrance I met, and took in with me, M. Ernest Picard who was coming to take leave of M. Thiers. A compact crowd barred the passage, so we set off to the Prefecture of Police to ascertain the situation exactly. The Prefect was out; his attendant in charge could not give us any information. We left therefore, and by making a great round and passing on the side of the barracks we were able to get into the Hotel de Ville. It was a little past two o'clock. I must do my friend M. Ernest Picard the justice of saying that throughout that day he showed the greatest sang-froid and vigour. He did not wish us to enter the Hotel de Ville, observing, not without reason, that it would be of no use to offer ourselves as a holocaust to the angry mob; that it would be much wiser and much more politic to combine without a moment's loss of time the means of attack which it would be necessary to employ against them. I could not but see there was some sense in this advice; I did not however yield to it. . . . I had given orders to the Prefect of Police and to the Commandant of the National Guards. These orders would certainly be carried out, and I knew the National Guard too well not to feel convinced that whatever might happen sedition would certainly be repressed. . . . The members of the government were not all in the usual chamber of our deliberations. General Trochu, M. Jules Simon, and M. Pelletan had consented to give audience to a deputation which had gone upstairs with them into the large hall. I took my place near them, the hall being quite full. In the midst of a rather close circle stood General Trochu, his arms crossed, his face severe and calm, listening to M. Maurice Joly, the speaker for the deputation. This person, notwithstanding the agitation which he evidently restrained with difficulty, expressed himself with some address. He put questions relative to the abandonment of Bourget, which he declared had been an act of treachery; and he was again and again interrupted by the crowd who considered him too moderate. On perceiving me he challenged me concerning the armistice, accusing us of compacting with the enemy, and of deserting the defence. He concluded by saying that under such disastrous circumstances the Government could not refuse the desires of the people who loudly demanded the addition of more resolute men; that it was time to have done with these temporisings which ruined everything, and that Paris, whose destiny was being played with, had assuredly the right to protect itself; that the city demanded the election of a Commune which should share with the Government the burden whose weight was proving too much for the latter.

"The general replied without giving signs either of uneasiness or emotion. He explained at some length the advantages and the necessity of an armistice—it was a question of negotiating not of capitulation—the Government would accept no conditions which should be contrary to the interests, to say nothing of the dignity, of France. Paris was resisting valiantly, but Paris alone could never repulse the enemy.

"The aid of the départements was indispensable; the best means of rendering it efficacious would be the convocation of an assembly, etc., etc.

"As to the occupation of Bourget, the general declared that it was of no military significance whatever, and that the disturbance on the part of the people of Paris was very ill-judged—the occupation of the village had taken place out of order, and contrary to the general system adopted by the Government of Paris and the Committee of Defence; it would in any case have been necessary to withdraw.

"The general invited the deputation to quiet the movement that had been started, which might otherwise lead to unfortunate consequences. The Government intended

seriously to examine the petitions that had been submitted to it, etc., etc.

"This speech, repeatedly interrupted by vehement questions, aroused a tempest of disorderly recriminations on the part of the confused and tumultuous audience.

"The general forced his way through the group which separated him from the room leading to the usual seat of our debates; we followed him, and rejoined our friends, to whom we related what had just occurred.

"There was no room for doubting that this scene would prove only the prologue to a more serious drama. If we were not promptly succoured, we ran the risk of being swept away. It was, however, still possible to endeavour to arrest the movement by announcing the municipal elections. This was therefore the first subject of deliberation. . . .

"At this moment the mayor of Paris, M. Etienne Arago, entered the room. He was evidently in a state of extreme agitation.

"The mayors of the various districts," he began, "have combined, and have sent me to you to entreat you to unite your efforts with theirs, in order to prevent imminent catastrophe. They demand that the Government should join them and in concert with them declare that municipal elections will take place. They are unanimous in thinking these elections are at present the only means of safety. In the name of the country and in the name of peace I beseech you not to repulse their petition."

"While speaking M. Etienne Arago had difficulty in restraining tears. . . . However the reply was that this request of the mayors meant neither more nor less than the abdication of the Government, and the installation of the Commune; and that, sooner than consent to that, we were ready to face the most terrible eventualities. Astonishment was further expressed at the pretension of the mayors.

"For the rest, the council would examine the question, and M. the Mayor of Paris might assure his colleagues that we would solve it by immediate elections; that the Government would abide by these; that being thus able to give itself a municipality and a Government of its own choosing, Paris would have no further pretext for complaint, or for sedition; that we expected on the part of all good citizens a devoted opposition to agitators who, by their criminal behaviour, constituted themselves the helpers of the Prussians.

"A few moments later he returned, pale and disconcerted, etc., etc.

"And indeed a terrific tumult was going on in the adjoining rooms, and presently a torrent of people—armed National Guards, proletarian civilians, and volunteers in all sorts of uniforms—burst into the room. . . .

"We remained seated round the table of debate. I had General Trochu on my right, on my left, M. Garnier Pagès; opposite me sat M. Jules Simon and M. Picard. Florens and Millière, who seemed the most important, ran from one end of the table to the other, claiming obedience which no one seemed disposed to accord them. This scene lasted about two hours.

