CONTENTS

Between Ourselves.
The Duties of the Present Hour
By ERRICO MALATESTA.

God and The State.
By MICHAEL BAKUNIN.

The Balance of Power.
By HENRY SEYMOUR.

Proudhon and Communism.
My Uncle Benjamin.
By CLAIRE TILLIEZ.

The Voice of Toil.
By WILLIAM MORRIS.

A JOURNAL OF

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM

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GOD AND THE STATE.

EXTRACTS FROM UNEDITED MANUSCRIPTS OF MICHAEL BAKUNIN.

[Translated for "liberty" by "N."]

Revolving against the State, the much-cited reason because there is something in the very nature of the State which provokes revolt. The State is authority, force; ostentation and inflatulated force. The State does not gratitate—does not try to convert; or, whenever it attempts to do so, it must rely on devices and methods; it must be a virtual means, and not a protest; it must impress itself upon men, and coerce them. However, it may try to disguise its own character as the legal violator of human will, and the permanent negation of the State, yet even when conscious that all these is insidious as it is, precisely because it is so.

For every command provokes and incites to legitimate revolt for freedom; besides which, the moment it is commanded, good becomes evil from the standpoint of true morality—that is, of the morality which is not divine, but is based upon respect for human nature and its freedom. Freedom, morality, and the dignity of man consist precisely in this, that a man acts rightly, not because he is ordered to do so, but because he understands, wills, and prefers right conduct.

Society, on the other hand, does not impose itself formally, officially, authoritatively, but naturally. And for this very reason its influence on the individual is incomparably greater than that of the State. It enters into the life of the individual from birth, it shapes and forms the individuals born and developed in its bosom. It inculcates in them slowly, from the day of their birth to their death, with its own physical, intellectual, and moral character. It becomes, so to speak, individual expression of the State.

The human individual is no universal and abstract being. On the contrary, from the moment he begins to develop in his mother's womb, he is already determined and particularised by countless causes and influences. physical, geographical, climatic, ethnographical, hygienic, and consequently also economic influences, which together constitute the character peculiar to his family, class, nation, and race. And since the inclinations and faculties of every individual are determined by an innumerable sum of external or physical influences, it follows that every body is born with an externally determined individual character. Owing, moreover, to the relatively superior organization of the human brain, every man when he is born, is also a bearer of ideas, of moral, esthetic, and religious sentiments as the idealists pretend; but of the material and formal ability to feel, to think, to speak, and to will. He possesses merely the faculty for forming and developing ideas, without any actual content being definitively imposed upon him.

We need not here examine how the first notions and ideas in primitive society were formed; for the most part they were naturally very absurd. All that we can say with full certainty is that they were not, first severally and spontaneously created by the miraculously illuminated spirit of inspired individuals, but by the collective and generally imperfect work of the spirit of all individuals who formed part of the same society, and who had the same or similar interests. For the men of genius—could never do more than give the fittest and most forcible expression. Men of genius have ever, like Voltaire, "picked up their good things wherever they found them." Thus the collective nature of ideas and the idea of this collective creation are ideas of all human perceptions, imaginations, and thoughts. The content of these thoughts, far from having been created by a spontaneous act of the human spirit, was first given by the real world, external to man, as with the body and withless. The spontaneous production by the organic and entirely material activity and the way in which he performs the function of his brain, as brought about by the external and internal impressions transmitted to it through the nerves—only adds the formal work of comparing and combining these impressions of things into systems, which may be right or wrong. In this way ideas first originated. By the use of language these first ideas, or rather suppositions, were determined and fixed, through being transmitted from human being to another, that the individual suppositions of each person were met, controlled, modified, and completed by those of other persons, and being more or less consolidated into one system they ended as the systems of society. These thoughts, transmitted by tradition from generation to generation, and always more or less developed by the intellectual labor of centuries, constitute the intellectual and moral possibilities of every much more, a system.

Each new generation finds from the cradle a whole world of ideas, suppositions, and sentiments which it accepts as the heritage of past centuries. These systems are founded on the material life of each individual under its ideal aspect as a system of notions and ideas, as a religion, a doctrine, a child would not be able to apprehend and understand it under this form; but it is imposed as a world of facts embodied and real. Any generation is in the same position as the others, and is the first day of its life. For human ideas, having been originally nothing but the products of realities, natural and social, in the sense of being the relish or echo of such realities in the human brain, together with the social conditions in which they were developed, must naturally be the absolute mental creat of human thought—the ideas and notions, having become well established in the way described in the collective conscience of society, later acquire their turn the power to act as the incentive of new facts embodied and real. They, then, by slowly modifying and transforming the existent, habits, the institutions, in short all the social relations of men; and being incorporated in the most usual matters of everyday life, they become perceptible, palpable, figuratively speaking, to everybody. In this way the new generation is penetrated by them from infancy, and having grown up in the age when the proper work of its own thought begins, accompanied of the instruction and social habit, by which they are transmitted within itself and in surrounding society, a whole world of established ideas and notions which are its starting point, furnishing in some way the raw material for its own intellectual and moral work. To this world of ideas and notions, it is impossible to speak in open and popular language against the most alienating a considerable part of the people, and risking being stoned by bourgeois hypocrisy.

