LIBERTY

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A JOURNAL OF

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM

WILLIAM REEVES, 185, FLEET STREET, E.C.
THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.

By LOUISE MICHEL.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

The fact was that some of Tchéli's young revolutionists had climbed through a window into the building, and passing by the bell-room, opened the doors to the flood of tumult. All those who had understood the Government's refusal to Floraen, on Sept. 5th, to arm the battalions of Belleville—all those who knew that the noise kept up at night by a formidable artillery firing from the forts of Paris, had no object but to inspire the citizens with the belief that the Government of "National Defence" was keeping its word—those, in short, who hoped, nothing from the Government, now rushed in at the door till the Hotel de Ville could hold no more. The rest remained on the street, covering a large area like a swarm of bees that overflow the hive.

The surrender of Metz was dwelt on, and the treachery of Bismarck; which, but for Rochefort, Floraen, Félix Pat, and (some said also) Pelletan, would have been concealed until the last day. And, realising the nature of the present peril, we believed we should be able to triumph over it. The gate of the Hotel de Ville was sealed; the crowd, continually increasing, climbed over all obstacles. Revolution was mistress of the field so long as the people remained there; should they however return to their beds, for Floraen had only the 400 rifles of Belleville, Millière was the sole representative of his own battalion, and Major Durand would bring up his three battalions on account of "discipline," which did not permit him to place his men under the orders of Floraen. In consequence of the Government's refusal to arm Belleville, the latter had resigned his rank of Colonel in the National Guard. The scrap was idle, since at a critical juncture events themselves impose the momentous action; and it is not by means of discipline that a revolution can be accomplished.

When the people poured in, Tchelou, handed a spaiton he carried about him to an officer of the mobilised Bretons. "You may as well know, sir," he said, "we have no intention of depriving you of it." (Cazin was the personal friend of Floraen.) "I did not suppose you had," said Tchelou. "Then it is a signal!" Cazin replied, adding to his companions, "Open your eyes, markmen!" Tchelou looked at him stolidly, as if he felt his intention had been guessed. Cazin glancing round, observed that among those present there were many marksmen.

Then it was that Piora, who was at large, had the signal sent, and the 10th battalion of the National Guards of order arrived at the gate of the Hotel de Ville under the conduct of Hoss, a man whose bravery was worthy of a better cause. As these guards approached, they shouted "Vive la Commune!" and the crowd, marked by the roar, made way for them.

At this juncture, Fery, Jules Favre, Tchelou attempted to escape. Cazin took aim at Tchelou, but a friend, Lafleur, pressed his arm so as to make him hold his blood, causing much tumult. Captain Greffier was able to stop Hoss; but Tchelou escaped with his men.

Floraen trusted their word of honour; and the crowd put faith in the promises of the Provisional Government to appoint ministers for the Commune, and in the lists of names that had been thrown in at the windows of the Hotel de Ville. Poor Floraen! Poor crowd!

There had been so many names suggested in these lists, there had been so many witnesses to the Government's promises to appoint the men suggested, that the people and the National Guards of the faubourgs returned, and for that night slept tranquilly.

Towards midnight, the mobilised Bretons passed through the subterranean passage, which leads from the Napoleon Barracks to the Hotel de Ville. Tchelou gave the order, and they went in. They entered the Hotel de Ville with fixed bayonets, ready to massacre right and left. Dorian, Floraen, and Tchelou were, however, able to shut promises to prevent bloodshed, and between two rows of soldiers Floraen and his friends passed out of the Hotel de Ville.

Paris on awaking found posted on the walls—not the names of the men of the National Guard as promised the day before, but a series of accusations and menaces.

In the court-yard of the Hotel de Ville the Bretons waited; their blue eyes fixed on vacancy, and singing below their breath an old choral air composed at the time of the first revolution, when Floraen had led the Bretons against the Germans in the war of 1813. These rustics, now employed by Tchelou against the revolted Parisians, were under the command of the son or grandson of Charles.

"Monseigneur de Chartres said to us at home—"

"The chasse is open, go hunt the wolves."

De Chartres told those of Avesnes."

"My friends,"

"The King goes a-gathering fleurs de lys!""

"But the wolves are not where you suppose them, poor lads, head, strong and brave! You will know that before long.