"Lamps were called for, and thanks to this incident Florens managed to put in a few words.

"I had only once before heard this unfortunate, young man whose nature had brilliantly endowed and who, born as he was under happiest conditions, seemed fitted for a future worthy of the illustrious name he bore. He had done me the honour of coming to see me with two chiefs of the Candiotte insurrection, in regard to which he had taken a glorious part. I had been struck with his pleasant manner, and his distinguished appearance; although there was a restlessness about him which inspired some misgivings. . . .

Jules Favre then cites at some length the words of Florens, who began by claiming silence, in order that the names might be proposed: his own, "for he knew how to be of service, and under some circumstances there is no time to consider whether the name one proposes be his own or another man's, provided the man can be useful;" then Millière, Delescluse, Rochefort, Dorian, Felix-Piat.

Next, he put a motion for retaining the members of the Government as hostages at the Hotel de Ville, until they should have given in their resignation. To act otherwise, knowing the men, was impossible; a naïve generosity carried him away. Poor Florens! In his hands the prisoners remained free on parole. Millière shared his confidence in them. Both died soon after by order of those whose lives they had respected!

To be continued.

AS TO BRIBING EXCELLENCE.

By WILLIAM MORRIS.

Objections to Socialism, founded on the difficulty of getting necessary work done when people will be free to choose their own work, are common in the mouths of anti-socialists; and also it has been, and still is not uncommon to hear persons saying that no great works of art, no product of high intellect will be possible under a condition of things in which a reward is not given for such work out of all proportion to the average work, the hewing of wood and the drawing of water. Even Socialists themselves are sometimes hazy on these subjects; and sometimes they seem ready to accept the view that when people are free they will no longer care for anything more than what are now called necessities of life. Let us look into this matter a little. And first we shall find that what lies at the root of these misconceptions is that reading of the present into the future, which is so often a stumbling-block is the way of a frank acceptance of the new Society.

For as things now are, though a certain amount of utilities are of necessity produced, yet it is at the expense of a waste of human labor, mental and bodily, which is absolutely appalling. In spite of all the marvellous inventions of modern times, and above all of the invention of the organization of labor for production of market wares, the bulk of the population of this country is not better, but worse off, than in the days when a great part of the country was wood, waste, and marsh, when there was no machinery to take the place of mere drudgery in production; when there were no appliances to resist the accidents of the seasons and the rigour of the climate. The mere statement of this fact, which cannot be seriously contravened, shows how desperately wrong we have gone in some way or other.

The truth is that our system of Society is essentially a system of *waste*. We are, all of us, engaged in making our livelihood, or accumulating our riches, not by means of collaboration, but at each other's expense; the result of this is that inevitably we do not, and as a rule cannot think of the things we make as pieces of utility, but rather as weapons for the defeat of others; so that not hundreds or thousands, but millions of skilled and intelligent men are engaged in producing things which people can be forced to buy, but which they don't want at all. Space fails me to give examples of this kind of waste, but a walk down a street of "flash" shops—in Regent Street or Bond Street, *e.g.*—will illustrate it sufficiently. How many of the articles exhibited in this dreary show would any man in his senses carry home if he were not *compelled* to buy them? The compulsion of the market is on all of us, and not only forces us to pay for vulgarities and shabby gentilities, but, worse still, forces a vast number of workmen to waste their lives in producing them.

Now in a Communistic Society all this would be altered; the demand for wares would be real and not factitious: people would ask for what they really wanted, and not for futilities and make-shifts. Labor would be expended on things worth doing: and it is a fact past discussion that so soon as things worth doing are made, the intellect, the skill, the artistic feeling of the makers are called out by their production; in a word they exercise men's pleasurable energies, and therefore make them happy.

Such wares as this are works of art, each according to the necessities of its own uses; and I have not the slightest doubt that when the opportunity is offered them vast numbers of workmen will take it, and will become artists, working well but pleasurably, and also leisurely, because they would not have to expend their energies in defeating other workmen, but in developing their own best faculties.

In truth it was in this way that those great works of art which are still left us from the past were produced: in those times whatever inequalities of status existed otherwise, amongst the handicraftsman there was a much nearer approach to equality than most people imagine, *e.g.*, the architects of our ancient buildings were not "gentlemen" sitting in offices, surrounded by an army of clerks and draftsman, ghosting their work for them, but workmen abiding by the work, helping the masons and carpenters certainly, directing them no doubt, but paid little more than they were. The carvers again, who, mind you, were free to *design* their ornaments, were paid no more than the ordinary masons: and so it was through all the crafts. And did they do their work the worse for this approach to equality; did they neglect it because they were not bribed into excellence? There stands their work to-day in unapproachable excellence to answer the question. Go to Westminster Abbey, and ask who raised that mass of loveliness. No one knows; their names have perished. But you can have the name of almost every fool who has damaged the building since the epoch of the artist-workman passed away: the persons were bribed to do their conceited trash by money and position; but those who made its beauty needed no bribing to do their best, because this work was a pleasure to them from day to day. On the one hand they worked for a livelihood, and on the other for the work's sake itself. They were men of the people, doubt it not; and if their names have died, their work in more ways than one has lived.

