CONTENTS

Between Ourselves.

Why I am a Communist.
By WILLIAM MORRIS.

An Anarchist on Anarchy.
By ELISEE RECLUS.

My Uncle Benjamin.
By CLAUDE TELLIER.

The Coming Emancipation.
(Poem.) By CONRAD NAGWICK.

International Notes.

A JOURNAL OF

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM

WILLIAM REEVES, 185, FLEET STREET, E.C.
AND OF J. TOCHATTI, CARMAGNOLE HOUSE, 7, BEADON ROAD, HAMMERSMITH.
THE COMING EMANCIPATION

By CONRAD NAELIGER

The sound of strife, the roar of distant battle,
The tramp of feet now fill the air;
The creak of scabbard, the musketry's sharp rattle,
Oh, how like it is that makes some men quail?
It means for every nation,
The slave's emancipation,
From drudgery, from poverty a gin clean,
It means that slavery shall soon be seen again.
Old what is it that makes the rich so troubled,
And fill their minds with anguish and with fear;
And with each other earnestly desire
As sounds of warfare fall upon each ear?
It means the day is breaking,
And Manhood is awakening.
From servitude, from human's creased pain,
It means that slaves soon shall be men again.

Hark! Hark the shout that sets the air in motion,
Ten million voices ring with one accord,
Oh! what is it that causes such commotion
Why search for ever in the very song?
It means the Revolution
Has found and given the grand solution,
How peace and love again on earth shall reign
It means that slaves soon shall be men again.

Then join your hands, ye workers of each nation,
Let 'Brotherhood' your motto ever be,
Then solved shall be the situation
And joy shall be where once reign'd misery,
Then good ye brothers, ye toilers,
To fight for your old dependents
Who long enough have kept you in their chain.
Who wish that slaves for ever you may remain.
Then hail the day when snapped shall be the chain
And slaves be freed, and ever free remain.

MY UNCLE BENJAMIN.

By CLAUB THILBER

For, note this: there always keeps company with servitude. It is a blessing that God, the great maker of compensations has created especially for those who become dependent upon a master, or fall under the hard and heavy hand of poverty. This blessing he has given them to console them for their miseries, just as he has made certain cranes to gnaw between the pavers that we tread under our feet, certain birds to ring on the old towers, and the beautiful运维 of the sky to sooth an aching heart.

Gritty flies, there are in the world above the splendid roofs of the great. It stops in the school yards at the gates of barracks, on the lonely throngings of prisons. It rests like a beautiful butterfly on the pen of the school-boy scribbling in his copy book. It hob-nobs at the canton with the old grenadiers; and never does it ring so bold—provided they let it sing as between the dark walls that confine the unfortunate.

For the rest, the vanity of the poor is sort of pride. I have been poor among the poorest. Well, I found pleasure in saying to fortune: I will not bend under your hand; I will eat my bread not as proudly as the dictator Lascases ate it; and shall I eat my poverty as kings wore their diamond studs as hard as you like, and strike again? I will answer your commands with sarcasm. I will let the tree that blooms while they are none stand at its root, like the column whose metal steals the sun in the same while the pole is moving at its base.

Dear readers, be content with these explanations, I can furnish you none more remarkable.

What a difference between that age and ours! The men of the constitutional regime is not a merry make, quite the contrary.

He is hypocrite, wretched, and profoundly selfish; whatever question strikes his fancy, his bow rings into a drawer full of big promises.

He is pretentious and swell with vanity, there comes the confidence of his neighbour, his household friend, and the confidence lays the leisure to accept the assurance of the details and consideration with which he has the honour to be, etc., etc.

The man of the constitutional regime has a mania for wishing to distinguish himself from the people. The father wears a blue cotton blouse and the son an Ellen's cloak.