The total of abstract ideas, and always in close connection with them, the adult meets in society, and also within himself, and owing to the all-powerful influence of society on his own childhood, a number of other notions and ideas of a far more determined kind, touching more closely on real life and his own daily experience. These are those on nature and man, on justice, the duties and rights of individuals and classes, on social conventions, on the family, property, and the State, besides many other notions on the relations existing between men. All these ideas which a child finds embodied in things and men and which are impressed on its own mind by education and instruction before he has even arrived at self-consciousness, are also, in a sense, impressions and ideas impressed upon him by the ideas of society, and commented upon by those theories which express the universal conscience or the collective prejudices, and by all religious, political, and economic institutions of the society to which he belongs. And he will find in the same people, and in the same society, the individuals, who are personally interested in his defence, he has become involuntarily, by all his moral, intellectual, and moral habits their accomplice.

We must not wonder, therefore, at the all powerful influence over the bulk of mankind, of these ideas which express the collective conscience of society, but on the contrary we should rather wonder at the fact that, in this mass, individuals are found who have the intelligence, the courage, and the spirit to combat with the pressure of the crowd. Every individual is immense and there is no character nor intelligence which would be strong and powerful enough to pretend to be entirely safe from attacks of this equally despotic and irresistible influence of society, even in those individuals who are most conscious of their own independence.

We might say that the collective conscience of a society, incarnated as well in the great public institutions as in all the details of its life, would be the image of the general consciousness of a nation, of an intellectual and moral atmosphere, obstructing absolutely necessary to the existence of all its members. By it they are at the same time dominated, penetrated, and sustained, being bound to the same set of selves more or less. The spirit of society is certainly determined by this collective conscience itself and which means to everybody security, and constitute for all, the supreme condition of the existence of the majority, harmonious, common-place routine and is the majority of men, not only of the privileged and educated classes (and the latter often in a larger degree than the people) only feel at ease and peace in their minds only when the external public forms are in accordance with the tradition and routine: "We must think and act like this, because our fathers did so formerly and everybody around us thinks and acts in the same way. Why should we do otherwise?" These are the true religion, the common conscience of society, which mechanics or mechanism out of every hundred of mankind, taken at random in all classes of society. And, as I have already observed, there lies the greatest obstacle to progress and the more rapid emancipation of humanity.
THE BALANCE OF POWER

It is scarcely necessary to discuss a too close sympathy with that startling phenomenon of civilization, the bomb-thrower; but we are blind indeed if we do not observe and take into account the immense revolution of ideas he is effecting in the administration of human affairs. We may condemn and denounce him, as we do without stint, the less heedlessly and unconcerned. The ever increasing frequency of his acts bears witness how powerless are established institutions to suppress him. He has come, not only to stay, but to stay.

The pulpits and the press have heaped coals of fire upon the heads of "these miscreants." The cry of "dastards" has been heard on all sides. Indeed, this is natural enough. Their motives have been largely hidden with the necessary secrecy of their operations. They have determined, however, to refute this charge of cowardice with becoming grace. One after another they have yielded up their lives, the most priceless of their possessions, in order to add a personal dignity to their devotion. Indeed they have counted their very executions as so much "propaganda," and religiously refused to take the smallest advantage occasion has offered to clear themselves of guilt. They have believed themselves to be the avengers of wrong, and have died with a serenity as sublime as that which actuated the early Christians.

The bomb-thrower is essentially a brave man, a man of quick sympathies, and vigorous in action. He is the agent of a new terror, mainly an account of the moral justification that stimulates him. We are all of us conscious in our innermost hearts, that Society is responsible for his actual existence. He points with supreme scorn, as well he may, to a civilization which, in order to maintain itself, is obliged to have recourse to modern militarism. But still, two wrongs do not make one right; let us therefore cease to justify either, and condemn without partiality. It may be difficult to do so, inasmuch as the bomb-thrower invariably brings pain with his new manifestation of government, which clouds our moral vision, but it must be done. We readily enough perceive the evil of his act, but entirely overlook its unconscious ministry for good.

It is idle to suppose that the execution of the bomb-thrower will change the course of events. He may "halt for breathing space" and to recombine the situation, and when Society loudly supposes him to be utterly dismayed, and relaxes its rigor in consequence, he will thunder forth again, and in the most unexpected place. The more he is executed, the wider the breach opens; and finally, a form of "possession" seizes him which maddens him to strike, more terrible often, because aimlessly, and without discretion. The act of Emile Henry was a consequence of the police repression which resulted from the act of Augustine Vaillant.

