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International Federation of Anarchists.

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ANARCHIST COMMUNISM

WILLIAM REEVES. 185, FLEET STREET, E.C.
MONOPOLY AND THE MAKING OF CRIMINALS.

Br. HENRY C. DONOVAN.

At a recent meeting of the British Phrenological Association Mr. Webb read a paper which he entitled the "Uses of Phrenology." The paper was a very good one of its kind, but he dealt lightly with the uses of this science, and devoted much of his time to a defence of Gall and his co-workers, and to an expose of the usual attacks that have been made on phrenology from time to time, and not only that, but he went on to show that every child of the modern school will not hesitate to take unto themselves the credit of some so-called discoveries which Dr. Gall, spurious, Vermont, and others had discovered long ago.

A discussion followed, in the course of which Mr. Donovan said that the reader of the paper had referred to Cardinal Manning whose portrait was before the audience. It was easy for any one having the slightest knowledge of Phrenology to see that, owing to a very small development of the organ of Alimentiveness, the Cardinal must have led an abstemious life, not from any process of reading on his part, or from a knowledge that in order to lead a good life it was necessary to be abstemious in eating and drinking, but from the fact that he could not do otherwise, and therefore unto him it was a property of easiness. But mental organization got no credit for this; none of those who had sung the praises of this good man had ever hinted that he was by nature filled to lead an abstemious life; the credit was given to his religious mind.

And if a further glance is devoted to the Cardinal's head it will be seen that, though his desire for food and drink was small, yet it can be noticed from the fullness of that part of the head where is situated the organ of "Faith," that it cannot be said that he was moderate in that direction. The men provided for him by the English Church was not enough for his spiritual appetite; he wanted more, and in order to gratify his desire for such kind of good living he went to another place where he could get the dishes he required served up hot. His perceptive vigour was not very well developed, but the reflective and speculative portion of his forehead which bears the name of "Conscience" could be explained without the assistance of the New Testament and the early Fathers of the Church of Rome.

With regard to Mr. Wegg's remarks about the criminal classes Mr. Donovan did not quite follow him. As far as his knowledge and observations on the heads of the criminal classes went he did not see how phrenology could be of much use in this direction, because men become members of the criminal classes more from our economic and political conditions than from any predisposition on the part of the majority of the men, woman, and children who happen to get into prison. It was all very well to talk of the influence of religion and education having a deterrent effect on the lower classes. It had, as far as he could see, no good effect whatsoever, for a knowledge of the ten commandments and good instructions in the very peculiar history connected with the books of Genesis, together with the details associated with the history of the human race, and death of Jesus Christ, would not in any way prevent the religiously instructed child, youth, or adult from feeling the pangs of hunger caused by a flow of gastric juice into the stomach, and the corrosive action of which on the coats of an empty stomach was in no way affected by the preaching of the hosts of professional soul-savers outside the prison walls, or the gentlemen of the same calling who are provided by the State for the benefit of the prisoners inside. It was very soothing; no doubt, to hear a good preacher hold forth on the sins of the world when the stomach was in a nice con-

dition, and the gastric juices pleasantly engaged in digesting food and not knowing at the coats of an empty stomach. For men to be good, to lead a life without inflicting discomfort and annoyance on others, they must have some means of getting a sufficiency of food, clothing, and shelter. We were told that these things are around us in abundance; that there is over production of food and clothing, and a good many houses unlet. That was so, but they were not free, they were held by the monopolists. Hence there was starvation in the midst of plenty, and the shivering outcast in sight of empty houses.