To the man of the constitutional regime sacrifice is too costly to satisfy his vanity for making a show. He lives on bread and water, he dispenses with food and wine, and beer to court, in order to wear a coat made of 100% linen, an entire waistcoat, and velvet gloves. When others regard him as respectable, he regards himself as great.

He is prim and stiff, he does not shout, he does not laugh aloud, he knows not where to spit, he never makes one gesture more violent than another. He says very properly: "How do you do, Sir?", "How do you do, Maman." That is good behavior; now, what is good behavior? A lying varnish spread upon a bit of wood to make it pass for a case. We so behave before the ladies. Very well; but, before God, how must we behave?

He is pedestrian, he makes up for the wit that he has not by the purity of his language, as a good housewife makes up for the furniture which she lacks by order and cleanliness.

He is always observant of the proprieties. If he attends a banquet, he is silent and unoccupied. He swallows a cork for a piece of bread, and uses the cream for the melted butter. He waits till a toast is proposed before he drinks. He always has a newspaper in his pockets, he talks only of commercial treaties and railway lines, and laughs only in the Chamber of Deputies.

But, at the period to which I take you back, the customs of the little towns were not yet glossed with elegance; they were full of charming negligence and most agreeable simplicity. The characteristic of that generation was unconcern. All these men, ships or walnut-shells, abandoned themselves with closed eyes to the current of life, without troubling themselves as to whether it would land them.

The bourgeoisie, were not office-seekers; they were not miserly, they lived at home in joyous abundance, and spent their incomes to the last point. The merchants, instead of being known by how much they grew rich, clung rather devotedly to the customs of their trade, instead of hoarding their earnings.

But the abandonment of this society to merrymaking that all the lawyers and even the judges went to the wine shop, and there publicly took part in orgies. Far from fearing lest this might be known, they willingly hung their signs upon the branches of the tavern bush. All these people, crested and snuffed, seemed to have no other business than to amuse themselves; they exerted their ingenuity only in placing upon their shelves joke or in concocting some good story. They were thus in the usual wit, instead of expanding it in its infinite, expanded it in its instrument.

The loafers, and there were many of them, either in the public square, or to them, market-days were days of fun. The present who came to bring their presents to the tone were their martyrs, they practised on them the most wicked and witty tricks; all the neighbors formed to set their share of the shows. The pains and anguish of a sight would pass quite well the hand of the court officers of that time enjoyed those banquets.
Zola and Anarchism.

It is impossible to stop the rising tide of Anarchist ideas.

Disrespect for a Superior Race

A cabbly nearly runs over two guardsians of the peace standing on the boulevard.

"Did you see that?" says one of the guardsians.

"A little more, and he would have crushed us like people!"

AN ANARCHIST ON ANARCHY.

By ELIJAH REGUS.

Governments at least talk not to the poor about fraternity; they do not torment them with so many a jest. It is true that in some countries the jargon of courts compares the sovereign to a father whose subjects are his children, and upon whom he pours the inexhaustible stream of his benevolence. Theتخذناءلا, and is always on the watch to protect him, by the law of grace, or the law of gratitude. But there are very few now that make any claim to this quasidivinity. Shorn of the sanctions of religion, they no longer hold themselves accountable for the general weal, contenting themselves, instead with procuring good administration, impartial justice, and strict economy in the administration of public affairs.

Let history tell how these promises have been kept. Nobody can study contemporary politics without being struck by the truth of the words attributed to Voltaire and Lord Chesterfield: "Go, my son, and see with how little wisdom the world is governed." 1 It is now a matter of common knowledge that power, whether its nature be beneficent, atrocious, or demonstrable, whether it be based on the right of the sword, of inheritance, or of election, is wielded by men neither better nor worse than their fellows, but whose position exposes them to greater temptations to do evil. Rais'd above the crowd, whose大量 are a prey to envy, considering themselves essentially superior beings, solicited by ambition in a thousand forms, by vanity, greed, and rapacity, they are all the more easily corrupted that they are exposed to life. Power is the ultimate secret of all virtue and vice. And possessing as they do a preponderant influence in all things, holding the powerful lever whereby is moved the immense mechanism of the State--functions, order, and police--one of their severities, their failings or their crimes repeats itself in daily experience and magnifies as it grows. It is only too true: a fit of impatience in a Sovereign, a crook'd look, an equivocal word, may plunge nations into mourning and be from that moment and for a long time, a checkmate to all their efforts.