Gunpowder changed the old methods of war, and shifted the balance of power. Science has reduced to impotence the mere supremacy of numbers. The more modern concentrated explosives have supplanted the rifle and the sword. The very destructiveness of our modern warfare tends to deter statesmen from going to war. It would be impossible to anticipate the outcome of a contest between two great powers, if all the latest appliances of chemistry and mechanics were put into play. The conviction that the future is a mere expansion of destruction has brought increased respect, in the long run, to those who have become possessed of such sources of strength. The individual nihilist is more feared by the Czar than a whole army of serfs. The result is that the humblest citizen merits at least some consideration, and there is a disposition to remove those crushing burdens from the shoulders of the people. When despair is fast gathering them on to insurrection.

The only thing that mankind ever did, or probably ever will, worship, is power. Even the devotes of God have always in mind the attribute of omnipotence. Majority rule has no better moral apology than its power to execute its will. And so, when Science shall provide individuals with still more potent, still more terrible engines of destruction, it may come to pass that we shall pay some respect, if indeed, we do not lift our hats, to the bomb-thrower.

The century will not pass, in my opinion, without realizing man's long dream of traversing the air. Crookes has told of the potential energy of ether. Keely claims to have discovered the key to this energy, and to have surpassed all previous conceptions of aeronautics. In his suspension of gravity, or manipulation and utilization of the polar flow, he has approached the realization of Lyttton's suggestion of the Comin Race, in being enabled to draw from the atmosphere constant energy and put it to mechanical use without storage. Dewar doubts not that Keely may lift thousands of tons in the air. This new application of mechanical physics, this wider comprehension of correlative forces, is destined to supply a single individual with a greater grip of power than Jove ever wielded, when of old, he hurled down amongst men the thunderbolts of heaven.

Yes, this new balance of power is destined to achieve mighty results, before which established tyranny will pale. But all the devastation wrought by the new agencies will be as nothing compared with the horrors inflicted upon the people by statesmen in the past. "Man dreads in a little brief authority" will no longer subdue his weaker fellow, and ensnare and degrade him, when it is found to be so dangerous to do so. An era of fellowship will dawn at last. It is the monopoly of force which to-day engenders the social antagonisms. When there comes a more equal distribution of power, the necessity of employing power will no longer exist, and Anarchy will be realized at last.

HENRY SEYMOUR.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Comrade Menner has been sentenced to penal servitude for life. He was absolutely a stand-pat, in the facts of which he was accused, and his reward. The French police, in order to discover the authors of the explosions at the restaurant Ver and the Lobat barracks, charged all Anarchists which fell into their hands with these facts, and finally fixed these charges on Menner, because a woman, with whom Menner had quarreled, told absurd stories about him. Notwithstanding that Menner was able to prove, by six witnesses, an alibi, a jury was found in France to find him guilty.

We are opposed to all acts of blind (indiscriminate) violence; but it seems to us that the bourgeoisie, in condemning them as they do, with or without proofs, every Anarchist, are the direct perpetrators of and primarily responsible for acts like the attempts in the Liceo theatre and the Cafe Terminus.

We send to Menner the expression of our sympathy. He has always been a decided upholder of the workers' cause, which is the cause of justice, freedom and happiness for all. The chairman of the assizes reproached him with continually urging on his fellow-workers to resist the oppression of the masters. For these reasons the courageous hated him and the workers loved him and regret his absence.

We hope to see Menner back among us. The bourgeoisie condemned him to perpetual imprisonment. But how long is the "perpetual" of the capitalist organization going to last?

The latest information we have of our Comrade Menner (Reuter's Agency) is that he has refused to sign an appeal, all who knew him expected nothing less. In private life he was gentle, and sympathetic as a woman, but in propaganda, consistent and courageous.

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST DRAW. The winning numbers are 314, 261, 264, 565, 353, 778, 521, 269, 724, 292, 526, 493. This draw was started in order to meet the heavy expenses incurred in the gallant fight for Free Speech waged by our comrades last winter. It has been very successful, though still leaving them a good deal in debt.
HUEY YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSED BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FUN MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTINUM IT; LASTLY, ALL, WE'LL ACCEPT IT; AND THE CAUSE IS WON.

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

We would ask our contributors, to write plainly and on one side of the pages only.

All Communications should be addressed to — The Editor, "LIBERTY," Braddon Road, Hanover Smyth, W.

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To Correspondents.
C. STRADSHAW and Wm. FOSTER. Received 2s. 6d. just in time for Money Defence Fund; thanks for postal order for paper and pamphlets.
T. H. BEUL, Edinburgh. Pamphlets sent, as requested.
A. DAVIES, Liverpool. Pamphlets, etc., forwarded, will send other pamphlets.

We are glad to find Liverpool Liberty Group so healthy.

LIBERTY.
LONDON, AUGUST, 1894.

Between Ourselves.

As we go to press our Comrades Cantwell and Quinn have been sentenced to six months' hard labor, convicted on evidence which even the Daily Chronicle admits to be of the flimsiest kind. All Socialists were outraged; every one wished to enter the court being subjected to a close scrutiny, and refused admission at the discretion of the police.

They were remanded no less than five times and the charge was converted more than once. At first it was a charge of disorderly con-duct, then it was incitement to murder the Royal Family. Finally our comrades were committed on four charges: 1. incitement to murder; 2. seditions label (a new charge) by the wae; 3. the publication of the leaflet "Why Vauxhall threw the bomb" (which charge was a deliberate invention); and finally, a charge under the Explosives Act on the ground of a manuscript found at Stimson's Mews, being a recipe for the composition of explosives.