And when we win equality in its full measure we shall do what we want in like spirit. Work, without wearing anxiety, without waste, without contention is bound to be happy work, and from happy work comes beauty and pleasure and self-respect.

Even amidst the present turmoil of Commercialism there are men who, working in a comparatively humble sphere, can resist it, and who work for the work's sake. I will give one instance of such men, a man I knew: he was a book-binder, to say truth the only man I have known who could be trusted to repair a fine old book-binding: nothing would make him spoil his work or hurry it; he would give the utmost care and attention to it, and produce results quite wonderful, doing the work with his own hands. Now he did not need to be bribed; in fact he refused it, always working for ordinary book-binder's wages. If he had employed a number of men and done the work a little worse, he would have made a good income: but as it was, he lived poor, and died poor; an artist, but a wage-earner. That was a shame to all of us. Yet I cannot pity him, for all his work was a pleasure to him, and his pride also, which I am sure he had a good right to.

But, you see, he could not now be an example to other workmen. As things go, I am glad there are not many like him, or we should not get on toward our goal. In our condition of inequality it is better that we should *feel* our oppression even at the expense of good work and beauty.

We are not fit for such things now, nor shall we be till we are working as equals and friends, all of us. But when we are *thus* equal, in some such way shall we work; and there will be no fear then of our doing nothing but dry utilitarian work. Have we not our wonderful machines to do that for us, to save us from drudgery? What are the said machines about now, that the mass of the people should toil and toil without pleasure? They are making profits for their owners, and have no time to save the people from drudgery. When the people are their owners—then we shall see.

"Ideas are forces: the existence of one determines our reception of others."—G. H. Lewes.



LABOR DAY.

WEDNESDAY, MAY THE FIRST, 1895.

A Great Demonstration

WILL BE HELD IN

Hyde Park

ON THE ABOVE DAY AT 3 O'CLOCK.

SPEAKING WILL TAKE PLACE FROM TWO PLATFORMS.

Platform A.

John Turner (I.T.C.), F. Kitz (G.D.U.), E. Leggatt (Docker's Union),
F. S. Paul (N.L.P.S.), Louise Michel, P. Gori, Peter Kropotkin.

Platform B.

F. Gillies (Com. Cl. G.R.), I. Caplan (W.F.G.), G. Lawrence,
D. J. Nicoll, W. Banham, W. West (L.S.C.), H. M. Kelly
(Boston Central Labor Union.)

"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.

Subscription, 1s. 6d. per year, post free. Per quire of 27 copies, 1s. 7d. post free. The trade supplied by W. Reeves, 185, Fleet Street, E.C.

Received—"Das Christenthum und der Anarchistische Kommunismus." Von H. Joachim Gehlsen. Published in Hagen, Westphalia, by H. Riesel & Co., and in London by A. Siegle, Bookseller, Lime Street, E.C.—"The Altruist," for March. Published at Muscatine, Iowa, U. S.—"The Creed of Liberty: a Brief Exposition of Philosophical Anarchism." By William Gilmour. Published at 255, Barking Road, E.—"The Labour Annual, 1895." Published by the Labour Press Society, Tib Street, Manchester.

LIBERTY,

LONDON, MAY, 1895.

Between Ourselves

All Comrades should muster near the platforms A and B in Hyde Park on May Day. A list of speakers from these platforms will be found above, and on reference to this list the reader will see that it includes men holding strong Anarchist opinions but who are also tried and trusted Trade Unionists.

The Anarchist Communist Alliance have issued an "Anarchist Manifesto" 14 pp., 8vo., price 3d. which can be obtained from *The Torch Group*, 127 Ossulton St., N. W.

We have received a copy of an "Anarchist May Day Manifesto," also issued by the *Torch Group*, which is intended for distribution in the Park on the day of the demonstration.

We have received "Das Christenthum und der Anarchistische Kommunismus," by H. Joachim Gehlsen. We think his view of the part played by revolution in human affairs is one-sided and prejudiced. As a fact mankind has never retraced any precise step gained by any revolution. Each revolution has tided men on to a point in advance, in the particular respect aimed at by its promoters. The apparent reaction that follows the abatement of impetus, never includes a relinquishment of that precise point which took the energy of revolution to realise.

To ignore the function of revolution as an instrument of progress is an incomprehensible position, and we believe it is due every time to a foregone conclusion as to the actual backwardness of the average human being and the imperviousness of human character to the influences of new environments.

In our next number we shall criticise the above work at length and also give quotations. The author at any rate sees eye to eye with us as to the direction of progress lying along and not athwart the increasing tendency to Communism within as without the individual consciousness. A society formed of individuals communistic by preference, and in fulfilment of their own impulses, could not but be a just, a free and therefore a healthy and happy society.