Rochefort, at the request of the Government, had announced from one of the windows of the Hotel de Ville the nomination of the Commune, a matter to which he believed the members of Government were pledged by their promise. Perceiving, however, almost immediately, that so ardent a motion could any action in preparation, he laid his resignation on the table, and went home. Tchelou, seeing that he was dominated the National Defence more than ever; the Bretons pressed him as they would have guarded Notre Dame d'Auray; their blue eyes fixed on him, awaiting his orders. But he gave no orders! The pressure of that morning did not disquiet him. The next day, the 6th, was_palpably imminent. It was in the air. Here and there the laughing r-rain of the ironical song, "The Plan," could be heard in the dull streets:

"When on nice white paper—"

"Plan, plan, plan, plan, plan, plan."

"He had written down his notion in order to carry his point—"

"To his attorney Dudley."

"The plan it was of Trochon—"

"Plan, plan, plan, plan, plan."

"Ye gods! what a beautiful plan—"

"Was the plan of Monsieur Trochon—"

"Thanks to the plan we've won!—"

A few incorrigibles sang further:

"Bismarck if you keep on—"

"Of all your soldiers not one—"

"Not one will be left alive—"

(Thanks, of course, to the "plan, plan, plan, plan, plan, plan, plan.")

But Paris desired not to be conquered, either by William of Germany, or by Napoleon III, who was awaiting the restoration of the Empire. Paris did not intend to surrender. Nor, in the event, was it surrender that occurred. The city was given away. Inequality has so many points in common with the one work as it is as the other. The fear of revolution was such that a blininess almost amounting to insanity haunted the Government.

On Nov. 3rd the municipal elections took place: an illusory satisfaction, and doped notice, and was insufficient for the overpowering indication that had been awoken by broken promises and by false news circulated with so much daily lie.

As to the Commune, the Government had not further idea of it; but the Parisians dreamed of it.

Not that all the directors of affairs were accomplices. Edmond Adam tendered his resignation in consequence of so much bad faith. He was replaced by the advocate Grévy, and arrests began to take place. They were very numerous. Fournier, Vermorel, Tchelou, Lebrun, Félix Pat, Godet, Thiollier, arrested, and in some cases imprisoned. Millière, Blanqui, and Floraen, managed to escape. But Floraen, having visited his friends in the Mazas prison in the name of the National Guard was recognized, arrested, and confined in the Mazas prison. The Government ascribed to him the incitement of Oct. 31st; as though popular indignation had not been incitement enough!

Revolutionists felt they were beaten by the rebellion: there was no other duty. It was felt by all. The "Parisienne" murmured in the faubourgs was followed by "La Carmagnole." The very ground brought forth legions of combatants.

An extract from Jules Favre's "Histoire du Gouvernement de la Commune Nationale" may here be of interest, as presenting from an opposite point of view the incidents of Oct. 31st:—

"I was working with M. Thierry and preparing all the details of his departure. At about 12.30 p.m. we sat down to luncheon. We were hardly seated, when a telegram came for me from my colleague M. Perry, announcing that the crowd surrounding the Hotel de Ville was increasing every minute, and that the populace seemed disposed to force the entrance. I was about to go. I replied that before attending to anything else, I must protect the retreat of M. Thierry; but that instead of accompanying him, as I had intended, as far as the bridge of Versailles, I would go to the Palais Royal and then come on as soon as possible to the Hotel de Ville. I was just finishing my telegram when M. Jules Ferry himself was announced. He confirmed his previous message, adding that at that moment at the Hotel de Ville of Paris was being made.

A few minutes later, a fresh telegram informed us that a deputation, followed by a numerous crowd, had penetrated into the large hall. There was no more time for deliberation. I went to M. Thierry and together we made all needful preparations, and that the present one would not be more dangerous than the others. I embraced him; he got into his carriage, and I made the best of my way to the Hotel de Ville."

To be continued.

(1) Monsieur de Chartres dit à ceux de chez nous—

"Levez-vous!"

"La chasse est ouverte contre les longs."

(1) Monsieur de Chartres dit à ceux d’Avesnes—

"Le roi va achever les fleurs de lys!"
The Paris papers asked for the names and were told to wait for the arrival of the mail. At last, on Nov. 5th, the names were published: Comrades Marques, Sheremet, Simon, Leauthier, Mervin.