At this juncture of the case an attempt was made on the part of the prosecution to implicate the whole of the Communist Group, by committing Quinn on the same charge. Mr. Farrellly however, very aptly combatted this point, pointing out that from the fact of Quinn being a member of the Group, it by no means followed that he had any knowledge of the existence of the manuscript in question. Quinn was therefore not committed under the Explosives Act but was finally committed on the other three charges.

We may safely conclude that this case has arisen out of existing prejudices and in consequence of previous events. The poster shown on Tower Hill contained nothing more seductive than may be read week in, say, "Repeal,雷解, for instance; but no similar or identical expressions are used by men known to profess Anarchist opinions a different impression is conveyed. This was well stated and exemplified by the prosecuting counsel while William Morris was in the witness box. When asked to state the meaning of the four lines which constituted the alleged incitement the counsel interposed with:

"It does not matter what the writer implies, the question is what the prisoners imply. In the same way the defence attorneys were allowed to speak of previous speeches made by the prisoners, while the defence was not permitted to introduce any evidence respecting their previous speeches.

Strange, are the ways of "law." Joan Grenne receives a sentence of two years for a couple of lines contained in a book of 300 pages, the contention being that those lines epitomise the meaning of the book. The precisely opposite contentions is alleged to overrule the present case, where four lines are held to mean something other than the poem from which they are taken. It is a justice of whose existence is only to be found in one point Funk at the Anarchist Congress. The whole present charge consists, first and last, in prosecution of the idea.

The most suspicious feature of this case is that the prosecuting counsel has said week after week:

"We have not yet formulated our charge." Suddenly, then, this manuscript concerning explosives is brought forward. The thing is suggestive.

Comrade Kropotkin contributes a very able article on "Mutual Aid in the Mediveal City," the first of two papers, to the Nineteenth Century. The medieval city, he points out, "was not simply a political organization for the protection of certain political liberties, but was a pre-social form of acting at organizing, on a much grander scale than in a village community, a close union for mutual aid and support, for consumption and product-

1. And final chapter of a series of articles in the Nineteenth Century, on the genius of each separate group of individuals in art, crafts, science, commerce, and political organization." An English translation, by Ralph Dervish, of Felix Dubois' book, "The Anarchist Peril" is published by Fisher Unwin, London. This is the book of a journalist, and moreover, of a journalist of the Figaro, that means to say, it contains all that is necessary to get a sale among the curious, but nothing showing any sincere desire for discovering the truth and making it known to the public. Drawings reproduce a scene at the recent Anarchist Congress which appears to be a hazard from the Anarchist press, and a little chronology of the exterior, dramatic incidents of the French Anarchist movement, form the main part of the book. There is no understanding found of the Anarchist ideas, their origin, evolution, and outcomes.

To judge the book and its author it is sufficient to read what he says about the Anarchist personality, who will hold the fate of the country, who will be the power of the nation, who will be the cause of the events of this century a much larger influence than we imagine, and who left in the spirit of those who knew him such a profound impression and deep affection, is to M. Dubois, a suspect person, perhaps a spy.

M. Dubois is only known, and in an entirely superficial way, the Anarchist of the last few months (1876). The whole group of Anarchists which are all he is aware of, directly from Bakunin, whilst to the friends of Bakunin they appear rather to be the negation of the Bakunin tradition.

Bakunin meets with an equal want of proper understanding at the hands of Mr. Morrison Davidson, who, in the Westminster Gazette of July 13th, and the Weekly Times of July 26th, puts himself forward as a sort of historian of the Anarchist theories.

Referencing his statements in the former article we can shortly reply (some of them are mentioned above). For instance, "The actual ideas of Anarchism which are all he is aware of, directly from Bakunin, whilst to the friends of Bakunin they appear rather to be the negation of the Bakunin tradition.

Bakunin meets with an equal want of proper understanding at the hands of Mr. Morrison Davidson, who, in the Westminster Gazette of July 13th, and the Weekly Times of July 26th, puts himself forward as a sort of historian of the Anarchist theories.

The facts about this revolutionary Catechism" are briefly these: at the trial of a number of students, etc., with whom Netchepoff, when in Russia, had associated, the document referred to was read (and a copy made); no proof was ever brought forward that Bakunin was the author of it; whilst it suited the purposes of unfair polemics congenial to Karl Marx to ascribe this and some other publications to Bakunin, it results with the greatest amount of probability, as well from internal evidence as from the oral testimony of men who have known the men both Bakunin and Netchepoff, that the latter was the author of it, and documentary proof could be brought forward to show how strongly Bakunin disagreed with some of Netchepoff's chief ideas. Moreover, in a letter addressed to the Journal de Gavres (published on Sept. 25th, 1873) Bakunin refers to these publications, and says: "You attribute to me writings with the publication of which I have nothing to do." And, finally, they exist, in manuscript, two "Revolutionary Catechisms" by Bakunin, none of which has a line in common with that from which Mr. Morrison Davidson, repeating the old Marxist slander, quotes.

