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Socialism or Privilege.

A JOURNAL OF

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM

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

By LOUISE MICHEL.

PART I.

THE DEATH AGONY OF THE EMPIRE.

Chapter II. PROSECUTIONS OF "THE INTERNATIONAL." The International was formally dissolved for the third time by the imperial tribunal, and the defendants were each condemned to three months' imprisonment, and 180 francs fine. The sentence of condemnation was pronounced by the Imperial Court of Paris, the presiding judge being M. Falconetti. At this epoch appeal against a sentence had its raison d'etre, the press being gagged, the police courts afforded the best opportunity for propaganda. The judgment was confirmed, but the idea further ventilated; besides which the newspapers were still permitted to re-produce what they called the "effusions" of this or that prisoner. Ten minutes of the Association having remained in the hands of the Judge d'Instruction, the members of the Paris branch, Combes, Murat, and Tonin, did their book-keeping by means of a letter to the journal Le Reveil, though the Attorney General had asserted that the "International" had its accounts inextricably itself with mystery. Thus we see these proceedings leading up to the final revolt, which had been promoted by repression even more than by the long grind of poverty. It was precipitated by the disaster of Sedan, a consumption in which was traced in events and as clearly to be foreseen as the final fall of a river into the ocean. Presentments of the end were felt through all the ramifications of things. The climate of 1869 was a fatal example of the power to witness to this. As far back as 1866, Regnard wrote as follows:—

"The climate of 1869 is a predicted date. Everything points to the fall of the Empire in that year. We look forward to it as to a mortal issue, ripe for a decision; and the murderer of the hour must forthwith advance as an astronomer foresees the end of an eclipse; we have but to take out our watch and observe the phenomena while counting the minutes which yet separate us from the fray."

There is a profound meaning (he proceeds) in the constant and irremediable opposition between the tendencies of government on one hand, and those of society on the other; the permanent violation of all the rights, requests, interests, and demands of society; the contradiction between the promises and the performances of those in power; the ostentatious display of the principles of 1789, with the actual application of those of 1772; the necessity of war, and especially of war of conquest, a trial privilege to a military monarchy; and the unpopularity of war, especially wars of conquest, annexation, pillage, and invasion, in an industrial country; the worker better educated and a little more intelligent than his predecessors, the necessity of a political party, all logical magistrates; a country where the government is at variance with the nation—a necessity which in itself dissolves both magistracy and police, and which consoles minor minorities, which the International, a secret society, the......

There is today an immense expansion of popular feeling, side by side with a slight recrudescence of imperial oppression; but if the oppression continues to increase on one hand, while the expansion increases on the other, the extreme reaction of 1772 must burst through society.

Referring to those who were still disposed for patient waiting, he added:—

"I see as you do that this is the death-agony; yet I cannot wait. Quo vadis, pastor? True—It moves rapidly—Lo! I knew it—Infamously? I agree. But why say to the rising tide that it shall rise no faster? The Emperors die; the Empire is dead. So saying we keep it alive till 90 mark you!—but the thing is to despatch it, not merely to listen to its death-rattle; it is needful to throttle it, rather than to feel its pulse; to sound its passing bell and not its future victory.

Earlier still, in 1868, we find the following, written by Antonin Dubois in Les Suspects:

"While writing their names, we seem to see their heads fall one by one under the executioner's axe; and in undertaking this act of repair we have desired to avenge the memory of the dead.

The hour came, without motives or explanations, without trial and in cold blood they (the suspected) were to be thrown by hoods into pits of the government and then conveyed to the Middle of the Empire.

At great human crises there is a stir and a babble as among bees when the hive is in peril, and each hastens to take his own place in theisempty. In the last days, the late Emperor, who was revolted by the inquiries of society, chose his own group, or went to and fro like a lost child, while the rising wind of revolution bore us along toward the high tide of '71 which was to mingle us all in the flood."

Many of the Internationalists were inclined to leave the Empire to putrify in its own impurities, the corruption being such that it was impossible to pick out of the mass a single grain that was not infected. The demands on the residential, desired to precipitate the collapse, and with this end in view an attempt was made on August 14th, 1870, by those heroes who have been called the "bandits of Villette." This was the last occasion to which the Emperor ever gave assent, and the Emperor himself did not allow the sentences to be carried out.

Meanwhile the penultimate trial was when the International, which continued to ignore official dissolution, was prosecuted for the third time.

The number of prisoners was augmented. This time they were thirty-eight, divided into two categories, (1) those who were regarded as "bandits," and (2) those who were simply members. The International meanwhile had neither chiefs nor founders! The first category included Varin, Mahon, Murat, Johann- nard, Fandy, Combault, Hodges, Avrial, Sabourdy, Colma (alias Fran- quin), Passon, Sauvage, Robichon, Papiere, Ribot, Lepennec, Carlo and Allard. In the second category were Thiez, Colot, tier- maine, Cauze, Dancunville, Plabant, Landeck, Chalain, Anel, Herrin, Le Marcou, Delacour, Durand, Duval, Fourmain, Frankei, et al., Maltese.