While some of our friends are spending their strength in support of the idea that Parliament could and ought to do much to promote the cause of liberty and justice, Parliament itself is giving the lie to anything and everything of that character. The so-called people's house when asked to assist starving millions says, "We won't." When asked to give one of its own clique (who has already been overpaid for all the work he has ever done) £4,000 a year for life, the answer is an enthusiastic "Yes, certainly," and only one small voice is heard to say "No." How many more "object lessons" do the people want?

In various parts of the metropolis, and in some places in the provinces, Mr. J. Passmore Edwards, proprietor of *The Echo*, has been winning the applause of the middle classes by his gifts of money for hospitals and free libraries. The question arising out of this is a pertinent one, and not altogether personal. Should a man be praised for giving away what he has not acquired by his own labour—what, in reality, does not belong to him? It is generally believed that Mr. Edwards has acquired the money he is now so ostentatiously scattering about the country from the above-mentioned journal and sundry weekly publications. If all the individuals engaged in producing these said periodicals had received justly proportioned shares of the result of their labours, would there have been any overplus to distribute in the form of charity? Why were the producers of the wealth deprived of their legitimate shares? *Echo*, please answer?

Mr. Edwards, in one of his weekly periodicals, poses as the friend and political adviser of the working classes. He engages as contributors writers who hold, or profess to hold, most advanced opinions. Occasionally, however, the petty bourgeois spirit, the sordid capitalistic greed show themselves—the cloven hoof is in evidence. An instance of this occurred on Sunday last, when the journal we are referring to, in an article

on recent events at Chitral, advocated the vilest "jingoism" it is possible to conceive. The utter absurdity, to use a very mild term, of such advocacy by a journal setting itself up as "progressive," must surely be apparent to the most stupid of its readers. Charity, it is sometimes said, covers much, but again and again has it failed to hide the sordid and sycophantic characteristics of the capitalist.

He arrived in Paris in the early hours. In the evening of the same day he was arrested by the police and thrown into prison. Such was the experience of our Comrade Malato on Thursday last. Yet we are told that the French government personifies liberty, and has recently taken an oath to support justice. What will Rochefort, Grave and Reclus have to say to this outrage on personal liberty?

One of the results of the recent amnesty in France will be manifest on the 4th inst, when *La Revolté* will reappear under the title of *Les Temps Nouveaux* (The New Times), with Jean Grave as before in the position of its editor and guiding spirit. Social economy, (a term that will be perfectly well understood to include Anarchism), science, art, and literature, will be dealt with by a staff of writers which will include Paul Adam, J. Ajalbert, Charles-Albert, Max Buhr, Rene Chaughi, L. Descaves, A. Hamon, Fortune Henry, A. F. Herold, Theodore Jean, P. Kropotkin, Bernard Lazare, Mirabeau, Elie Reclus, Elisee Reclus, A. Rette, Marc Stephane.

The new journal will appear weekly, and comrades in this country will be able to obtain it by post direct from the publishing office (140, Rue Mouffetard, Paris) for 6s. 8d. per year. J. Grave intimates that his revived journal will be in many respects an improvement on his previous literary venture, but that its principles will be the same and their advocacy as pronounced as ever. Anarchists of all sections and of all countries will give a hearty welcome to this new periodical and wish it all success and a long life. As Jean Grave's programme is one so near akin to our own we also wish the new journal a long and prosperous career.

We regret that Comrade Bruce Glasier in the *Labour Leader* uses the terms Law and Government in a very loose way. No one knows better than he that when an Anarchist uses these words he attaches to them their general meaning, and in no way confuses them with the Organisation and Administration which would be necessary in a free state of society. The misuse of the words is by our comrade: he gives to them something more than their customary meaning, and then seeks to place the onus of his act on the shoulders of Anarchists.

"Liberty" Sustenance Fund.

LIBERTY has up to the present time been carried on with considerable difficulty and heavy personal sacrifices in time and money, which only those who have some idea what editing, printing and publishing a paper mean, can realise. We have received some few contributions and have acknowledged them. We give below a list of other sums just to hand, and at the same time make a further appeal to all who can assist us in strengthening our propaganda, and in tiding over the present difficulties. All subscriptions to be sent to James Tochatti, Carmagnole House, 7 Beadon Road, Hammersmith, London.

Miss Warlow, £1; LIBERTY Dinner profit and subscription, £1 5s.; Collection at ditto, 13s. 2d.; G. Schack, 2s.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.—The winning numbers of the Subscription Sale are as follows:—

573, 524, 196, 385, 198, 165, 47, 714, 702, 762, 211, 998, 547, 217, 876, 632, 98, 333, 337, 640.

Articles by L. S. Bevington on "The whereabouts of property ethics," and by A. Hamon on "Association and liberty," and other contributions are unavoidably crowded out, but will appear in our next issue.

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE RECENT

I. L. P. CONFERENCE.

By JOSEPH CLAYTON.

The gathering together of some 80 men and women from all parts of England and Scotland, endeavouring to voice the aspirations of 5,000 people in the Independent Labor Party, is not necessarily a matter for much thought or comment. Conferences are now so plentiful and generally so dull and fruitless. Great movements are not inspired by conferences, nor the slumbering, mist-hidden ideals of peoples wakened in the light by them.