Eagles, breeders, brought up to a knowledge of Biblical lore, will remember the striking parable of the toes that wanted a king. 1 The peaceful and the strong, those who love work and whose hands are in the soil, and those who sprout from the vine that produces the wine, "which eleventh God and man," refuse to reign the bramble boughs, and that of innumerable briers is burnt which feeds the flames of

Can it be said that the laws and their interpreters show towards all men the ideal equity as it exists in the popular conception? Are the laws blinding, or do they diminish the subtleties of the rich, the purple of the poor, the black of the noble, the murder of the gentle, the gray of the wise, the black of the cruel, the red of the brave, the blue of the sanguinary, the green of the subtle? Can they be considered as in any way more equitable, or even as impartial?

The Rule of the Fight a Fable.

Now it so happened that it came to pass that His Excellency the State became exceeding wrath against His Insignificance the Individual. So it happened that he did therefore challenge the said Insignificance to do mortal combat with him.

So they met, and His Insignificance did then and there throw to small round object, which was also black, at His Excellency, butting the same with exceeding power, when it was examined in great anger.

"Wretch, brute! you beer-drinking bond-thresher you—do you not know—are you not aware—that the rule of the fight is that only I do the striking?" Whereupon he proceeded to extinguish His Insigni-

George Forrest.
LIBERTY.

FEBRUARY, 1894.

The Trade Returns for the past year again show a great falling off. England no longer controls the markets of the world. Countries we have exploited for years are now competing with us. Centralization of production, like everything else, cannot last for ever. The decentralization which has set in cannot be stopped. Our master's profit-mongering is breaking down, for want of customers.

Miss Josephine Butler is of opinion that the troubles in Sicily are not the result of Anarchist terrorism or interference, nor have they any direct political bearing. The cause of all the trouble, she says, is simple but tragic—it is hunger, starvation. Miss Butler heard this in the house of a senator in Rome, from the lips of a Sicilian deputy.

The Fate of the Shareholder.

Recent manifestations of Anarchist activity strike dismay into the hearts of railway and other shareholders. During the past few months the "Railway Times" has had numerous paragraphs and notes showing concern at the alarming spread of revolutionary doc-

tructures. The first issue of January 14 expresses January 14 expressions lost Eng-

land should be on the verge of some great misfortune.

On October 28th last, the above representative organ of railway shareholders in England, expressed the opinion that "Railway share-

holders need look for nothing better than a short shrift and a sure 
case, if the the Socialists ever come into power in this country," while a few weeks before (Sept. 30th) it pictured Mr. Scotter, manager of the S. W. R., being "broken on the wheel" by the revolutionary party, one of the "bona fide" contemporary, the "Railway Times"; in the above cases, ab-

solutely exaggerates the ferocity of Anarchists and Socialists.