The Imperial Advocate, Aubin, represented the prosecution. Advocates Lachaud, Bigot, Lente and Roussel, defended the prisoners. Laurier was engaged by the defendants to present the points of their case from the legal point of view.

The Imperial Advocate admitted that the examination had been conducted with active solicitude and that there had been no time for the documents to have been marshalled in the hands of the Judge d'Instruction. The prisoners did not deny their speeches at the Salle de la Marcella at the beginning, nor the subsequent resort to the journal La Marcella which Rochefort conducted and which had been the most revolutionary quarter in Paris, had chosen as an organ of protest against the Empire.

Laurier, writing in April 19th, 1870, Varin had said, "Already the 'International' has overcome prejudices between the peoples of different nations. We know what to expect from Providence, which has always shown a partiality for millionnaires. The great tide has been too long at full, though I will not approach all who suffer and struggle. We are both Right and Right. We ought to get along by ourselves, and it is against the judicial, economic, and religious order that our efforts should be directed."

"We desire the Social Revolution with all its consequences." So said Combes likewise, at a meeting of the Salle de Marcella, and the closely packed audience had arisen to applaud his words.

"Jaurégs arrested the court was represented by prisoners, and got confused among the great number of documents that had been a read, and from which it was desired to quote. There were the names of the least revolutionaries, mingled with words which gave rise to like associations, such as: typhus, arsenic, strychnine, glaucoma, powder, ammunition; (for it is not by words alone that Bastilles can be taken). Pots of poison were not unfruitfully promoted to the dignity of explosive devices, with terrifying effect.

Mauluzain, as a fact, the revolution gathered strength. From Boul, from London, from Berlin, all the complications of government, the workmen took no heed of politicians, but fraternized across the frontiers, crouched and bloomed.

The Imperial Advocate was astonished that the "International," by no means disconcerted by its enforced dissolution, had gone on with its work under other names. He was engaging the history of the "International" as a "secret society," the counsel for the defence, Laurier, cited as a remarkable instance of justice the action of English judges with regard to an association which had really been a secret one, and which had used communications in every way, and was by none. He had been inquired into, and how authority had found itself face to face with the proletarian in form of a secret society banded for hidden revenge, and organised like the fascists jugos, with the object of ex-ecupating the people. The accused having replied that they were in a condition of rebellion against society because it would not accord them the right of association, and that its members would continue to commit crimes until this right should be granted, the English magistrate pardoned those people, parliament changed the law, and full liberty of association was proclaimed in England. "Such liberty also exists in Switzerland," continued Laurier, "indeed in all countries where a right of freedom prevails.

After Laurier's speech, Avrial added that the "International" was no mere handful of individuals, but the great mass of the workers, who claim their rights. It is the employers (the said) who by their great wealth, and not political measures, can stop the revolution.

"I am not myself a member of the 'International,'" said Avrial, "but I hope to belong to it some day."

To be continued.

Wanted—A Vigilance Committee.

Is it not time steps were taken to watch and see that Scotland Yard does not introduce into this country the very worst features of the continental police-ops-trick system? I would like to suggest the establishment of a national, under military superintendence, to be necessarily exposed to ridicule and ridicule the work of our so-called detectives.

A dozen comrades of tact, energy, and intelligence, resident in different parts of the metropolis, and working on lines agreed to, would accomplish the work. I will make one: Where are the eleven others?

READ ANE READ.
IN DEFENCE OF EMMA GOLDMANN AND THE RIGHT OF EXPROPRIATION.

Continued from page 84.

BY VOLTAIRENE DE CLEYNE.

It is the old, old story. When Thomas Paine, one hundred years ago, published the first part of "The Rights of Man," the part in which he discusses principles only, the edition was a high-priced one, reaching comparatively few readers. It created only a literary furore. When the second part appeared, the part in which he treats of the application of principles, in which he declares that "men should not petition for rights but take them," it came out in a cheap form, so that one hundred thousand copies were sold in a few weeks. Thus, from the very inception by the government.

It had reached the people who might act, and prosecution followed prosecution till Botany Bay was full of the best men of England. Thus were the limitations of speech and press declared, and thus will they ever be declared so long as there are antagonistic interests in human society.