The solemn decrees and decisions of a Conference wrought with heartburning to the debaters, and after much heated and eloquent talk, are perhaps interesting to the parties to the Conference and are usually revised in twelve month's time.

The real function of a Conference is the bringing together of like minded, congenial folk in good-fellowship and social intercourse, and their mutual strengthening by hearty handshake and sacramental meal of comradeship. The talk and resolutions are incidental—so great are the conventional customs of the commercialists that we cannot meet together without such plausible prettexts. Albeit the Newcastle gathering of Independent Labor Socialists is worth the attention of LIBERTY readers.

These 80 men and women assembled mean to make a change in England. Held still in bonds of political warfare, and believing eagerly in achieving Socialism by electioneering tactics and seats captured in Parliament, Local Councils, and wherever the elected person sits, they do believe in achieving Socialism, and for such a belief alone we may justly rejoice. The belief in Socialism in the I. L. P. was manifestly much stronger at Newcastle than its skill in winning elections, or even in drawing up programmes and constitutions.

The greater part of two and a half days was spent in the latter operation, and though we may scoff (with the capitalists) at the eight hours day, abolition of child labor, and free pensions for everybody at fifty years of age as the industrial ideal, most of us would gladly give our short lives to get even such palliatives for the workers.

Again, agricultural colleges, model farms, utilisation of sewage, and agricultural produce posts, do not sound inspiring, and in our vision of the land for the people have probably no place, but still they may be necessary, and with the increased production of food stuffs required may be inevitable.

With the unemployed problem the programme makers were not so happy, and after much serious questioning as to whether local or imperial "authorities" should provide the work and at what wage, the Conference decided in favour of Parliament doing the needful thing at not less than 6d. an hour—the generous suggestion of a Huddersfield delegate that 30s. a week should be paid not being acceptable.

The year's Report of the National Administrative Council was generally approved, but the revolutionary instincts of Comrade Bruce Glasier justly took exception to a resolution, disowning the Anarchists, passed by the N. A. C. in February. Pointing out that the preceding I. L. P. Conference at Manchester, in 1894, had agreed to entertain such a resolution, he moved its deletion from the report. Seconded by a Leeds delegate, Bruce Glasier carried his point, amid much applause, Keir Hardie generously urging that political Socialists had better work to do than throwing stones at their Anarchist comrades.

The "Marseillaise" was to have completed the Conference agenda, but at the last moment no one felt equal to pitching on the right note, and the difficulties of the French language pressed heavily, so with crossed hands and to strains of "Auld lang syne" the Newcastle Conference of 1895 passed peacefully away.

THE PROJECTED FREE COMMUNIST AND CO-OPERATIVE COLONY.

AN APPEAL TO ALL FRIENDS AND SYMPATHISERS OF
LAND COLONISATION.

Never in the whole history of humanity has the need for practical action been so pressing as it is to-day. Our cities and towns are overcrowded, the unemployed workers can be numbered nearly by millions, industry is almost at a standstill, and starvation, misery, and vice are in the homes of the people. Shall we remain inactive in the face of all this? No, the question, "What's to be done" needs a reply, and our answer is: "Get the workers back to the land to cultivate the soil; but not on the lines of the average English farmer and his labourers, but on principles as explained by practical scientists, and already adopted by some practical men.

The *Review of Reviews*, in its notice on a valuable paper of Prince Kropotkin's, says: "Prince Kropotkin's chief illustrations, however, as to the possibility of intensive agriculture are taken from the Channel Islands, and notably from Guernsey. Guernsey has 1,300 persons to the square mile, and has more unproductive soil than Jersey; but Guernsey leads the way in the matter of advanced agriculture, because Guernsey is being practically roofed in. The Guernsey kitchen garden is all under glass. Prince Kropotkin found in one place three-fourths of an acre covered with glass; in another, in Jersey, he found vineries under glass covering *thirteen acres*, and yielding more money return than that which can be taken from an ordinary English farm of 1,300 acres. Each acre of greenhouse employs three men. The cost of erecting them is about ten shillings per square yard, excluding the cost of heating pipes. The thirteen acres are warmed by consuming a thousand cart loads of coke and coal. Prince Kropotkin sees that before long immense vineries will grow up round the coal pits of Northumberland, where artificial heat can be obtained from coals selling at the cost of three shillings per ton."

Similar examples can be given, but the above will suffice to explain our intentions, which are as follows:—

- 1.—To buy or rent on long lease sufficient land to enable us to organise an industrial colony.
- 2.—The whole of land to be cultivated intensively, either as vegetable gardens or orchards.
- 3.—A portion of the land to be covered with glass immediately, and extended as funds permit.
- 4.—By the above method of cultivation, and by attention to articles of consumption hitherto almost entirely supplied by the Channel Islands and Continental countries, to demonstrate that the land can be worked with benefit, even under the present conditions.
- 5.—To give an object lesson to those who are really desirous of solving the unemployed problem. If as Kropotkin points out, a large number of workers were settled prosperously upon the land, it would not only give them employment, but their increased purchasing power of manufactured articles would give an impetus to such industries, thus providing employment for a still greater number.
- 6.—To organise a Poultry and Dairy Farm as a source of immediate income.
- 7.—To introduce as many industries into the colony as possible.
- 8.—To invest all surplus funds in extensions, or in the establishing of other Colonies.
- 9.—To accept any one as a member, according to the statement of principles.
- 10.—The Colony to be organised on the principles of Co-operation and Free Communism.