A man with an evenly balanced head was just as likely to suffer the pangs of hunger as the man who not even a phrenologist would call of a high type. There could be no classification in our present disorderly system. The physical labor type had often, through stress of circumstances, to follow pursuits and callings for which they were not mentally fitted. If a youth with a full development of the organs in the base of the brain, such as amativeness and allimentiveness and not much controlling power, was sent into the city—say for instance into a bank, where he has to lead a sedentary life, it was very certain that he would be more likely to fall into temptation and thereby become one of the criminal classes than one who was more fitted to lead such a life. The temptations for one man were no temptation what for another under similar circumstances and was more man's poison. For the first man should never have been put to such employment, but put to his proper sphere, that is, in some occupation where fresh air and wholesome toil would produce a desire for repose and such recreations as would stimulate those parts of the brain that had been quiet during the hours of legitimate toil. Jabez Balfour is a case in point. As a farmer he would have been a very useful member of society, but as a city man he had caused, as many men are doing now, a great deal of unpleasant feeling amongst the investing public. This topic recalled (said Mr. Donovan) to his memory the case of Mrs. Manning, who was a native of Switzerland, and who, had she been left to spend her days in the open air on a loyal and wholesome diet, would have led a harmless life, and would no doubt have married and lived happily. But no, Swiss lady's manners and Swiss volets were the fashion at that time, so in order to improve her condition she wrote letters and ultimately became Lady B's maid, when a life of idleness and high-pressure living had its natural effect on such a mental organization as she possessed—a large brain and a very full development of amativeness and allimentiveness. Her career downwards was that which any phrenologist would have predicted. Lady B. was compelled to dismiss her; she married a publican; and ultimately the hangman at Horsemonger Lane jail sent her into eternity with a sure and certain hope of immediate resurrection. Her cast is to be seen on the shelf of many phrenological collections as one of the criminal type.

Our game laws are excellently fitted for the manufacture of criminals; in fact it is on a par with all our connected with the protection of property, and when blackberries and mushrooms become private property (as a part of the country county councils have suggested) there will then be a marked increase of crime amongst the children of the lower classes.

In the Cape Colony and Natal the possessing classes have manufactured a means of turning men into criminals which does not exist in any other part of the British dominions, that is, it is a crime to have in their possession a piece of crystallized carbon without being able to produce a broker's receipt for the same, but it is not a crime if the diamond has been cut and set in metal.

In Great Britain it is game: in the Cape it is rough diamonds: in India it is a crime to be caught manufactur-
URING SALT FROM SALINE EARTHS OR SEA WATER; AGAIN IN GREAT
BRITAIN IT IS A CRIME TO CATCH THE VAPOR ARISING FROM THE
FORMATION OF SUGAR, STARCH, OR VEGETABLE FIBRE
WHENEVER IT IS THE GOVERNMENT OF THE STRAITS
SETTLEMENTS; IT IS NOT A CRIME TO HAVE IN YOUR
TOBACCO POUCH THE SAME ON LANDING IN ENGLAND IT IS.
AND SO WE MIGHT GO ON AND ENUMERATE MANY
INNOCENT ACTS WHICH THE LAW MAKES CRIMINAL
IN ONE COUNTRY AND NOT IN ANOTHER; SO THAT A GREAT DEAL
OF OUR CRIME, AND, IN FACT, ALL OF IT CAN BE LAID TO THE
CREDIT OF OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM. IN ORDER TO RETAIN THE
POWERS OF MONOPOLY IT IS NECESSARY TO HAVE THE TYRANNICAL
POWERS OF MAKING, OR RATHER TURNING HARMLESS MEN INTO
CRIMINALS.
PHRENOLOGY WOULD NO DOUBT BE OF GREAT SERVICE IN THE
CLASSIFICATION OF CRIME. IT WOULD BE OF VALUE IN GUIDE-
NING MEN AND WOMEN TO THE WORK IN HARMONY WITH
THEIR MENTAL AND PHYSICAL CAPACITIES; BUT BY THE TIME WE
WE ARE WISE ENOUGH TO EMPLOY THIS SCIENCE IN THE CLASSI-
FICATION OF MEN AND WOMEN INSIDE OUR PRISON WALLS, WE
SHALL BE WISE ENOUGH TO ABBEY THE MEANS BY WHICH USEFUL
MEN AND WOMEN ARE TURNED INTO USELESS CRIMINALS
OUTSIDE THE PRISON. WE SHALL KNOW THAT IN ORDER TO GET
THE BEST RESULT FROM THE DARKNESS IS TO TAKE NONE;
GOOD AND INDEX TO ONE ANOTHER, THE MEANS OF FOOD,
CLOTHING, AND SHELTER MUST NOT BE KEPT UNDER THE LOCK
AND KEY OF PRIVATE OWNERSHIP, BUT MUST BE FREE TO ALL.