Understand me clearly. I believe that the term "constitutional right of free speech" is a meaningless phrase, for this reason: that at over a century and a half later, the Constitution of the United States, and the Declaration of Independence, and particularly the latter, were, in their day, progressive expressions of progressive ideals. But they are, throughly, characterized by the metaphysical philosophy which dominated the thought of the last century. They speak of "inherent rights," "unchangeable rights," "natural rights," etc.: they declare that men are equal because of a supposed metaphysical something or other, called equality, existing in some mysterious way apart from material conditions, just as the philosophers of the eighteenth century accounted for water being wet by alleging a metaphysical wetness, existing somehow apart from matter. I do not say this to disparage those grand men who dared to put themselves against the authorities of the monarchy, and to conceive a better ideal of society, one which they certainly thought would secure equal rights to men; because I realize fully that no one can live very far in advance of the time-spirit, and I am positive of my own mind that, unless some cataclysm destroys the human race before the end of the twentieth century, the experience of the next hundred years will explode many of our own theories. But the experience of this age has proven that metaphysical quantities do not exist apart from materials, and hence humanity cannot be made equal by declarations on paper. Unless the material conditions for equality exist, it is worse than mockery to pronounce men equal. And unless there is equality in kind by equality I mean equal chances for every one to make the most of himself), unless, I say, these equal chances exist, freedom, either of thought, speech, or action, is equally a mockery.

I once read that one million angels could dance at the same time on the point of a needle; possibly one million angels might be able to get a decent night's lodging by virtue of their constitutional rights; one single tramp couldn't. And whenever the tongues of the non-possessing class threaten the possessors, whenever the disabused menace the privileged, that moment you will find that the constitution isn't made for you. Therefore I think anarchists make a mistake when they contend for their constitutional rights. As a prominent lawyer, Mr. Thomas Earle White, of Philadelphia, himself an anarchist, said to me not long since: "What are you going to do about it? Go into the courts, and fight for your legal rights? Anarchists haven't got any." "Well," says the governmentalist, "you can't consistently schön any piece of paper you don't believe in constitutions and laws." Exactly so; and if any one will right my constitutional wrongs I will willingly make him a present of my constitutional rights. At the same time I am perfectly sure no one will ever make this exchange; nor will any help ever come to the wronged class from the outside. Salvation on the vicarious plan isn't worth despising. Redress of wrongs will not come by petitioning "the powers that be." He has rights who maintain them. "The Lord helps them that help themselves." (And when one is able to help himself, I don't think he is apt to trouble the Lord much for his assistance.) As long as the working-people fold hands and pray the gods in Washington to give them work, so long they will not get it. So long as they tramp the streets, whose stones they lay, whose fith they clean, whose sewers they dig, yet upon which they must not stand too long lest the policeman bid them "move on"; as long as they go from factory to factory, begging for the opportunity to be a slave, receiving the insults of bosses and foremen, getting the old "No," the old shake of the head, in these factories which they build, whose machines they wrought; so long as they consent to herd like cattle, in the cities, driven year after year, more and more, off the mortgaged land, the land they cleared, fertilized, cultivated, rendered of value; so long as they stand shivering, going through plate glass windows, which they made but cannot buy, starving in the midst of food they produced but cannot have; so long as they continue to do these things vaguely relying upon some power outside themselves, be it god, or priest, or politician, or employer, or charitable society, to remedy matters, so long doverance will be delayed. When they conceive the possibility of a complete international federation of labor, whose constituent groups shall take possession of land, mines, factories, all the instruments of production, issue their own certificates of exchange, and, in short, conduct their own industry without regulatory interference from law-makers or employers, then we may hope for the only help which counts forught - self-help; the only condition which can guarantee free speech (and no paper guarantee needed).

But meanwhile, while we are waiting, for there is yet much grip of the middle class to ground between us and our freedom, our voice, our plans of economic and political advancement, while we await the formation of international labor tracts; while we watch for the day when there are enough of people with nothing in their stomachs and desperation in their heads, to go about the work of expropriation; what shall those do who are starving now?

That is the question which Emma Goldmann had to face; and she answered it by saying: "Ask, and if you do not receive, take—take bread." I do not give you that advice. Not because I do not think the bread belongs to you; not because I do not think you would be morally right in taking it; not that I am not more shocked and horrified and embittered by the report of one human being starving in the heart of plenty, than by all the Pitt-burns, and Chicagos, and Homesteads, and Teenes, and Cesar’s, and Balfoos, and Barcelonas, and Parises; not that I do not think one little bit of sensitive human flesh is worth all the property rights in New York city; not that I do not think the world will ever be saved by the sheep’s virtue of going patiently to the shambles; not that I do not believe the expropriation of the possessing classes is inevitable, and that that expropriation will begin by just such acts as Emma Goldman advised, viz.: the taking possession of wealth already produced; not that I think you owe any consideration to the conspirators of Wall Street, or those who profit by their operations, as such, nor even till they are reduced to the level of human beings having equal chances with you to earn their share of social wealth, and no more.
The Daily Chronicle, in the morning after the School Board election, confesses: "That the mind of London, thanks to a strong and capricious machinery, the result of a senseless method of preventing the purpose of the voters, does not find proper expression on the new Board. Just so, we believe that experience has shown it to be impossible to set up an electoral system which really ensures election by the actual majority." If the editor of the Daily Chronicle cares to go deeper into the question we refer him to our comrades Mahler's article on page 90 of this number.