To show further, how history is written by Mr. Morrison Davidson, he says (Westminster Gazette) that after an "abrupt Anarchist rising" at Lyons in 1870, the declaration of the Lyons Anarchist rising was only published with the quiest of the people at the time. Now who of his readers will imagine, that this "rising" took place on Sept. 24th, 1870 during the Franco-German War (Bakunin took part in it) whilst the declaration was read at the first of the war by radicals and others at all the principal points of the French Empire. It concludes with the words: "What soundscles are we? We want bread for all, knowledge for all, work for all and for every man independence and property." (It was published in an English translation which this may be one of the earliest English Anarchist publications.)

We think it establishing fanciful distinctions between this and that is not true. Mr. Morrison Davidson ought to inform himself on the very outlines of the history of Anarchist theories.
THE DUTIES OF THE PRESENT HOUR.

By ERRICO MALATRESE

Reaction is let loose upon us from all sides. The bourgeoisie, infuriated by the fear of losing her privileges, will use all means of repression to suppress not only the Anarchist and Socialist, but every progressive movement.

It is quite certain that they will not be able to prevent these outrages which served as the pretext of this present reaction; on the contrary, the measures which bar all other outlets to the active temper of some seem expressly calculated to provoke and multiply them.

But, unfortunately, it is not quite certain that they may not succeed in hampering our propaganda by rendering the circulation of our press very difficult, by imprisoning a great number of our comrades, and by leaving no other means of revolutionary activity open to us than secret meetings, which may be very useful for the actual execution of actions determined on, but which cannot make an idea enter into the mass of the proletariat.

We would be wrong to console ourselves with the old illusion that persecutions are always useful to the development of the ideas which are persecuted. This is wrong, as almost all generalisations are. Persecutions may help or hinder the triumph of a cause, according to the relation existing between the power of persecution and the power of resistance of the persecuted; and past history contains examples of persecutions which stopped and destroyed a movement as well as of others which brought about a revolution.

Hence we must face, without weakness or illusion, the situation into which the bourgeoisie has placed us to-day and study the means to resist the storm and to derive from it the greatest possible profit for our cause.

There are comrades who expect the triumph of our ideas from the multiplication of acts of individual violence. We may differ in our opinions on the moral value and the practical effect of individual acts in general, and of each act in particular, and there are in fact on this subject among Anarchists various divergent, and even directly opposed, currents of opinion; but one thing is certain, namely, that with a number of hands and a number of blows of the knife, a society like bourgeois society cannot be overthrown, being based, as it is, on an enormous mass of private interests and prejudices, and sustained, more than it is by the force of arms, by the inertia of the masses and their habits of submission.

Other things are necessary to bring about a revolution, and specially the Anarchist revolution. It is necessary that the people be conscious of their rights and their strength, and that they be ready to fight and ready to take the conduct of their affairs into their own hands. It must be the constant preoccupation of the revolutionists, the point towards which all their activity must aim, to bring about this state of mind among the masses. The brilliant acts of a few individuals may help in this work, but cannot replace it; and, in reality, they are only useful if they are the result of a collective movement of spirit of the masses and if being accompanied under such circumstances that the masses understand them, sympathise with, and profit by them.

Woe to us, woe to our cause if we remain inactive, waiting from time to time for men like Casserone and Vaillant, Pallas and Berkmann to sacrifice their lives for the cause and be admired for their bravery! Who expects the emancipation of mankind to come, not from the persistent and harmonious cooperation of all men of progress, but from the accidental or providential happening of some acts of heroism, is not better advised than one who expects it from the intervention of an ingenious legislator or of a victorious general.

After all, in any case, but a very limited number of individuals do really commit acts of this kind. And the others? What are we doing, we, the great majority of Anarchists, who throw no bombs and kill no tyrants? Must we content ourselves with praising the dead and wait with equanimity of conscience for others to come forward to get killed? It is important that we should agree as to the line of conduct fitted for the being of Anarchists, which would not prevent individuals of exceptional energy and devotion bringing to the struggle their personal audacity and sacrifice.

What have we to do in the present situation?

Before all, in my opinion, we must as much as possible resist the laws; I might almost say we must ignore them.

The degree of freedom, as well as the degree of exploitation under which we live, is not at all, or only in a small measure, dependent upon the letter of the law; it depends before all upon the resistance offered to the laws. One can be relatively free, notwithstanding the existence of draconian laws, provided custom is opposed to the government making use of them; while, on the other side, in spite of all guarantees granted by laws, one may be at the mercy of all the violence of the police, if they feel that they can, without being punished, make short work of the liberty of the citizens.