It was said at that time, that when the mail came, the full facts would be published and that the Socialist deputies intended to implicate the Government on this subject, but nothing has been as yet heard. One of our correspondents has seen a Spanish paper which has doubtless been committed to our friends in France, and which declares that Socialists have roundly, but not without reason, intimated to the French Government, that if they do not arrest these men, or if they do not give up the order, any origin will be taken by them. The report then is, that a manifesto will appear in the columns of a paper, under the signature of “freedom and independence,” threatening to take the law into their own hands, and that a strike will be made, unless the Government pays the price. The Government was not satisfied with this threat, and threatened to arrest the Comrades in question, and to send them to the Bastille.

On Sept. 21st and 22nd a revolt took place on the Island of Bastille, and three officials (names given) and twelve convicts (names not given) were killed. The government was so much alarmed that they sent a message to the papers, in which they are well known to have taken the side of the Comrades, and are determined to publish the names of the convicts who have lost their lives. The government is also determined to publish the names of the convicts who have lost their lives, and to publish the names of the convicts who have lost their lives, and to publish the names of the convicts who have lost their lives, and to publish the names of the convicts who have lost their lives.

The Comrades were driven into the sea by the Government, and were committed to the Bastille, where they were kept in prison for some time. They were then sent to the Island of Bastille, where they were kept in prison for some time.

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Between Ourselves

Contrary to general expectation, the elections to the new County Council have been disadvantageous to the "Progressives." And it is noteworthy that the districts, in which the Progressives have lost the greatest number of votes, are the poorest in London. If we thought workmen were discontented with the policy pursued by the two preceding County Councils, because they have acquired a clearer consciousness of their rights, and mean to insist upon them with more energy and energy, we should rejoice. But it appears only too certain that the failure of Progressives is principally due to indifferance and apathy.

Undoubtedly, viewed by the light of Socialist principles, the policy of the Progressives on the County Council calls for the severest criticism. In the course of six years the Progressives, many of whom call themselves Socialists, although undisputed masters of the Council, kept straight at first, afraid of losing their seats at the second election: three fourths who voted for the fair wage clause were against it, and intrigued as hard as they could to keep it out, so long as they could do so unknown to the public. The last two years—not hard pressed by the few men whose energy seems to have dwindled: they certainly have not done much for labour.

While there are so many people in London without the necessities of life, and so many wishing to work and finding nothing to do, the County Council makes no attempt to save the workless, who are also the breadless, from the oppression of capitalism, by putting them in a position to obtain work, bread, fuel, and housing, and the necesseties of existence. And to-day London is still in the same condition it was six years ago, with its hundreds of thousands of unemployed and starvelings; with its tens of thousands of children who, barely covered with rags, go hungry to school; with its pestilential slums, with its criminals, prostitutes and drunkards who get driven to crime and vice by misery.

But if the work of the Progressive Council has been a complete failure to what it might have been, looked upon objectively, in comparison with the former state of affairs, we must admit that the Progressives have done something to improve the sanitary state of London, to save workmen, engaged on public works, from the limitless oppression of contractors, to fix a minimum wage relatively sufficient to live on, and to prepare the way for the municipalisation of public services. It is right to find this ridiculously inadequate for the pressing needs of London, but it does not seem to be the right way of obtaining better conditions, to take no interest in public questions, and let the direction of affairs slip into the hands of the Conservatives, to whom even these few concessions appear extremely revolutionary.

What conclusion can be drawn from the foregoing that the people are content to be oppressed? To us it seems a new proof that in the present economical and moral condition of the workers, the right to vote is a fraud. The power of capitalists is too great, the needs of the people are too urgent, for a little immediate help, cleverly distributed, not to win an easy victory over propagandists who promise slow and distant improvements.

And then, after the terrible sufferings that the bad weather has entailed on the poor of London, how could they summon enough energy to interest themselves in public affairs, and in their own well-being in the future? Give immediate and real well-being to the people, or to speak truly, show them how they are to procure it, and there will be no longer danger of their falling into apathy or throwing themselves into the arms of reaction.