Anarchist-Communism in Scotland.

The following are a few impressions of our visit to Scotland, which we promised last month.

We regret that we arrived at the granite city on Saturday the 13th of Oct., and were introduced by Comrade Eglan Shepherd to H. Duncan and the Anarchist group, we were pleased beyond expectation to find such a number of thorough-going intelligent comrades, so well versed in all phases of the movement.

After a stay of a few days with our host, the genial Duncan, it was not difficult to understand how such a strong feeling of respect for our ideas had sprung up and proving strong among our Aberdeen comrades. Our space is too short to enter into anything like a description of various comrades who belong to the group. The unique and Quaker-like individuality of our friend Eglan Shepherd, the active and energetic MacFarlane, and the over-bearing, but manly, kind, moral, good nature, the other whose physical seems well expressed the capacity for retrospective thought, at the same time possessing an immense fund of shifty and quaint Scotch humour, which is quickly discovered by the foreigner and for all alike.

Our dear comrades Miss Gray, our comrade Taylor whose hard fortune, circumstances do not prevent him using his artistic abilities to forward the cause of the people, and many others left no stone unturned to make our visit a success. Moreover our visit was well timed, for the day of our arrival had been fixed for the opening of a new Anarchist Club, at 52 Stentor Place.

On our arrival at the club we were called on for an impromptu speech, descriptive of the English Anarchist movement, which was a task most onerous. We were well rewarded by the warm reception given to our few remarks by the audience. Mrs. Macleod's speech, thenp to the good old days of the men who have laboured for the cause, showed that they possessed considerable musical ability. The proceedings were concluded by Mrs. Macleod playing the piano for the club, which was received with great applause. We then met with warm approval at the hands of our friends. Three cheers were then given for the Revolution.

Some of the inhabitants we are informed were quick to discover that the new club had come into existence, and urged them to little dream of such being possible. In fact one old woman was heard to observe to another, "Oh, look here, the Anarchists have come here at last; great God, we'll all be blown to hell!"

The following morning we had a most pleasant journey, accompanied by several comrades to view the old Briggie Don. In the afternoon we addressed a large audience at Regent's Quay (almost opposite the very house where we lived thirty-five years ago.) Then we were hailed by Mr. Reid, with public address. Our reception was much better, near the few points so readily taken up and applauded. Mrs. T. Chapman's singing of Anarchist songs met with a reception to lose gratifying.

In the evening we addressed the workers in the Oldfield's, small Hall, the subject being "Human Nature and Anarchism." On arriving there we found Eglan Shepherd having a sharp discussion with a man, sitting himself a Christian Anarchist, who had strongly objected to a chairman, on the ground that it was antagonistic to Anarchist principles.

Comrade Duncan, who briefly introduced us, explained that as we were not all Anarchists yet, there arose the necessity of a chairman enjoying the confidence of the audience to see that all had fair play. He was the audience listened to Mrs. Macleod's singing our "England Arose!" with evident pleasure. The lecture, which took three quarters of an hour in delivery, was well received. Then followed a string of questions and answers, the audience being highly delighted by the mixture of humour and wit of our friends, whom we have mentioned above.

On Monday we lectured in the Oldfield's small Hall, which was crowded, the remaining room only for late comers, which really " Economic Conditions and Anarchism." Mrs. T. Chapman again singing several well known Socialist songs, which met with hearts approval.

Comrade Duncan followed with a little gem of a speech, which it would be difficult to surpass.

The meeting proved beyond doubt how deeply the principles of Anarchism have taken root in Aberdeen.

On Tuesday we proceeded to Bonnie Dundee to pay "Liberty" Group a visit. They are a small weekly worker's paper, printed at Harper and Kinne, but, through mobility to secure a hall, we held the largest open-air meeting that the Anarchists have ever held here. Mrs. T. Chapman's services were again called upon to receive the earnest speech of the editor. Anarchist society then taking up the chorus, which had the effect of disconnecting two circling men, who were returned at the speed of our principles. The latter, afterwards, took part in the discussion, which proved that the workers knew more of the subject than the sky pilots.
SOCIALISM OR PRIVILEGE?  

At the recent congress of German Social Democrats, some of the working men delegates proposed that the salary of the writers and journalists be raised to £10 per annum. This, however, was not accepted, as the majority of the delegates thought that a weekly wage of £1 would be more than sufficient for socialist employees in a country like Germany, where wages are much lower than in countries where the bulk of producers earn less than two shillings a day, and where even those employed on the most remunerative kinds of work in the large towns never get more than thirty shillings a week. 