PHRENOLOGY TEACHES US THAT THERE ARE NO BAD MEN;
BUT, AT THE SAME TIME WE CAN SEE THAT MEN MUST INEVI-
TABLE BE DRIVEN TO DO DOOFUL AND DEGRADED THINGS
UNDER DISTRESSFUL AND DEGRADING CONDITIONS; AND THESE
DEGRADED AND DEGRADING CONDITIONS EXIST NOW, WHEN WE
SEE WEALTH, LUXURY, AND IDLENESS ON ONE SIDE, AND POVERTY
WITH ALL ITS ACCOMPANYING TEMPTATIONS ON THE OTHER.
WHEN MEN ARE FREE TO LIVE AND WORK IN ACCORDANCE WITH
THEIR MENTAL AND PHYSICAL CAPACITIES THE DAYS OF CRIME
WILL BE OVER, AND PRISONS WILL BE NO MORE.

Page 106, twentieth line from beginning, read removing for reading.

SOCIALISM IN DANGER.
BY F. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS.

[Continued from No. 152]

WHERE ARE WE TO LOOK FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY LIEBNECHT WHO
WAS SO STRONGLY MAINTAINED THAT "SOCIALISM IS NO LONGER A MATTER
OF THEORY BUT A MATTER OF FACT, THAT IT IS THE FORMER
PARLIAMENTARISM AND THE LATTER THE PROLETARIAT"
WHO LIVED YEARS AGO IN THE "SHOPLER'S REPRESENTATIVE" OF TODAY.
AFTER HAVING SAID THAT "WITH UNIVERSEFFAGE, TO VOTE OR NOT TO
VOTE IS ONLY A QUESTION OF EXPEDIENCE NOT OF PRINCIPLE," HE
CONCLUDES: "THEIR SPEECHES CANNOT HAVE ANY DIRECT INFLUENCE UPON LEGISLATION.
"WE SHALL NOT CONVERT PARLIAMENT WITH WORDS.
"BY OUR SPEECHES WE CAN ONLY SCANTY THINGS AMONG THE PEOPLE THAT
IT IS POSSIBLE TO PROCLAIM MORE EFFECTIVELY IN THIS WAY.
"OF WHAT REAL SERVICE THEN ARE SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT? NONE.
AND TO TALK ABOUT PARTISANSHIP OR CYCLSTRA FOR THE PROLETARIAT
THAT KNOWS ITS DUTIES AND LIKES TO COME TO THE
THAT IS NOT A STRATEGY BUT A SUCKING OF FOOLS!
THINK OF IT: NOT A SINGLE ADVANTAGE. AND HERE, ON THE OTHER HAND,
ARE THE DISADVANTAGES:
SACRIFICE OR COMPROMISE OF PRINCIPLE, SUBMISSION OF A SUBLIME
POLITICAL STRUGGLE INTO THE DIAMONDS OF A DEBATING SOCIETY;
AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE IDEAS AMONG THE PEOPLE THAT THE BISMARCKIAN
PARLIAMENT IS DESTINED TO SETTLE THE SOCIAL QUESTION.
"AND FOR PRACTICAL REASONS, SHOULD WE CONSIDER OURSELVES WITH PAR-
LIAMENT? ONLY TREACHERY OR STUPIDITY COULD PERSUADE US TO DO SO.
WE COULD NOT GIVE UTOURATION TO OUR CONVICTIONS MORE FORCIBLY
OR MORE EXACTLY. BUT MARK THE NOTABLE INCONSISTENCY. ACCORDING TO HIS
PRINCIPLES, AND AFTET HAVING RECKONED UP ALL THE PROFITS AND LOSSES
TO WHICH HE SUMMARIZES THEM WITH THE IDEA OF THE PROLETARIAT, IT NECESSARILY
HAVE GIVEN A VERDICT IN FAVOUR OF NON-PARTICIPATION.
WHEREVER HE DELIVERS HIMSELF AS FOLLOWS: "TO PREVENT THE SOCIALIST
MOVEMENT ENDURING DURABLE, IT IS NECESSARY THAT SOCIALISM SHOULD ENTER INTO
THE ASSEMBLY NOT AS A MAN BUT AS A SITUATION, WHAT IS THE MEANING OF
A SITUATION? A MIND CAN THINK IN CONTRADICTIONS!
BUT THEY ARE THEMSELVES IN DOUBT AND CONFUSION. EVIDENTLY PARLA-
MENTARISM IS THE BAIT BY WHICH THE CATCH OF FISH MUST BE OBTAINED,
AND YET IT IS THE MORE TASTY BY THE SAME REASON HOW SO
LOGICAL A MIND CAN THINK IN CONTRADICTIONS.