At the Criminal Court, W. Conners and R. Stevens pleaded guilty to burglary at the house of Mr. Williby, Battersea. Commissioner Kerr, in sentencing Conners to six months and Stevens to three years, said Stevens was an habitual criminal, and it would have been cheaper for the country to set him up in business, or given him a job for 30s. per week, much the same a person would have been much better for the country; but every one talked about these things—no one thought of doing anything. The Legislature was nothing but a talking shop.

Commissioner Kerr seems to have a vague idea that if men like Stevens were set up in business or had the means of earning a livelihood they would not commit crime. All this comes as a rebuke from Commissioner Kerr, but has it never occurred to him that monopoly in land and capital is the root cause of all the crime and poverty, and not until these are swept away will crime be abolished.

His reference to the Legislature is, unfortunately, only half the truth; it is a cunningly devised means by which those in power keep the workers in submission by cajolery, and that false, to intimate them by sending gunboats against them as at Hull, or dragging them as at Bristol and in Wales, or ruthlessly shooting them down as the Liberal Government did the miners at Featherstone, and then explain afterwards. The War Office, on March 4th, issued a document which calls the attention of the troops to the fact, "That to fire over the heads of a crowd . . . would have the effect of favouring the most daring and guilty. This is disingenuous, and means "Fire Low," and this with rifles of great penetrating power would make it madness for strikers to face uniformed assassins. One result of actions of this nature will be the forcing of the people into garrison warfare.

On February the 16th our comrade Merino was tried by a Florentine jury for press offences. He was accused of attacking the rights of property and inciting to revolution, pillage, massacre of the rich, etc., crimes committed in his pamphlet, "Necessity and Basis of an
impression on public opinion, and even Conservative papers speak of the necessity of amending the exceptional laws, that are a disgrace to a civilized nation.

The Government continues to imprison Anarchists simply by police decrees; in spite of public opinion declaring itself always more clearly against this system, which is the negation, not only of every human right but of bourgeois law.

Within the last few days seven comrades succeeded in escaping from the prison at Porta Ercole; but as their object was not so much to secure liberty as to attract public attention more and more to the moral and physical torture to which the imprisoned Anarchists are subjected, they made no attempt to hide themselves and took the train unconcernedly. Being recognized along the road they were informed against and arrested.

In consequence of the amnesty in France, the publication of the Pire Peinard in London has been stopped, to make way for a new organ La Sociale, which will be published in Paris.

La Sociale will appear every week and will be illustrated, and will be edited by our Comrade Emile Pouget, and published at 120 Rue Lafayette, Paris.

La Sociale, (like "Social" in English) is an adjective in French, and therefore rather slangy when standing by itself. It is abbreviated from "La Revolution Sociale" and all Paris workmen know its meaning. Perhaps it will pass some day into polite French. The Comrades often drink to "La Sociale."

Comrades who publish newspapers, reviews, pamphlets, posters, manifestoes, songs, drawings, or placards with reference to Anarchism, Socialism, or the labor movement, in any language, are requested to send at least one copy to M. A. Hamon, 132 Avenue de Clichy, Paris, who intends to use them for sociological studies.

PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

By EKHO MALATESTA.

II.—SOCIALISM AND PARLIAMENTARIANISM. (continued from No. 15).

A variety of causes brought about this insipid evolution. Socialism is believed in and cherished at the beginning, then fought with rabid fury, was just growing sufficiently powerful for the bourgeois to recognize in it a serious danger, and a force with which they would have to reckon in the future. And among them, those who had satisfied thought that it an opportune moment to add to the persecutions and the massacres, the weapon of corruption and deception; while others, who under the name of democrats, aspired to seize upon the government, determined to multiply its functions, and to transform it into an instrument of power.

On the other hand, there were Socialists, who, disappointed by the discovery that difficulties and obstacles not suspected at first, and fearing that while awaiting the Revolution they would become inert and academic, looked for new fields of activity and new weapons to be used in the struggle. And there were even some, who, tired and subdued by persecution, were disposed to approach the bourgeoisie they had fought so fiercely. These last, in other circumstances, would have openly betrayed their friends and forewarned the Czar, or they would have simply and honestly retired from the struggle, like every combatant whose strength gives way. But a means was given to them to disseminate their weariness under cover of a change of tactics, to hide their breach of faith under the show of conviction, and they at once seized it.