In Italy, the government used to dissolve, from time to time, such associations as they considered dangerous to the monarchical institutions. Protests, and cries of indignation were raised and, what is most important, the laws passed to dissolve such associations were considered as passed against the government which could not but let this pass and, its aims to suppress the right of association of its opponents were continually frustrated. After having several times used this method against the International Workmen's Association (which, in Italy, was from the beginning Anarchist) and not succeeding in making it disappear, the government hit upon prosecuting its members as persons affiliated to an association of criminals. But it was impossible to prosecute all. From time to time some associations had been formed; the accused openly vindicated their ideas and the right to associate for their propagation; the sections of the International continued their work, and in the end, whilst a number of individuals suffered personally, and those who fight against the existing order of things must expect to suffer—the aims of the government were frustrated and the propaganda profited by it ever so much.

But then Anarchists began to say that to form associations meant giving an opportunity for prosecution of associations of criminals to the government; they accused the dissolution of the existing association, combated all efforts to reorganise it, and, in this way, voluntarily renounced the right of association. This did not, of course, prevent a single condemnation; on the contrary, at present Anarchists are accused of forming criminal associations if perchance they meet each other in a café—they may even not know one another simply because they are Anarchists.

The results of the new laws which are being forged against us will depend to a large degree, upon our own attitude. If we do not appeal to public opinion as a shield against the domination of all human right and will be condemned to speedy extinction or to remain a dead letter. If, on the contrary, we accommodate ourselves to them, they will rank with contemporary political customs, which will, later on, have the disastrous result of giving fresh importance to the struggle for political liberties (of speaking, writing, meeting, combing, and associating) and be the cause more or less of losing sight of the social question.

We are to be prevented from expressing our ideas; let us do so none the less and that more than ever. They want to present the very name of Anarchist let us shout aloud that we are Anarchists. The right of
association is to be denied us; let us associate as we can, and proclaim that we are associated, and mean to be. This kind of action, I am quite aware, is not without difficulty in the state things are in at present, and can only be pursued within the limits and in the way which commonsense will dictate to everybody according to the different circumstances they live under. But let us always remember that the oppression of governments has no other limits than the resistance offered to it.

Those Socialists who imagine to escape the reaction by severing their cause from that of the Anarchists, not only give proof of a narrowness of view which is incompatible with aims of radical reorganisation of the social system, but they betray stupidly their proper interest. If we should be crushed, their turn would come very soon.

But before all we must go among the people; this is the way of salvation for our cause. Which our ideas oblige us to put all our hopes in the masses, because we do not believe in the possibility of imposing the good by force and we do not want to be commanded, we have despised and neglected all manifestations of popular life; we contented ourselves with simply preaching abstract theories or with acts of individual revolt, and we have become isolated. Hence the want of success of what I will call, the first period of the Anarchist movement. After more than twenty years of propaganda and struggle, after so much devotion and so many martyrdoms, do you see any popular commotions which agitate Europe and America, and we find ourselves in a situation which permits the governments to fossilize without plannly appearing the absurdisms to suppress us by some police measures.

Let us reconsider our position.

To-day, that which always ought to have been our duty, which was the logical outcome of our ideas, the condition which is the end of the revolution and reorganization of society imposes on us, namely, to live among the people and to win them over to our ideas by a daily taking part in their struggles and sufferings, to-day this has become an absolute necessity imposed upon us by the situation which we have to live under. Our ordinary means of propaganda - the press, the meetings, the associations, more or less convinced adherents of our ideas - at any rate for a certain time, will become more and more difficult to be used. It is only in working men's associations, strikes, collective revolts where we can find a safe field for exercising our influence and propagating our ideas. But if we want to succeed, let us remember that people do not become Anarchists in a single day, by hearing some violent speeches, and let us above all avoid falling into the error common to many comrades, who refuse to associate with working men who are not already perfect Anarchists, whilst it is absolutely necessary to associate with them in order to make them become Anarchists.

The Movement in Manchester.

To the Editor of Liberty.

A deliberate attempt has been made here in Manchester by the "Watch Committee" of the Manchester Corporation to suppress the "Right of Public Meeting." They have given instructions to the Chief Constable to suppress all meetings held by Anarchists, and acting up to instructions received, Chief Detective Communards suppressed the usual meeting held in Stevenson Sq. on Sunday afternoon, July 8th. The reason according to the Press was we have none from any other source being that the Anarchists have spoken apparently of the assassination of President Carnot. The truth or falsehood of the above accusation seems to be beside the mark, the question at issue is the suppression of any public meeting to be allowed on account of what one or two of the speakers may have said. It is the right of a guilty of an illegal act, let that person be prosecuted, but do not let us allow such a dangerous precedent as this to pass without protest. We appeal to all lovers of what is right for their assistance. I remain,

Yours Sincerely,

ARTHUR ROUSE, Secretary Manchester A.C.T.

PROUDHON AND COMMUNISM.

The so-called "Proudhonians" like to tell us that in preaching Individualism and private appropriation they follow his teachings. This is what Proudhon wrote in his last work on Property, the "Theory of Property," published in 1866, after his death. After having shown that the object of the development of State, private property is the only means of defending liberty against the State, he wrote the following characteristic conclusion to his work (pp. 241-246).

To private property be personally preferred Slavonic or Communal possession of land.