It must not be supposed that after the Revolution, shareholders, lawyers, legislators, or other criminals will be executed indiscriminately. They will certainly have to do much work, and perhaps some will become good citizens. The fate predicted by the "Railway Times" is not likely to occur after the abolition of Monopoly and Government.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Italy is in revolt, the people furiously rising up to protest against the taxes, against a Government which has lost all hope of remaining in office. The Italian Government having no longer any moral force in endeavouring by violence to repress and suffocate the efforts of a country weary of enduring misery of the most cruel kind. The priests are crowded with insurgents and persons suspected by the Government. Everywhere, while the dead and wounded by hundreds, are a source of disgust to the whole country as to what the morrow may bring forth. Every province is agitated. The Government knows not what to do to prevent the insurrectionary movement becoming general. Sicily has already been declared in rebellion. A large state of siege, 80,000 soldiers being in that island, spreading dismay and death in every part of it. At Messina, too, a state of siege has been declared. In Lavorino, and other localities in Toscany will shortly find themselves in the same condition. Banks of armed men have succeeded in reaching the mountains, where they wage furious conflicts with the military. The Minister of War, too, has been obliged to call upon the soldiers specially retained for the defence of the Alps, to pursue the insurgents. Work is at a complete standstill everywhere, commerce and industry in their death agony yesterday, have been killed outright by the insurrections of to-day. Commercial lives are no longer noticed, the shops put up their shutters in the evening the same as they took them down in the morning, without doing a single business all day. The question is not a political one, but is plainly economic. It is therefore no longer a question of making verbal con-

missions, but material ones in order to render easier the life of a whole people, now plunged in the most abject misery and wretchedness.

* * *

In the Reichstag, Herr Singer, Socialist, condemned the action of the police in maintaining relations with Anarchists and Government spies, and instanced the case of a journalist who, he said, was the first Count von Caprivi's life. Herr Singer proceeded to state that when Herr von Puttkamer was Minister of the Interior the journalist referred to was appointed as a special agent of the Home office in London at a salary of 450 marks a month. While there he procured admission to an Anarchist society, which, however, eventually expelled him. He was the same individual who brought the Anarchist Revue to a premature end.

He was now to be seen daily in the reporters' gallery in the Reichstag, in the same capacity as a reporter.

It would thus appear, said Herr Singer in conclusion, that the police were not such innocent angels as they were represented to be.
WHY I AM A COMMUNIST.

By WILLIAM MORRIS.

Objection has been made to the use of the word "Communism" to express fully-developed Socialism, on the ground that it has been used for the Community-building, which played so great a part in some of the phases of Utopian Socialism, and is still heard of from time to time nowadays. Of Communism in this sense I am not writing now; it may merely be said in passing that such experiments are of their nature non-progressive; at their best they are but another form of the Mediaval monastery, withdrawn upon the Society of the day, really implying hopelessness of a general change; which can only attainable by the development of Society as it is; by the development of the consequences of its faults and anomalies, as well as of what germ of real Society it contains.

This point of mistaken nomenclature being cleared off, it remains to ask what real Communism is, and the answer is simple: it is a state of Society the essence of which is Practical Equality of condition. Practical, i.e., equality as modified by the desires, and capacity for enjoyment of its various members. This is its economic basis; its ethical basis is the holiest and purest action as a social being, so that it brings about the habit of making no distinction between the common welfare and the welfare of the individual.

I am a Communist, therefore, because—1st, it seems to me that mankind is not thinkable outside of Society; and 2ndly, because there is no other basis, economical and ethical, save that above stated, on which a true Society can be formed; any other basis makes waste and unnecessary suffering an essential part of the system. In short I can see no other system under which men can live together except these two, Slavery and Equality.

The first of these two says, some standard of worth has been determined (of course not as a result of the immediate agreement of men living under such and such a system, but of the long development of many centuries) those who have attained to that standard are the masters of those who have not so attained, and live as well as surrounding circumstances, together with a quasi-equitable arrangement amongst the worthy, will allow them, by using those who have not come up to the standard above mentioned: in the dealings between the worthy with the non-worthy there is no attempt at any equitable arrangement (I was going to say in my day that would not be quite true); the worthy use their advantage to the almost, and it is a recognized assumption that the non-worthy are in a state of permanent inferiority, and their well-doing or ill-doing must be looked at from quite a different point of view from that of the worthy.

For instance at the present day, the income which would imply ruin and disgrace to a member of the worthy class, would mean success and prosperity to a working man. It must be added that the standard of superiority is always an arbitrary one, and does necessarily mean any real superiority on the side of the worthy; and that especially in our own days, when the unworthy or disinterested class is the one class which has any real function, is, in fact, the useful class; the functions of the worthy amongst us being directed solely towards their own class; they being otherwise a burden on the whole people.