However, we must not overlook the fact that those accustomed to rough labor and a humble way of life. Such was by no means the opinion of those fine gentlemen—the deputies, speakers, writers, and journalists—who sit in the better paid positions of the bourgeois parliamentary delegates. They are the ones who, in a fair way, are the best able to pay the German worker. Corrupted by all the vices of the bourgeoisie the members of this new aristocracy, self-styled socialist, consider it beneath their dignity to work on the journals of the party for £1 a week. If they do not give more than £1, our writers will desert us; they will go over to the bourgeoisie." So spoke Rebel. Strange argument! dwell as coming from socialists! Bitherto we had always thought that men are socialists by conviction, and that the fundamental principles of socialism require that the producer be not exploited, and that when this producer is a member of the party a truly fraternal solidarity should be practised with regard to him, which is so far insufficient from the fraternity of republican democrats. At any rate, we socialists of the "ignorant" school consider that every man's work should be remunerated equally, and that to disregards his work has even been the chief reason why those opposed and persecuted by the bourgeoisie and by partisans of privilege.

But the Social Democrats, with Herr Engel at their head, proclaim fully and in all languages that "scientific socialism" has been introduced among us. They commit those who have dared to question the "scientific socialism," it is needful to create a class of electors for the masses to take care of, while denying themselves the necessities of life, sometimes to a certain degree.

In his day, in 1848, Proudhon, despite the unheard of success of his journal, only took for his work as editor the same remuneration as any compositor or other worker in the printing office; to wit, five francs. Until the bourgeoisie and ignorants say any Social Democrats. So be it. None the less, all humanity holds in veneration the memory of Socrates, of Jan Parnaubas, of the carpenter of Gallileo, of the man of letters who, in the struggle for the life of riches and privileges, and contended themselves with very little.

Two, those are strangers to the world of "scientific socialism"; but the ignorant people consider these men very good and very honest.

"We explore nothing," reply Herr Liebknecht. "My journal brings in more than 30,000 marks (£1,500) a year." That is perhaps why the office pays him such honour, perhaps it is also why he hedges the publisher 7,000 marks (£350) a year. (In Switzerland, ministers only get £200.)

Well, if a man's journal brings in so much, it is a proof that he sells it for more than the amount needed to cover its expenses. So much is clear. But is it after all socialistic to sell it to the members of the party for more than it costs? The Russian Socialists publish a paper of which they give four copies for one penny. The Paris American Socialists publish a weekly gazette, for which the propounded of which 80,000 marks (£4,000) a year, more than was wanted for the expenses of Les Renuits, whose chief editor took not £200, not even £1 a week, but only £1 a week.

True, the Russian Socialists are as yet but little versed in scientific socialism; as to the Anarchists," oh!, we are not masters for our ignorance of the science of Messrs. Engels, Liebknecht, Bebel, and others.

In my capacity of ignorant I warn the exploited that history shows us that power, privileges, and class distinctions have been established little by little, an honorary and temporary distinction becomes, with time and custom, hereditary, and always finds self-interest ready to defend privilege and slavery in the name of science, just as in our day the bourgeois corruption of socialist ideas is called scientific.

W.T.

"Fierce disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, supposing that gaudy, hollow, superficial justice shall be the true beauty and root of society, and that a false, fraudulent, and moment let us therewith content.

But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil: for this cause, there is a certain, and righteous judgment, that they which love money are invidious men delegeted by the people."  

"To expect that society will evolve further while the (the citizens) remain passive, is to expect that it will evolve without a cause. Each man in society is a small world, which he has survived from a less civilized past, or whose sympathies make certain evils repugnant to him, must regard his feelings thus excited as units in the aggregate of forces by which progress is brought about. Abroad the power of the people is the power of the people."  

From Paul's "Letters to a Young Comrade named Timothy."
"TIS BETTER TO GIVE THAN TO RECEIVE."

By ARCHIBALD M'DOUGALL.

In no department of thought, perhaps, does the much quoted and oft exploited precept "Tis better to give than to receive" find more eloquent expression and is given greater prominence to than in that of Anarchist-Communism. Conceived of and understood in a vastly different sense than that which is preached by middle-class charity, Anarchists can find in this trite saying the basis of human progress and a finger post which points out the only path by which humanity can travel towards a freer and higher life. Deductions can be drawn from facts of every-day life to prove this. The human race has always revered the memory of those noble men and women who, in the past, have given the fruits of their energy and in some cases have surrendered their, liberty, and even their lives for the love of truth and the welfare of their fellows; it has preserved and handed down in legendary form the record of courageous deeds, giving to the world ample proof that at all times throughout its history there have been men of large and tender natures who gave to those around them the benefit of the intense life surging within them without reckoning the cost unto themselves. Our poets, philosophers, scientists, and revolutionists have their memories embalmed in song and story because of this fact. Their lives have been one large reservoir from which society has taken time to time supplies of energy to renew and strengthen itself. Such a race which had been robbed of its vigour by the various excesses in which it had been plunged. In our social organisation, the factors of life and death are busy working out their inevitable efforts. Biology tells us that in the life of all organisms, from the animalcules which abound in the water to the huge social organism of humanity, we can find two elements constantly combating for supremacy. Inherent in organic life those two forces tend to opposite directions, one of them, the constructive force, having a tendency towards integration, development, life, while the other, destructive force, has a tendency towards disintegration and death; so that in our social life it is only the unit, who adds to the development of society, that can be termed truly moral. Morality is that which tends to life.