I have unfolded the considerations which render the idea of private property intelligible, rational, justifiable, without which it would be usurpatory and hateful. And yet, even on those terms, it contains something of that selfishness which is always anti-pataphysical to me. My levelling reason, always against being governed, and an enemy to the rage and abuses of power, is prepared to allow proprietorship to be kept up as a shield and position of safety for the weak; but my heart will never be with it. As far as I am concerned, I see too little necessity for this concession either for the purpose of gaining my own bread, or to fulfill my civic duties, or for my own happiness. I have no need to meet it with others that I may aid their weakness and respect their rights. I have sufficient energy of conscience and intellectual force to suitably maintain all my relations with my neighbours, without it, and if the majority of my fellow citizens resembled me — what need would there be of that institution? Where would be the danger of tyranny? Where would be the danger of competition and free trade? Where would be the danger for the little man, the pupil, or the workman? Where would be the need of pride, ambition, and greed which cannot satisfy itself except by the immensity of appropriation?

A small house, held on hire, the use of a garden would be ample sufficient for me: my occupation not being to cultivate the soil, the vine, or a meadow, I do not require a park or a large inheritance, and even if I were a husbandman and vine-dresser, Slavonic form of possession would satisfy me, viz., the share falling to each head of a family in each commune, and the insolence of the man who with his foot on land which he merely holds by a free concession, forbids us to pass over it, and prevents our gathering a flower in his field or to walk over a foot path.

When I see all these fences in the suburbs of Paris which take away a view of the country and the enjoyment of the soil from the poor peasant, my blood fairly boils. I ask myself whether such proprietorship which thus ties up each person within his own house is not rather expropriation and expulsion from the land. Property? I sometimes meet with these words written in large letters at the entrance to an open road and which resembles a sentinel forbidding you to advance any farther. I confess, my manly dignity fairly bristles up in disgust. Oh! I remain with regard to this on the standpoint of Christian religion, which recommends abnegation, preaches meekness, simplicity of mind, and poverty of heart. Away with the ancient patrician, ammerriful and covetous; away with the insolent baron, the greedy bourgeois, and the harsh peasant, damnatric! These people are odious to me! I can never treat them like you or look at them. If I should ever become myself a proprietor I should be one of that kind whom God and men, especially the poor forgive!

Native-born Persons in 1,000 Inhabitants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>944</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>923</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is manifest that our population is essentially our own, France having 6 times as many foreign settlers. Mollen, 1878.
THE VOICE OF TOIL.

By WILLIAM MORRIS.

I heard men saying, Leave hope and praying
All days shall be as have been;
To-morrow and to-morrow, never to hear
The never-ending toil between.

When earth was younger and toil and hunger,
In hope we strove, and our hands were strong;
There men led us, and words they fed us,
And bade us right the earthily wrong.

Go read in story their deeds and glory,
Their names amid the nameless dead;
Then turn from us to lying so slow dying
That good world to which they led;
Where fast and faster our iron master,
The thing we made, for ever drives,
Bids us greet treasure and fashion pleasure
Of other hopes and other lives.

Where home is a hovel and dull we grovel
Forgetting that the world is fair;
Where no babe we cherish, last its very soul perish,
Where our mirth is crime, our love a snare.

Who now shall lead us, what guide shall lead us,
In the imperfect earth our hands have won?
For us are no rulers but fools and boasters,
The great are fallen, the wise men gone.

I heard men saying, Leave to-morrows and praying
The sharp knife headeth not the sheep;
Are we not stronger than the rich and the woe-sayer,
When day breaks over dreams and sleep?

Come, shoulder to shoulder ere the world grows older!
Help lies in boughs that thee and me:
Hope is before us, the long years that bare us
Bare leaders more than men may be.

Let dead hearts hurry and trade and hurry,
Make treading grudge nurse their dreams of worth,
While the we live our giving is
To bring the bright world now to birth.

Come, shoulder to shoulder ere earth grows older!
The cane speaks over land and sea;
Now the world shaketh, and fear awaketh,
And joy at last for thee and me.

[The verse printed in italics above forms part of the charge upon which our comrades T. Cantwell and C. T. Quinn are committed for trial for invite Henry Braden and others to murder the real family—Rev.]

MY UNCLE BENJAMIN.

CHAPTER III.

After having recovered his breath and heard my brother, he was sworn to be a sturdy merchant, and met with caution and wrath, took my grandfather aside, and said to him:

"Suppose we invite this brave man and this glorious posse to breakfast with us at Manette's;"

"Hun' t han' !" replied my grandfather.

"The devil!" replied Benjamin, "one does not meet every day a posse who has made an English captain prisoner, and every day political hampets are given to people who are not worth this honorable recognizance."

"But have you any money?" said my grandfather; "I have only a thirty-sheen piece, which your sister gave me this morning because, I believe, it is in receipt of some money, and she urgently recommended me to bring her back at least half.

"For my part, I have not a son, but I am Manette's physician, just as she from time to time is my tavernkeeper, and we give each other credit."

"Manette's physician only?"

"What's that to you?"