Now this theory of society has been held for the most part from early historical periods till our own days, though from time to time there have been protests raising no present, but at the present day that which has always been there. In its two earlier phases, both and race, i.e., the belonging, really or theoretically, to the lineage of the original conquering tribe, conferred the privilege of using the labour of those not so recognized; and Chattel Slavery was the method of using their labour in Ancient, and Serfdom in Mediaval times. In our own days the method of exercising privilege has changed from the use of the arbitrary accident of birth, to the acquisition (by any means not recognized as illegal) of an indeterminate amount of wealth which enables its possessors to belong to the useless class.

It would not be very profitable to discuss which of these three systems of inequality, to wit, Chattel Slavery, Serfdom, or Wage-Earning, is per se the better or the worse; it is enough to say that since the present one has come down to us in due course of development from the others, it gives us a hope of progress which could not have belonged to them. And, in fact, a new theory of Society can now be put forward, not as a mere abstraction, but as a root change in Social conditions which is in actual course of realization.

This theory is Communism; which says: In a true Society the capacities of all men can be used for their mutual well being; the due unwasteful use of those capacities produces wealth in the proper sense of the word and cannot fail to produce it; this wealth produced by the Community can only be fully used by the Community; for if some get more than they need, that portion which cannot be used must of necessity be wasted, and the whole Community is impoverished thereby; and again further impoverished by the necessity for the producers having to work harder than they otherwise need, which in its turn brings about grievances and burdensome inequality; for all men feel unnecessary work to be slavish work. Again, though men's desires for wealth vary, yet certain needs all men have, and since we have seen that it is the Community which produces wealth in a true Society, to force on any class lack of these needs is to practically thrust them out of the Community and constitute them a class of inferiority; and since we know that they can all work usefully, on what grounds can we do this? Certainly on no grounds that they as men can really agree to. We must force them into submission, or caple them into it. And when force and fraud are used to keep any man in an artificial inequality, there is an end of true Society.

Communism, therefore, can see no reason for inequality of conditions, nor is there any necessity for each one to receive from each one according to his capacities, must always be its motto. And if it be challenged to answer the question, what are the needs of each and such a man, how are they to be estimated? The answer is that the habitual regard towards Society as the real unit, will make it impossible for any man to think of claiming more than his genuine needs. I say that it will not come into his mind that it is possible for him to advance himself by injuring someone else. While, on the other hand, it will be well understood that unless you satisfy a man's need you cannot make the best of his capacities. We are sometimes asked by people who do not understand either the present state of society or what Communism aims at, as to how we shall get people to be doctors, learned scientists, etc., in the new condition of things.

The answer is clear: by affording opportunities to those who have the capacity for doing it; the necessary cost of such opportunities being borne by the Community; and as the position of a doctor who has mistaken his vocation would clearly be an uncomfortable one in a society where people know their real wants, and as he could earn his livelihood by engaging happiness to do, he would be delivered from the very serious temptation of pretending to be a doctor when he is not one.

I might go through a long series of objections which ignorant persons make to the only reasonable form of Society, but that is scarcely my business here. I will
assert that I am a Communist because, amongst other reasons, I believe that a Communal Society could deal with every problem with which a Capitalist Society has difficulty to deal, but with free hands and therefore with infinitely better chance of success. I believe that a Communal Society would bring about a condition of things in which we should be really wealthy, because we should have all we produced, and should know what we wanted to produce; that we should have so much leisure from the production of what are called "utilities," that any group of people would have leisure to satisfy its cravings for what are usually locked up as superfluous, search of superior art, research into facts, literature, the unspoiled beauty of nature; matters that to my mind are utilities also, being the things that make life worth living and which at present nobody can have in their fulness.