These brief statements embody the principles on which it is proposed to erect the structure. To develop these ideas, sympathy and material assistance are necessary, and as the only capital possessed by the workers at the present time is their labor force and the will to work, we venture to appeal to all our more fortunate brothers and sisters to take the foregoing proposals into consideration, and to aid us as far as they are able in the work in which we are engaged. All sums advanced will be returned as the Colony progresses.

Should any further information be desired, the Secretary will be happy to supply same.

William Key, Hon. Treasurer, Tavistock House, Sunderland. F. Kupper, Hon. Secretary, 8, Randolph Street, Sunderland.

"It is hard to imagine a more execrable emotion than the complacent religiosity of the prosperous."—JOHN MORLEY.

An Anarchist's Visit to a London Bakery.

I was seeking employment as a baker, an advertisement to that effect brought a telegram, which informed me of a vacancy just off the Southwark Bridge Road. I went to the place named, and agreed with the manager as to wages, etc. At six o'clock the same evening I was to start work, at which hour I duly presented myself before the manager. It was a Wholesale Cake Factory. Having been shown the way, I descended a flight of steps leading to the bakery.

The place was lighted by gas; the ceiling was certainly not above, and might have been a foot below the street level; in one corner was what is known as a "double-decker," that is, two ovens one on the top of another, while close by, was a "single decker," that is, one oven. These ovens being built in the bake-house made the air most uncomfortably hot.

The Factory Regulations were hung up in a prominent place, and saw-dust was sprinkled over the floor.

A number of girls of different ages were engaged in cleaning fruit, mixing cake, and such other work as needs doing in a Cake Bakery. There was one old man, two young men, and a big Scotchman, who looked a regular bully—he was the foreman.

Entering into conversation with one or two of the girls, I ascertained that they had been at work since six o'clock in the morning, and that they expected to leave about eight or nine o'clock that night, but frequently they worked longer, being just allowed time to snatch what food their scanty wage would permit them to buy. Their wages varied, one girl getting twelve shillings (she was a friend of the foreman) for doing work of a superior kind, such as icing and piping, that being the work of a first-class confectioner whose wage would be from thirty shillings to two pounds per week; the others had from four to six shillings per week.

The men were kept to do the heaviest work. The foreman, in a conversation I had with him, said "I can get 10,000 short-breads out of one of these girls (with the aid of machinery) in a day, which is more than you, I, or any other man can turn out. And (continued he) sometimes we work two or three days off the reel."

From this slave-driver I learnt that the company were about to introduce a new system of payment; from that time the employees would be paid by the hour in the same proportion to what they were then earning weekly, reckoning 56 hours to the week, so that those earning five shillings per week would get one penny and a fraction of a farthing per hour, for doing work which if done by men they would have to pay 4d., 5d., and 6d. per hour.

While girls are paid such wages as this who can wonder at prostitution?

On asking the old man what kind of a place it was, he despairingly replied: "If I was young I should not stay here, but at my age very few masters will employ me so I have to put up with it."

The Trade Unionist bakers are trying to get the bake-houses placed under the Factory Act hoping to benefit thereby. This bakery came under the Act but there was no improvement.

Instead of wasting their time and energies in trying to get Parliament to do something for them, they should make use of their organizations in the direction of true co-operation. The Federated Trades could by this means wrest Capital from the Capitalists—meaning by capital the means by which production and distribution are carried on—and Labor would enter into possession of its own, thus idle shareholders, like those forming the subject of this article, would be prevented from living on the blood and sinew, prostitution and misery of young girls.

Having no desire to perpetuate this phase of civilization, I informed the manager that the place was no good to me and that I should not start work.

W. H. M.

What is Wrong?

"As long as our civilization is essentially one of property, of fences, of exclusions, it will be mocked by delusions. Only that good profits, which serves all men."—EMERSON.

Why wait for Ever?

"Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learnt to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become good and wise in slavery, they may indeed wait for ever."—MACAULAY.

SOCIALISM IN DANGER.

By F. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS.

(Continued from No. 16.)