As a result of scientific investigations of philosophies have been built up, which in the usual course of time have degenerated into the dogmas which at present bar the road to a clearer conception of the various factors which tend to the progress and development of the human family.

Going back to that time when the economic conditions demanded a certain moral relationship in order to preserve the race, our philosophers have built up their systems upon those relations which existed then between men, and have gradually raised up as a scientific principle to be observed, one course of action individual struggle, which was by economic necessity called into existence, i.e., owing to the supply of nutrition being inefficient for the support and maintenance of the population. Forgetting or not understanding that the progress of human nature necessitates a negation of the economic and moral conditions from which society has taken its departure, they preach a morality which must find its justification in the Malthusian misconception, and, following on this line of thought, they continually and stupidly ignore the presence of the evolutionary force which comes from the practice of mutual aid or "Solidarity."

From Matthew to Huxley our savants have been unable to offer suggestions for the solution of the social problem which are compatible with the demands of our ethical conceptions, for the simple reason that they have inordinately offered to man a moral relationship fatally adverse to the economic facts and possibilities of life. Even our friends the Social Democrats linger in the mental rut which this belief in the conception of individual struggle has grooved out for them. At the bottom of the principle of state control lies the misconception of the interests of individuals being opposed to each other, and being led away by the false view, they bring government with its numerous parasitic attendants into the new order of life, to interfere, as if it could, with the harmonious arrangements of the people. Consequently they fail to encompass all that is essential for the free development of society. They fail in their philosophy to supply the freedom necessary for the creative faculties of man to bring forth those fruitful ideas which add to the material and moral welfare of the community, and dogmatically build up a system of reeking based upon governmental principles with a militant supervision capable of enforcing all the ideas of those in authority. This system, by the very nature of its organisation, reverses the relations of the social units, and makes them flow from the complex to the simple, instead of from the simple to the complex, and thereby logically allows only those in authority to improve and perfect all those things that add to the development of industry. Individual effort and initiative could only exist proportionally as the people broke away from the State.

Moreover their system of reeking wages is entirely contrary to the economic facts of the present day, and the promulgation of such shows an entire failure upon the part of the Social Democrat to recognise the tendency towards which the integration of labor points. In evolution, integration follows in the footsteps of division of labor, the tendency of which in the economic field is to render it impossible to discriminate what actual part of the whole belongs to the individual. In democratic circles this fact is tacitly recognised, but in the theory of so-called Scientific Socialism it is entirely ignored by keeping in existence the now philosophically discredited wage-subsidy.

Karl Marx when he averaged the time socially incorporated in commodities, and fixed the value of the individual's labor accordingly, recognized this industrial tendency, may more, he saw clearly that something more than mere equity of relations was required to preserve the life of society, and points out in his economic criticism that it is this faculty for giving more—this power and capacity for expansion and development in the life of the individual—which allows the capitalist to exploit the workers, thus adding one more proof in support of what is now recognised by Anarchists as a scientific principle—the inseparability of economies and morals. In his "Das Capital" Marx says "The commodity (labor power) that I have sold to you differs from the crowd of other commodities in that its use creates value and a value greater than its own. That is why you bought it." When he wrote this, Marx unconsciously brought his philosophy, which deals solely with the economic sale of the social problem, into line with the Anarchistic concept, simply yet beautifully expressed by Kropotkin in his "Anarchist Morality": "the condition of the maintenance of life is its expansion. In economic life in morals, the overflow, the superabundance of energy, the plentitude of life, must be directed towards social development. To live, society must move on; to halt, to place barriers in the path of its development means disintegration and death, or a recurrence of those agonising periods when revolutions broke the chains which bound man to a superstition past, and the Social Democrats, when they attempted the impossible task of reconstructing society on governmental principles, of placing the whole field of human activity under an authoritative dictatorship, and instituting an economic relationship of wage reeking.
takes the best possible plan of crushing the progressive force of the individuals who would add to the growth and development of society. They, also, give a relationship contrary to the economic facts of life. To reckon, means to work towards the solution of the fellows of you give no more than what you, in your very limited conception, imagine you receive from your fellows. It is impossible that such relations could hasten and even though it were possible the result would be social stagnation; society would die of inertia. To give, to add to the lives of those around you is the lesson which the human struggle teaches to the individual, and such is morality. Surely then it is much better to give than to receive.