I believe in the final realization of this state of things, and now I come to the method by which they are to be reached. And here I feel I shall be dealing in matter about which there may be and must be various opinions even amongst those who are consciously trying to bring about Communal conditions.

In the first place I do not (who does really) believe in Capitalistic Communism. That we shall go to sleep on Saturday in a Capitalistic Society and wake on Monday into a Communal Society is clearly an impossibility. Again I do not believe that our end will be gained by open war; for the executive will be too strong for even an attempt at such a thing to be made until the change has gone so far, that it will be too weak to dare to attack the people by means of direct physical violence.

What we have to do first is to make Socialists. That we shall always have to do until the change is come. We are not always to waste our time in agitation. The times are changed; the movement towards a communal life has spread wonderfully within the last three or four years; the instinctive feeling towards Socialism has at last touched the working classes, and they are moving towards the great change; how quickly it is not easy for us, who are in the midst of the movement, to determine; but this instinct is not leading them to demand the full change directly; rather they are attacking those positions which must be won, before we come face to face with the last citadel of Capitalism, the privilege of rent, interest, and profit. Broadly speaking, they see that their masters and their masters’ masters are too weak to do an improved life, better livelihood, treatment in short as citizens, not as machines. I say from their masters: for there is nowhere else whence it can come.

Now to show sympathy with this side of the movement, and to further those who are working for it, is a necessity, if we are to make Socialists nowadays. For again I say it is the form in which the workers are taking in Socialism; the movement is genuine and spontaneous amongst them; and how important that is, those who know best who remember how a few years ago the movement was confined to a few persons, of education and of superior intelligence, most of whom belonged by position to the middle classes. Neither need we fear that when the working classes have gained the above mentioned advantages they will stop there. They will not and they cannot. For the results of the struggle will force upon them the responsibilities of managing their own affairs, and mastership will wane before Communal management almost before people are aware of the change at hand.

This will bring us at last to the period of what is now understood by the word Socialism when the means of production and the markets will be in the hands of those who can use them, i.e., the operatives of various kinds; when good accumulations of wealth will be impossible, because money will have lost its privilege; when everybody will have an opportunity of doing what he likes; and this period of incomplete Communism will, I believe, gradually melt into true Communism without any violent change. At first indeed, money will not be absolutely equal in condition; the old habit of rewarding excellence or special rare qualities with extra money payment will go on for a while, and some will possess more wealth than others; but as on the one hand they will have to work in order to possess that wealth, and on the other the excess of it will provide them but small advantage in a Society tending towards equality, as in fact they will learn to understand that in a Community where none are poor, it is wealth beyond the real needs of a man cannot be used, and that it shall begin to cease estimating worth by any standard of material reward, and the possession of complete equality as to condition will be accepted without question.

I do not say that gifted persons will not try to excel, but their excellence will be displayed not at the expense of their neighbours but for their benefit.

By that time also we shall have learned the true secret of happiness, to wit, that it is brought about by the preferable exercise of our energies; and since opportunity will be given for everyone to do the work he is fitted for under pleasant and unburdensome conditions, there will be no drudgery to escape from, and consequently no competition to thrust ones neighbour out of his place in order to attain to it.

As to what may be called the business conduct of Communism, it has been said often, and rightly as I think, that it will concern itself with the administration of things rather than the government of men. But this administration must take form, and that form must not be necessary to democratic and federative; that is to say, there will be certain units of administration, ward, parish, commune, whatever they may be, these units all federated within certain circles, always enlarging. And in such a body, if differences of opinion arise, as they would be sure to do, there would be surely nothing for it but that they should be settled by the will of the majority. But it must be remembered that whereas in our present state of society, in every assembly there are struggles between opposing interests for the mastery, in the assemblies of a Communal Society, there would be no opposition of interests, but only divergencies of opinion, as to the best way of doing things; and there it will be certain that the matter would give way without any feeling of injury. It is a matter of course that since everybody would share to the full in the wealth and good life won by the whole community, everybody would share in the responsibility of carrying on the business of the community, but this business of administration they would as sensible people reduce as much as possible, that they might be the freer to use their lives in the pleasure of living, and creating, and knowing, and resting.