What confusion there is in the definition of the state. Liebknecht describes state socialism at one time as calculated to develop the state (eminent staatsbildend); at another time he calls it a revolutionary force (staatsstürzende Kraft). Sometimes they tell us: "We, the Socialists, desire to preserve the state by changing and improving it, while you others wish to maintain the present anarchist society, you ruin the existing state by the tactics you employ." Again they say: "The modern state can only be reinvigorated and brought up to date by bringing Socialism along the highway of legislation; social democracy is just the party to which the state should look for support, if there really were statesmen at the head of affairs." How different from the independent spirit of these words: "Socialism is not an academic discussion, but a burning question that parliaments will never be able to solve, but that must be finally settled in the street and on the battle-field!" Sometimes Bebel holds "social reform through the state to be very important;" at other times he considers it of trifling value. Now he speaks of the fall of bourgeois society as being very near, and strongly advises the discussion of principles; and again, he advocates practical reforms, because bourgeois society is still strong and "the discussion of principles might give the impression that the social revolution is close at hand." On the one hand they criticise those who in their impatience think we are near the revolution, and yet Bebel and Engels have named a year, the year 1898 to wit, as the year of salvation, the year of victory, by parliamentary methods, by means of the polling-booth. Can that be the great "*Kladderadatsch*" that is believed to be near?

Liebknecht even speaks of the outgrowth of socialist society. He now believes that it is possible to reach the solution of the social question by the way of reform. Are we to believe that the state, the existing state, can do this? Were Marx and Engels in error when they taught "that the state is the organisation of the possessing classes to effect the complete subjection of the non-possessing classes?" Was Marx mistaken when he said "that the state in order to abolish pauperism must abolish itself, for the kernel of the evil lies in the very existence of the state?" And Kautsky controverted the opinion of Liebknecht, when he wrote in the *Neus Zeit*:

"Political power, so called, is the force organised by one class to oppress another (Manifeste communiste). 'A class state to characterise the existing state, appears to us an inappropriate name. Can there be any other state? You may answer 'the democratic state (Volksstaat).' By that is meant the state conquered by the proletariat. But that also would be a class state' The proletariat would have other classes in subjection. The great difference between the future state and the existing states will consist in this: the interest of the proletariat demands the abolition of all class distinctions. The workers will use their supremacy to banish as quickly as possible the separation of classes; that is to say that the proletariat will take possession of the state, not to make of it a 'true' state, but to abolish it altogether; not to fulfil the real purpose of the state but to render it useless for any purpose."

Compare this quotation with those from Liebknecht and Bebel, and you will see that they flatly contradict each other. The latter are the essence of state socialism against which Kautsky protests. We must choose between the two: *Either* we are working (as Bebel says) to get what we can in the way of reform, and to palliate as much as possible the evil conditions imposed upon the workers under the present social régime (and this constitutes practical politics) the policy by which the German Social Democratic party obtain at the ballot box so great a number of votes; *or* we embrace the opinion that under existing social conditions the situation of the proletariat cannot be appreciably improved. If we adopt the first hypothesis we prolong the suffering of the workers, for all these palliatives have only the effect of reinvigorating the present society. Yet Bebel professes to recognise, so as not to run entirely out of gear with Engels, that in the last resort we must decide upon the abolition of the state, which in reality "is merely an organisation to maintain the business of production and exchange on its present basis, in other words, an organisation which has nothing in common with the ideal state." As a fact he practically works to consolidate the present state, while he declares as a matter of theory that ultimately the state must be abolished. In such a position there is neither rhyme nor reason.

Bebel said in Parliament: "I am convinced that if existing society continues its evolution in peace, so that it shall reach the highest stage of development, it is quite possible that the change from the present social system into a socialist society may also take place in peace and at no distant date; just as the French in 1870 became Republicans and rid themselves of Napoleon, after he had been vanquished and made prisoner at Sedan." What meaning but one can we attach to that language: If everything comes off peaceably, everything comes off peaceably? Let us nominate men fit to do their duty—that is the phrase used. As if it were men, and not the system, that were at fault! Are we not obliged to breathe a tainted air when we enter a room where the atmosphere is impure? It is just as if he said: I am convinced that if the birds do not fly away we shall catch them. When but that is just the difficulty. And such language is delusive for it arouses among the workers an

idea that indeed everything will take place peaceably, and once that idea takes root, the revolutionary character of the movement disappears. Has not Frohme, a German deputy, said that "he cannot in all conscience imagine that the German social democracy should wish to abolish the state?" We even read in the *Hamburger Echo* of 15th November, 1890:

"We tell the chancellor frankly that he has no right to denounce Social Democrats as enemies of the state. We do not fight the state but state institutions, and a social system which does not agree with the true idea of the state and of society and with their mission. It is we Social Democrats who wish to perpetuate the state in greatness and purity. That has really been our mission for more than a quarter of a century, and Chancellor von Caprivi ought to know it. Only where there exists a true ideal of the state can there be a true affection for the state."

When we hear and read about "true socialism," and "a true ideal of the state," there comes to our minds the old-time phrase "true christianity." And the more's the pity that just as there have been twenty, aye a hundred "true christianities," each of which excommunicated and excluded all others, so there are to-day twenty and more true socialisms. We would long ago have liked to shut our eyes to this foolishness, but, alas! it is impossible.

Not only can the state not be preserved, but on the advent of socialism it will show itself to be not worth preserving. No, this possibilist, opportunist, reforming, parliamentary action is good for nothing, and simply stifles among the workers the revolutionary idea that Marx tried to instil into them.