SOCIALISM IN DANGER.
Between Ourselves

The Italian High Court has decided that the condemnation by default of Comrade Merlino for press offences is not legal, and that he must be judged again by juries. We hope he will be acquitted, because another comrade, who was some time ago judged for a libel offence, was acquitted, and because in the present condition of Italy it would be very difficult for the government to find juries willing to condemn a man for speaking the truth against governments and masters. If Merlino is acquitted, he will still have to serve about one year in prison because of his role as a member of the International Association of Working men.

The European bourgeois papers are favouring the despotic government of the Czar. They constantly speak of the good actions of the Czar and Nicholas. When an independent writer ventures, from time to time, to discuss the oppression and the atrocities of the Russian government, the smears and calumnies begin to proclaim the fact that the Czar Alexander was faithful to his wife, and consequently it is not true that the Russian peasants die of hunger, that the Standarts are tortured and deported for their religious convictions, that the Rising young generation of the country is persecuted, thrust into flotillas and sent to the Siberian mines, where many die of cold and hunger. As Madame Siddor, or perhaps by bouquets— as Miss Gurvit. All this is nothing; all these fine flowers of Asiatic despotism must not be mentioned, for Alexander III. was faithful to his wife, and paid literally the European writers who sold themselves to him.

At present we must not speak against our despotic, for the Czar Nicholas is too young (27 years), yet his tender age does not prevent him from signing laws which declare the Standarts a very dangerous sect which must be exterminated, or other laws, according to which nobody in the whole of Russia may lecture on any subject without a special authorisation of the ministers of the interior and of public education. Before this monstrous law the Russian nation had to abide in silence all the same, but it was considered as the consequence of an abuse of power on the part of the administration, the police. At present it is done in consequence of this law of the young Czar, to whom the intention of establishing obligatory primary education is attributed.

This will be a nice education, indeed, headed by the police,—when no independent scientific, men of high instruction and enlightened spirits, are allowed to give a lecture, even to their friends, without a ministerial authorisation, without the good will of the local police.

It is not too much to say that France has entered a revolutionary period. The third republic is in agony and with it the whole bourgeois regime is dissolving itself into mud.

The French people have lost faith in the idea that the republic and universal suffrage would bring about liberty and well-being, and have become enlightened by the scandals of all sorts which have cast broad daylight upon the deep-rooted corruption of the governing classes. The people are beginning to show an intention to do away with existing institutions. Socialism becomes every day more powerful and more threatening. The bourgeois, bent on resisting with all the guile and violence which characterise them, believed they had found the right man in Casimir Péricier, the strong-willed capitalist who expels the ministers of Anarchisme. But Casimir wore only the mask of energy and ran away from the struggle, not knowing how to face the attacks of the Socialists, nor to find a remedy for the folly of the majority who had elected him and who would have had an interest to support him.

After the resignation of Casimir, the same majority elected for the office of President of the Republic Félix Faure, a shipowner, who has become rich by the exploitation of working men, and he is to accomplish the mission in which Casimir failed.

But Faure does not know where to place his head, and begins by betraying the majority by addressing himself, for the communication of his ministry, to a radical, Mr. Bourgeois, who is at this moment trying to form a hybrid ministry, which will satisfy nobody and will soon fail, perhaps causing thereby the fall of President Faure himself.

What can be expected of the immediate future? Perhaps an attempt at violent reaction—military dictatorship or monarchical regime (not to read), but the present condition of France offers no great chance for adventurism. More probable is the election of a monarch, a fact and a truce of radical politics, but radicalism which is nothing but bourgeois liberalism, will only create hopes which it cannot fulfil and raise forces which it cannot keep back, and it must soon make way either for reaction or for new things. Things are moving on so fast in France that the crisis will emerge from the crisis with a determination to inaugurate the reign of the Socialist Commune.