If the principle of reckoning was applied to all things it would end in the universal glorification of that line of conduct denoted in the common saying "an eye for an eye," which is universally recognized to be ethically false. Even in the coming social readjustment, the workers must by stern necessity, fulfill this law of progress, as they cannot attain the freedom desired by simply turning the tables and placing the fundholders and capitalists in the position which is occupied by themselves at the present day. For the realization of the great social good which is the primary purpose of the exploders of labor, must be worked out in the coming revolution. Extermination of the persons who compose this class is absolutely impossible, even though desirable, as a look at the revolutionary movements of '89 will clearly show to one who has studied the facts of that period. That dreamless sleep is past, and the workers are compelled to recognize that a spirit of forgiveness must enter into their work, as well as of firmness and resolve to alter their social conditions. Then in their felicity of heart and amid the glory of success, the workers will once more write in the pages of history another proof of the much exploited precept "Tis better to give than to receive."

SOCIALISM IN DANGER.

By F. DOMELA NIENENHUIS.

(Continued from No. 11.)

It is recognized that success, even a temporary success, may justify a look at the business of the meeting of the Leftkampf made use of the following language:*

"Our arms are invincible. In the end brute force must ever retreat before the advance of the proletariat. The hour has struck, the hour of decision. The Socialist Democratic party is the strongest party in Germany. Is that not a convincing proof that we have been right in the tactics we have pursued? No. What have the Anarchists done? In France, in Italy, in Spain, in Belgium? Nothing, absolutely nothing! They have failed in whatever they have undertaken, and everywhere wrought injury to the movement. And the European workers have left them severely alone!"

This is indeed "full talk." We need only remark, by the way, that the Leftkampf have a nasty habit of calling every socialist who disagrees with him an anarchist. The word "anarchist" in his mouth is equivalent to traitor. That is an abominable misuse of words against which we must in all seriousness protest. If we asked in turn what Germany has obtained for the workers more than the above named countries, it would be difficult to answer. Leftkampf knows that perfectly well. Just a moment before he did the "high falutin'" we have ended, he had said: ("Ibid.," p. 204).

"The fact that up to the present time we have got nothing from Parliament is not a valid objection to parliamentarianism, but is simply due to our comparative weakness in the country, among the people.

In what then consists the superlative success of the German tactics? According to Leftkampf the Germans have done nothing, and the socialists in the countries cited have achieved the same result. Well, if that is what the Leftkampfists mean by the German method? Does not Leftkampf draw a most imposing picture of that social democracy which has absolutely done nothing?

Remark how the prestige of success is claimed as an evidence that the Leftkampf have had some success. But that was the reasoning of Napoleon the third and is the favourite argument of all tyrants; and such, alas, is the best justification that can be advanced to bolster up German tactics. The success, too, of which so much is made, is to put it mildly, a bit of a joke, or, at most, a slight success after a bitter struggle.

slightly mixed. What is the German party? Merely a large array of discontented citizens, not all social democrats."

Be it as it may, it is evident that if the Leftkampf is to be heard, the electoral statistics of the last election does not agree with it. (P. 192.)* "If the lengthening of the hours of labor, the stoppage of work by children, of Sunday work, and of night work, are grounds of boasting, then nothing of our agitations are of any use.

Everyone now knows that these reforms are not distinctly socialist; any radical will support them. Leftkampf recognizes that two-thirds of the agitation identified with the movement are on behalf of reforms not essentially socialist; now, if the party obtains a large number of votes at the elections, it is in a great measure due to the agitation undertaken to win these practical reforms, for which the social democrats have quite as much enthusiasm. Consequently ninetenths of the elements which form the party are satisfied with such palliatives, and the remaining tenth may be social democrats. What resolution purely socialist in character has been brought forward in Parliament by socialist members? Not one. Rebel said at Erfurt: ("Protokoll Erfurt," p. 174).

"The great aim of parliamentary action is the education of the people, and reformation of the state."

That is not quite correct. If that were so, there would be no good reason for keeping the masses in ignorance of the final purpose of social democracy. Why, for instance, propose that the ten-hour day should be inaugurated in 1890, the nine-hour day in 1894, and the eight-hour day in 1896 when that party was unanimously determined to agitate for a maximum eight-hour working day? No, the party tactics do not suit a working-class movement; they are better adapted to the small shopkeeper spirit, but degeneration has gone so far that it is quite a question how much longer such a spirit can exist in a class war. Here is what he said at Halle: ("Protokoll Halle," p. 58-37).