Childishly we attribute to commonplace and corrupt persons and parties the results of the evolution of civilisation. What guarantees do we possess that politicians of our party will be better than their predecessors? Are they infallible? No. Others have been corrupted and so will ours be, because man is the product of circumstances and is moulded by the environment in which he lives.

Engels has commented so severely upon the practical policy of parliaments that we are at a loss to understand how he has come to approve the tactics of the German Social Democratic party. Here is the opinion he used to hold: "A kind of shopkeeper socialism has its advocates in the Social Democratic party, even among its parliamentary representatives, and these advocates while endorsing in a vague way some socialist principles, and granting grudgingly that the future belongs to collectivism, think that future is very far distant, not within measurable distance. They aim at patching up the present social system, and in default of doing anything better, they fling themselves with enthusiasm into the efforts of the reactionaries to promote the so-called 'raising of the working classes.'"

That is exactly what we have been saying. In the distance the parliamentarians speak about the abolition of private property, but coming to close quarters they busy themselves with practical politics. It is really sad to find men like Liebknecht handling this rubbish. Listen to his words at the Paris International Congress of 1889:—"Practical reforms, reforms to be had at once and of immediate utility, are first in our programme, and that is their place by right, as they are the recruiting inducements to enlist the proletariat in the socialist party and who clear the road for socialism. Fancy Socialists as recruiting sergeants! Not so thought they who used these words: '*Whoever talks with the enemy parleys with him; whoever parleys bargains with him.*'"

In this way they slide down the slope of compromise, and at last they base the whole agitation on the solution of the land question, and formulate such blood-curdling reforms as those submitted to the Workers' Congress of Marseilles in 1892, among which may be named with bated breath the easy transference of small properties, readjustment of taxation, and farm laborers' allotments. A nice programme certainly, just such a one as has been accepted by the Belgian Workers' party; while the Swiss proletariat are to be endowed in the same handsome fashion. That is what they call practical socialism!

Human Nature.

"Equitable society demands nothing impossible of humanity. It is human intercourse, only, that has to be scientifically regulated, and not human nature that requires (as priests tell us) to be regenerated. If human nature has any defect, it is that in the masses it is too good, too confiding, too generous—a knowledge of which weakness has enabled the cunning and unscrupulous few to tyrannise over and enslave the simple and credulous many."—(The Editor of *BURKE'S "VINDICATION."* 1859).

Nearing Dissolution.

"New ideas, however ardently preached, will dissolve no society which is not already in a condition of profound disorganisation. If dissolvent ideas do make their way it is because the society is already ripe for dissolution."—*John Morley.*

Anarchists do not Handle it.

"Government is the tool to obtain which avarice and ambition strive; it is the sword with which now this, now that one strikes and hits, and calls it governing. We shall constantly be struck and wounded, let who will wield the sword, until we have destroyed the weapon itself."—*Dr. S. Engländer.*

In and Out of Church.

Dogma-dealer, talking treason,
Spurning truth, perverting reason
In and out of folly's season.

Year by year—

Oh, a plague on all the twaddle
In your hum drum niddle-noddle,
Mammon's law-paid molly-coddle
Limp with fear.

Is there "sin" in worldly leaven?
Yet there's not one day in seven
When you fail to sell your gammon
All for pelf;

"Heaven to let"—to paying lodger;
Ah, you canting devil-dodger,
Damn not us who spurn your Mammon,
Damn yourself!

If I've done some bad behaving,
And I don't deserve the saving,
Then 'tis honour bids the braving
Of my dues;

Pilot souls to your sky places
Who are full of Sunday graces,
And with sweat from poor men's faces
Pay for pews.

Call the purse-proud from their blisses,
Call the fashionable misses
From "advisers" holy kisses,
Call, and call;

Call the people's sly mind-shapers,
Call the kings of daily papers
Cutting "law and order" capers
One and all.

Here's my Lord Archbishop, mind you,
Paid to gorge himself, and blind you,
Till your very self can't find you
Anywhere;

Simple Jesus! See the old 'un!
Why, his dinner-plates are golden!
May the sight our hearts embolden
In our prayer.

Ah, dismiss them, with a "blessing;"
All intoning and confessing;
Never more our souls distressing
With their cant!

Help to silence priestly mumble,
Help the Mammon-temples tumble,
Freedom's banner o'er the jumble
Firm to plant.

Come, dear toilers, stained and weary,
Come and help the world grow cheery,
Come from out your prison dreary
Built by greed;

You who labour heavy-laden,
Slaving mother, trampled maiden,
Ever preached to, ever preyed on,
In your need;

Let your winters grow no colder,
Rise at last and dare be bolder,
Setting shoulder firm to shoulder
For a thrust!

Yokes be eased, and burdens lighter,
As the great Hope warms the fighter,
And the broad New Day grows brighter
And more just.

Anarchism is the Surest way.

"Freedom is the one purport wisely aimed at or unwisely, of all man's struggles toilings and sufferings in this earth."—*Carlyle*.

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