This is a brief sketch of what I am looking forward to as a Communist; to sum up, it is Freedom from artificial disabilities; the development of all men’s capacities for the benefit of each and all. Abolition of waste by taking care that one man does not get more than he can use, and another less than he needs; consequent condition of general well-being and fulness of life, neither idle and vacant, nor over-hardened with toil.

All this I believe we can and shall reach directly by insisting on the claim for the communization of the means of production; and that claim will be made by the workers when they are fully convinced of its necessity, I believe further that they are growing, that the world is ready for it, and that one day make their claim by means of the means which the incomplete democracy of the day will provide them with. That is they will at last be
a wide-spread and Jules Sociah party, which, work by force the A. M. work from the present Possession of the instruments which are now used to govern the people in the interest of the possessing classes, and will use them for effecting the change in the basis of society, which would get rid of the last of the three great expressions of the world.

This is the only road which I can see towards the attainment of Communism. Some while ago we, or some of us, may have seen it; but growing hope has now pointed it out to us; and it seems to us that we are destined to use it if we are in earnest in wishing to see Communism realized. I am opposed to Anarchism itself, but for reasons, because it forbids the use of the only successful method for bringing about the great change of property, inequality, and poverty to equality and general wealth. So much for its tactics.

As to its theory, I must say that I cannot recognize Anarchism (as it has been explained to me) as a possible conception of Society, for it seems to me in utter contradiction to the interests of society. I rather look upon it as a mood engendered by the wrongs and follies of our false society of inequality, and which will disappear with them. A kind of idealized despair, surely not justified by the state of the social-political movement of today, which is most certainly setting towards Anarchism in its narrower sense, and consequently towards Socialism in its wider sense; which is what I have been speaking of as Communism.


the question, therefore, that Mr. Shaw raises of whether Anarchists are not whether their principles, or those of Social Democrats are the more logical or the more comprehensive in the analysis of human nature and of social tendencies on which they are based, but merely whether they are the more opportune. It is the old, old question, whether the narrower or wider expanse is the widest guide for conduct.

We do not deny that probably the democratic movement has gained sufficient power to complete itself, at all events in some countries. We do not deny that the revolutionary forces now working in society will probably effect the change from individualism to Socialism, in some lands at least, through attempts to modify the wage-system and devise methods of governmental administration of land and capital and governmental direction of industry and agriculture. But in our eyes this is no reason whatever why we should devote our energies to bringing about those changes about. Nor does it alter the case at all, if it be demonstrated that either democratic governmental administration, or modifications of the wage-system may, to some small extent benefit the workers, and so help to pave the way for more far reaching changes. Even if these reforms could secure each hog a far share of grab, which we greatly doubt, still we must not be contented to spend our energies on striving for them as an end and aim. The only aim we can honestly and energetically strive for is the attainment of a social condition which shall satisfy the cravings and aspirations of the whole man. All our endeavors must go to pave the way for that full satisfaction—the highest good we can now see, or indeed we should have neither heart nor hope for the struggle.

And this is not because we despise the day of small things, or imagine that a free society can be established in one generation, or in two. Rather it is largely because we are convinced that reforms and betterments are certain to follow in the wake of an energetic revolution-propaganda, and alleviate the misery of the worker so that he can face fresh courage to revolt.

In revolutionary periods the fears of the ruling classes, the honest efforts of folk who see nothing better to do, the maneuvers of politicians to keep or gain power, all work together to bring about temporary relief measures. And the thoroughness and usefulness of these partial reforms depend largely on the strength and thoroughness of the revolutionary feeling in society and on the far-sightedness and determination of the demands of the people. The more they ask for the more they will get.