Our Italian comrades are doing their best to establish an Anarchist Federation of revolutionary Anarchists Socialists who are fully aware of the difficulties attending such a task. In England however the conditions are somewhat different: we still have the liberty to publish our papers and the freedom of speech, and the Government to suppress our meetings then the necessity for secret organisation would arise and we would be justified in using every means within our power for emancipating ourselves. We have a strong sympathy for all those who by whatever means, are fighting for the good of mankind.

We regret that the programme of "International Federation of Socialist Anarchists", which appears on our 8th page has been printed in a most incomprehensible manner in the fourth paragraph, which should be as follows: "Consulting the powerful solidarity of the various economical and political institutions it is impossible to substantially change the present organisation of the means of partial or gradual reforms, it is necessary to change this organisation by revolutionary means and by violation of established laws."

Correspondence.

Sir,
Dr. Smith of the superiorities of Anarchism over Communism, or vice versa has not been thoroughly threshed out in "Liberty," and being aware that the great demands upon your limited space make it impossible for me to enter into the subject, although I might say a few words on the subject of the importance of the revolution, I desire to throw out a challenge open to any Commissaire to discuss the question: "Anarchism versus Communism," by private correspondence; but I am no speaker, I mean private for so as the discussion itself is concerned. My answer should have nothing to do with the question of public opinion or with the problem of the sincerity of a candidate to address this question, but I wish to fix up the ground of argument I wish to adopt a position which will express my position.

W. J. Bolden, 16 Low Street. St. Pancras, W.

PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

By ENRICO MALATESTA.

I.—Universal Suffrage (continued from No. 12).

Nor could the parliamentary system yield other results. The community at large has not a single common interest, but it necessarily has many of a diverse and often opposite character, which cannot be regulated by the same individual or by the same assembly. Any authority, which legislates in virtue of self-interest, needs to be arbitrary and despotic; and the voter who imagines himself free and independent because he drops a ballot in the urn at election time, while on the other hand he tamely submits to any law that may be imposed upon him, is, without an illusion, and in reality he is a slave in whose hand has been placed a toy in which he is supposed to have a free hand."

These remarks on Parliamentarianism pre-suppose that the vote of the citizens is unfettered and enlightened. But what shall we say of the franchise exercised by a mob steeped in poverty, brutalised by ignorance and superstition, and at the mercy of a cunning minority in the exclusive possession of wealth and power? In the absolute disposal of the means of existence indispensable to the majority? As a rule the poor elector is neither capable of voting with intelligence, nor free to vote as he wishes. Without preliminary education and freed from the means of self-instruction, obliged to place implicit faith in what he reads in some irresponsible newspaper (assuming that he has the ability and the leisure), knowing nothing of men and things apart from his own narrow life, how can the man know what to ask from Parliament, or through what channel to make his wants known? Is it possible for him to have any clear idea of the nature of a Parliament?

Assuredly workmen and peasants, even the most uneducated know far more than professors about political economy in things where their own interests are at stake: the things they see and touch, their work,
HOW LONDON ANARCHISTS TREATED A SPY.

The story of the spy Cotin—a man in the employ of the French and the English police, of his discovery, of his arrest, and of his being sent back to France—has already been told, but not fully or altogether truthfully. The police, as might be expected, told the press agencies only the special particulars as little possible to their own disadvantage, and as much as they dared that was likely to be detrimental to Anarchists.

The London daily papers, even ready to write down Anarchism and Anarchists, garbled the information supplied them, and concealed the evidence. They relied upon a clever trick of the French police, which was a really honest attempt made to ascertain the complete facts. How very much we are warranted in making these necessary statements will be seen at once upon comparing what follows in this column with the materials at our disposal.

Cotin—whose portrait is given herewith—although a young man, had seen a good deal of the rough side of life before coming to this country. He appears to have been discarded by his parents at an early age, for reasons which he seems unable or unwilling to explain. He pleaded that poverty brought him in contact with the French police. He admitted he was in their employ before he came to London, and had not that habit of lying that is natural to his particular line of work.

For a man without means to manage to live without being starved until he had quietly formed the acquaintance of the very people whom his nature and ruin it was his aim to accomplish.