"But it not an anarchist way of fighting to look with suspicion upon all parliamentsm, all legal agitation? If that be true, what other way remains open?" So to his mind there can be no other agitation than legal agitation; a melancholy result of the fear of violent measures.

The immediate question of abolishing of any absolute evil increases the possibility of realizing the ideals of love, justice, and freedom. It is true, that the initial cause of much of the present-day injustice is the existence of private property, but every effort to improve the conducting of the affairs of to-day, must most certainly, if not in the most direct manner, tend to the realization of Anarchy.

(2) It is quite possible for an Anarchist-Communist to take part in the work of local government, and thus spread a knowledge of the advantages of socialist ideas, and thus increase the number of people able to comprehend the whole theory of Anarchy. If all people were educated, if their brain power were fully and properly developed, such an education would be one of the best means of giving a free system of living—that is of Anarchy. To occupy one’s self in education, in the development of schools, is therefore to increase the number of those who will work for Anarchy.

I think generally that a man who has for an ideal the love of man-kind, the desire for perfect freedom for himself and others, and who holds that property should be common to all, is an Anarchist-Communist. The idealistic idea of a social order which can but depend on a large measure on his education, mental powers, and surroundings. It is not possible to classify Anarchists as to their work as propagandists, nor is it desirable, when they are all working towards the realization of the same great ideal.

A. Hamon.

In reply to the following questions Henry Seymour writes:

(1) By no means. But the removal of evils engendered by discarding the capitalist system—which is the system of production and distribution based upon a class monopoly—can only be accomplished by means of a radical remedy, namely, the removal of the cause. All other efforts...
Another comrade replies as follows:

(1) The first work to be done for the spread of "the anarchist idea" is, propaganda in every direction, in the family, in the work-shop, among friends, at the street corners and in the parks, in creeds and public meetings, in all short, wherever it is possible to make the true principle understood; and in this way to advance it whether by speech, pen, or action. Activity will attract attention and make the principle evident. From this point of view, the very essence of it, will be led to reflection and hence the consciousness of their abject condition. But our energy must be intelligent, wise, and moral, without self-seeking or contempt for others, always making an effort through mutual respect and sympathy which must be imposed on those who have put it aside, profiting by the apathy of the people, an apathy that can only be abolished by revolutionary action.

(2) Anarchist activity, having for its end the complete transformation of modern society in order to attain the entire moral and economic emancipation of mankind, cannot waste its time in petty ameliorations of a state of things which it recognizes as radically wrong and constantly bound to disappear by means of a new social reconstruction. Certainly those who propose to establish a new social system, that system being wholly different from the old, will not bother themselves with patching up institutions that are rotten throughout, but will employ their energies in building the new edifice upon new foundations, so that it may possess a uniform strength and solidity. At present Anarchists live in an atmosphere adverse to their opinions, and in various ways they protest against the existing order of things, but they do not seem to have achieved much as yet, it is impossible to deny that they have succeeded in stirring the minds and consciences of many; and if the new aspirations and tendencies have been discussed, understood, and promulgated. Now if the transformation contemplated really involves the future well-being of humanity, and not a new generation of new oppressions, the present has the necessary satisfaction of its aspirations. Anarchy is not a coup d’etat accomplished by intrigues, money, and consciousesses; no, it is the realization by the peoples of their own development. Development of the conscience of mankind, which perceiving that all men are of one family will desire that all shall become equal, satisfying everyone in every need of their common nature and cooperating as effectively as they can the development of social progress. In a word, activity is the source of our strength, and the development of conscience our great end.

G. P.

"Competition is doomed. Once a good, it has now become an evil. But simultaneously—and probably as part of the same process—spring up as an evil the morality of society. Every minor inclination of this may be seen, felt. It is felt that the relation which systematically allows the weaker to go to the wall is not human."

Edward Carpenter.

Universal Suffrage.

Count de X meets his term of Finardi.

"You are going to vote, Finardi?"

"Why, yes, Monsieur Count, saving your resect."

"That’s right. And you are going to vote for the good candidates, aren’t you?

"Oh, certainly, Monsieur Count. See, there’s the ballot."

"But, you poor fellow, that’s the bad ticket: this is the good one."

"But how could I know that? I had not been for you, Monsieur Count? Thank you very much!"

And Finardi goes to the polls to deposit the ballot given him by the Count.

In the evening the Count meets Finardi.

"Good evening, Finardi! Then you voted right?"

"Oh, yes, indeed, Monsieur Count, thanks to you. But imagine the jest your bank played on you—now you know! I gave him the bad ticket and told him it was the good one, and he went and put it in the ballot-box. Ha, ha!"

When Adam, in bliss,

Ake Evée for a kiss,

She puckered up her lips with a coup—

Gave a look quite ecstatic.

And the answer emphatic —

"I don’t care, Adam, if you do."

W. A. Whittier.

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