Thus, even from the opportunistic point of view, we contend that the larger, fuller, and more thorough the program of the advanced party, the nearer will the hand pressed worker get his few shillings more, his few more legs, and other such palliatives of his lot. Let him and the Socialists ask for those things only, and they may agitate and organize forever. Let them show a little revolutionary spirit, and the threatened masses will gradually devise and apply reforms to save their privileges.

With the opportunism of the practical humanitarian, who, losing the case at last, devotes himself to such deeds of small benefaction may lighten the burden of the populace; but which touch him, we have much sympathy. But we refuses to find it more than the infinitesimal at the opportunity of a present in the days of universal reform, far from seeking to lessen the miseries of the masses by wholly insuring the condition of the higher classes—low wages, etc., etc.
Liberty Bookshelf

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

By Peter Kropotkine.

AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG. Translated from the French. Price 1d.

The most eloquent and noble appeal to the generous and daring young men of the world.

WAR. Reprinted from the "Anarchist." A clear and concise account of the war in Europe, with a single light on the inevitable war among the aspiring classes.

EXPROPRIATION. An Anarchist Essay. landlord takes flight! What may be for science, and for the people and their interests.

THE PLACE OF ANARCHISM IN SOCIALISTIC EVOLUTION. Price 1d.

"You must often have asked yourselves what is the cause of the crime. It is the inevitable war among the aspiring classes, and the indispensable one that of Anarchism."

LAW AND AUTHORITY. 24 pp. Price 1d.

The main supporters of crime are authority, law, and injustice. As such they are the cause of war among the aspiring classes, and the indispensable one that of Anarchism."

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT. Price 1d.

ANARCHIST MORALITY. 36 pp. Price 1d.

"Suffering is that which makes us live and toil. The more we do, the more we grow."-The social struggle will find a job greater than anything else can.

ANARCHIST-COMMUNISM. Its Basis and Principle. 36 pp. Price 1d.

By William Morris.

MONOPOLY, OR HOW LABOUR IS ROBBED. Price 1d.

TRUE AND FALSE SOCIETY. 1d.

THE REWARD OF LABOUR. A Dialogue. 1d.

NEWS FROM NOWHERE. A Utopian Romance. Cloth, 1s. 6d.


ART AND SOCIALISM. 3d.

THE TABLES TURNED; or, NAPKINS AWAKENED. A Socialist Interlude. Price 1d.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By E. Belfort Bax. Price 2s. 6d.

OUTLOOKS FROM THE NEW STANDPOINT. By E. Belfort Bax. Price 2s. 6d.

GODWIN'S POLITICAL JUSTICE: On Property. Edited by H. S. Salt. Price 2s. 6d.


ANARCHY. By Enrico Malatesta. Price 1d.

A TALK ABOUT ANARCHIST COMMUNISM Between Two Workers. By Enrico Malatesta. Price 1d.


EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION. By Edesee Reeves. Price 1d.

REVOLUTIONARY STUDIES. 32 pp. Price 2d.

THE CRIMES OF GOVERNMENT. By J. Scherer. Price 2d.

WHERE TO GET "LIBERTY."


Will be issued shortly.

ANARCHY AT THE BAR.

A Speech delivered at the Old Bailey by DAVID NICOUL in answer to a charge of Soliciting to Murder, on May 5, 1892.

The Walsall Anarchists Innocent Men in Penal Servitude! = Trapped by the Police! The Truth about the Walsall Plot.

POLICE SPIES AND INFORMERS.

Those who want information as to plots put up by the wretches employed by the police should read this pamphlet.

Both pamphlets post free for threepence from David Nicoil, 191, Clarence Road, Kenning Town, N. W.

Walsall Anarchist Pamphlet Publication Fund—All subscriptions for this fund should be sent to the Treasurer, Robert Bingham, 69, Black Street, Shefield.