"Nothing; but I warn you that I will not stay more than an hour at Manette's."

So my uncle extended his invitation to the sergeant. The latter accepted without ceremony, and joyfully placed himself between my uncle and my grandfather, walking in what soldiers call step by step. They met a bull, which a peasant was driving to pasture. Offended undoubtedly by Benjamin's coat, he suddenly started for him. My uncle dodged his horns, and the peasantdeserts of steel, he cleared at a bound, with no more effort than if he had cut a spinner, a broad ditch that separated the road from the fields. The bull, which was undoubt-

edly determined to make a slash in the red coat, tried to follow my uncle's example; but he fell into the middle of the ditch. "Good enough for you!" said Benjamin, "that's what you get by seeking a quarrel with people who are not dreaming of you!" But the quadruped, as obstinate as a Russian mounted to an assault, was not discouraged by this failure; planting his hoofs in the half-thewed ground, he tried to climb the slope. My uncle, seeing that, drew his sword, and while he was picking the enemy's mount to the ground, he showed his ability, he called the peasant, and cried: "My good man, stop your beast; else I warn you that I will pass my sword through your body.

But while the words he let his sword fall into the ditch, took off your coat, and throw it to him as quickly as you can," cried Macbeau.

"Ride among the vines," said the peasant. "See him! see him! Fontenay," said the sergeant. The peasant leaped at the bull, and, as if he knew how to do it, let his sword into the ram's throat. Then turned his wrath against the dog; but, while he was making havoc with his horns, the peasant came up and succeeded in passing a line around the bull's neck. The man's work was perfectly successful, and put an end to the hostilities.

Benjamin returned to the road. He thought that Macbeau was going to laugh at him, but the latter was as pale as a sheet and trembled on his legs.

"Come, Macbeau, brace up," said my uncle; "else I shall have to bleed you. And you, my brave Fontenay, you have made to-day a pestle as much as the cowherd."

"The devil!" exclaimed Manette, sitting back, "you are not made for pestle women; go and kiss Madame de Moxine.

"You seem to be in a hurry," thought my uncle, "that the report of my marriage has already spread through the country. No one but M. Moxine can have spoken of it; hence he must be determined to have me for a son-in-law; or, if he should not receive my visit to-day, that would not be a reason for breaking off the engagement to a posse?"

"But Manette," he added, "Mlle. Moxine is not in question here; have you any fish?"

"There are plenty of fish," said Manette, "in M. Moxine's fish pond.

"Again I ask you, Manette," said Benjamin, "have you any fish? Be careful what you answer!"

"Well," said Manette, "my husband has gone fishing, and he will soon return."

"Saean does not meet our ears; put on the gridiron as many shoes as it will hold, and make us an omelette of all the eggs in your hen-house."

The breakfast was soon ready. While the omelette was boiling in the frying-pan, the ham was broiling. Now, the omelette was almost as soon dispatched as served. It takes a long six months to lay twelve eggs, a woman a quarter of an hour to convert them into an omelette, and three men five minutes to absorb the omelette. "See," said Benjamin, "how much more rapid is decomposition than reproduction; countries covered with a numerous population grow poorer every day. Man is a greedy infant who makes his nurse grow thin; the ox does not restore to the fields all the grass that he takes from it; the ashes of coal ashes of coal; we begin only our return as soon as the repast is over, and the revery does not carry back to the rose bush the leaves of the bouquet that the young girl scatters around her; the candle that burns in front of our doors does not burn all the light of the world; the fires continue, and the sleepless dances, and how in the honi of the sun they rise, and how they take from their banks; most of the mountains have ere long left upon their head bald cedars; the Alps show us their bare and jagged horns, the interior of Africa is nothing but a lake of sand, Spain is a vast moor, and Italy a great charnelhouse where remains only a bed of ashes. Whichever great people have passed, however, they leave sterility in their track. This earth, adorned with verdure, with flowers, with resources of agriculture, of commerce, whose life is condemned. At one time will come when it will be nothing but an inert, dead, mass, a great sepulchral stone upon which God will say: 'Here lies the human race.' Meanwhile, gentlemen, I shall profit to the blessings which the earth gives us, and as she is a tolerably good mother, let us drink to her long life."

They came then to the ham. My grandfather sat from a sense of duty, because men must eat to maintain his health, and must have blood in order to serve and write, Benjamin ate for amusement, but the sergeant sat like a man who sits down to table for no other purpose, and he did not utter a word.

A table Benjamin was famous, but his noble stomach was not
"The col is indeed a very fine one," said my grandfather, "and if Manette has a little bacon, it will make an excellent matzoh. But the devil! what about my wife? That must be served."

"Mark this," said Benjamin; "it will undoubtedly be necessary for some one to give me this arm today before Cluny. If you shirk this pious duty, I will no longer own you as my brother-in-law."

Now as Marcheau was very anxious to continue as Benjamin's brother-in-law, he submitted.

To be continued.

The following can be obtained at the Office of "Liberty," or will be forwarded on request of stamps.

By Peter Kropotkin.

AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG. Translated from the French. Price Id.

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