This method, that some sincerely believed would be a weapon to fight the bourgeoisie with, and bring the "Revolution nearer, and for others was to be instrumental in satisfying their vanity and personal ambition, this means that has been of so much use to the bourgeoisie in arresting and leading the Socialist movement astray was the electoral campaign.

In truth, the harm done would not have been great if this change of tactics had been frankly admitted, in a manner that would at once have provoked a new division of parties in conformity with the aim and tactics of the divergent fractions. But instead, partly design, partly by the chance of circumstances, those who wished to introduce among Socialists electoral tactics acted deceitfully, as if
THE END OF THE WORLD.

Comrades! the end of the world at hand! The earth shall be ploughed up; the plant shall roll, and the great sun stand. The beautiful sea-waves break on the strand, and the flowers and fruits shall cover the land; but the world and its mill shall go.

Wherever there has rested the golden shining White Horse is prepared to his Anagn from the gold god's towering perch See, lo! and lingering far in the lurch. Comes Mammon's black hireling, the political Church, Style the Socialist cry.

Hear how its foolish begin to say, In fear of the final rule they say, "Look at the green old, and the dread new day Requires that we follow the People's way Give us your oil, ye wise, we pray, For our lamps are all flickering out."

The first time passed, and he died alone, And the dead world held on its way. And all the rules that the masses have won, Mingled with wheat that have rampant grown, But the Harvester knows his own—his own, And in judgment he comes today.

And Houses shall fall, built on golden sand, And only the Truth be dear The hollow teachings of faith shall stand, The glad, free people shall joy in the land, And heart trust heart even as hand helps hand. For the end of the World is here.

L. S. BEVINGTON.

SOCIALISM IN DANGER.

By F. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS.

Continued from No. 15.

Nobody is simple enough to think that the exploiting class will surrender its property, or that the realisation of Socialism can be effected by Act of Parliament. At first we take up political action as a means of action, but once the snake sinks to the bottom. As Liebknecht said at the St. Inv. Congress of the party: "Let there be no mistake, the moment we take part in elections, we do not only engage in agitation, but we expose the weakness and inefficiency of parliamentary action. By all means let us use the weapons that Science gives us, mingled with wheat that have rampant grown, mingled with wheat that have rampant grown, but the Harvester knows his own—his own, and in judgment he comes today."

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L. S. BEVINGTON.
The Majority Superstition.

"The man of the world despises Catholics for taking their religious opinions on trust, and being the slaves of tradition. . . . He laughs at them for their superstitions and the Church. As if his own inward awe of the Greater Number were one whit less of a superstition! He mocks their deference of the past. As if his own absorbing desire to the present were one little better bottomed or a jot more respectable. The modern emancipation will profit us very little if the struts go in to be fastened round our necks with the despotic authority of a heavenly dispensation, and if in the stead of ancient Scriptures we are to accept the plenary inspiration of Majorities."—John Morley.

Why Progress is Slow.

"Not one in a thousand has the smallest turn of thinking; only for passive dreaming and hearsaying and active babbling by rote."—Carlyle

NOTICES OF PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Hyde Park, 3.30; Regent's Park, 11; Canning Town, Beckton Road, 11.30. Stratford, The Grove, 11.30; Deptford, New Cross Road, 11.30. The Above every Monday at 8.

ABERDEEN—Regent's Quay, Saturdays, 2 p.m.; Castle Street, 6.30 p.m.; Small Oddfellows' Hall, Mondays, 3. Large Hall, Sundays, 6.30.

EDINBURGH—Regent's Quay, Sunday, 3 p.m.; Castle Street, 6.30 p.m.; Small Oddfellows' Hall, Mondays, 3. Large Hall, Sundays, 6.30.

GLASGOW—The Green, Sundays, 12 noon; Wellington Palace, 6.30 p.m.; Information of group meetings can be had of the Agent.

LEEDS—Sundays, Vicar's Croft, 11 and The International Workers' Club, New York Street 7.

LEICESTER—Sundays, Russell Square, 10.45 a.m.; Market Place, 6.30 p.m.; Humberstone Gate, 6 p.m.; Gladstone Club, Charles Street, Fridays, 6.30.

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