So soon as he was in touch with them his tales of poverty were more urgent than ever, and his dire want was more and more for something for which he had no money, and the commission of minor thefts.

Cotin related to London, and explained his return on the ground that he was not allowed to remain in France.

The comrades in London had in the meantime taken the necessary steps to free him. They had nothing to do with him. At a special meeting, which Cotin was permitted to attend, the final step was taken.

Cotin was directly charged with being a spy, and with having supplied both the French and the English police with information as to the movements of the Anarchists in London. He vehemently protested his innocence, and, spy and cowardly, endeavored to pass the act with which he was charged on the shoulders of others. In this he did not succeed. He was asked to produce what papers he had on his person. There was not even a single word of any sort, no documents whatever, no marks left by any interview used at this interview. Cotin saw his game was played out, and, with the cunning of the very ordinary spy, sought by every means in his power to obtain the sympathy of those who he had promised to lead out from unmasked and unmasking in their turn. The public, in a word, was only kept from keeping their eyes closed; and that is to give them an illusion of liberty, by making them believe that they are masters, and that the social institutions are made by them and can be altered by them.

The bourgeoisie shows political talent in concealing from the people the right of suffrage, that would only be the right of choosing one's master, when exercised in a condition of consciousness and independency. And the presentation of legal character and social subjection, is only a vulgar mystification with which impostors cheat their consciences and speculate on the suffering of some and the contempt of others.

But, it is possible that Socialists, who sincerely wish the liberty and the well-being of all, put their hopes in that same suffrage that has been, till now, a weapon of the hands of the bourgeoisie.
The commune of Paris.

By Louise Michel.

PART I.

THE DEATH-AGONY OF THE EMPIRE.

CHAPTER III.

THE LAST DAYS OF THE EMPIRE.—SEDAN.

The empire held on till Sedan. Meanwhile as to which we vowed the republic of the Human race—"The beautiful for which the whole earth is waiting" as was said long ago. Aye, and the earth awaits it yet!

During this armed vigil, when all held themselves ready, heroic tears were shed; songs of freedom were sung, and men's hearts steered themselves for approaching events.

Rochefort's journal, La Lanterne, lighted up the dark recesses of the cut-throat Empire.

"Ring today the great bell of Notre Dame—

Today, a knell; to-morrow, the alarm."

And it was indeed the alarm—the tocsin—that was rung. What event will be proclaimed by the immense bell just now sent from Russia? When this prophetic gift rings forth in full swing, it will surely awake to shake the little hill where Varin ascended his Galvany.

At that time it seemed to us as if the demonence was close at hand. Around us circled a vast horizon. It reached in opposite directions, past and future, from the blossom of Ozini to the scuffle of Vaillant; and despite the surrounding darkness, we felt that day-break was very near. We used to meet at night, we indignant ones who clasped beneath the black and sinister yoke of the "Man of December" (Louis Napoleon). We quivered as dumb beasts in a slaughter house.

The murder of Victor Noir by Pierre Bonaparte aroused a thrill of popular horror; but the terror more resembled that of a bull in the ring, when he shakes his hide pierced full of darts. Freedom, just broken, without another wing; but that was all, as yet.

It seemed that revolution might break out at Victor Noir's funeral. The evening before the Marseillaise called to arms; the event was one of those symbolic occasions which much depends. The revolutionaries knew they would return home having overthrown the republic; or else never return at all. All took what arms they could.

Each hero also had taken its precautions. The huts, the prisons, the public buildings were full of troops. No such display of force has been since the Napoleons. Now and then, such displays are equalled or even exceeded in May of every year, when the crowd goes to the cemetery to remember its dead.

As Victor Noir's funeral proceeded, Delachaise, who remembered the outbreaks of '48 and '51, restrained Rochefort; while Louis Noir, brother of the murdered, declared that he desired no obscurities for his brother. Meanwhile, fate decided the event. The immense cortège contained two elements; those who wished to wait for the disintegration of the Empire, and those who desired to attain immediate deliverance. There was a moment when the crowd swayed violently; it was a struggle between those who desired to bear the corpse towards the streets of Paris, and those who preferred to follow it to the Neuferville cemetery. The latter prevailed. Among the immediate associates of the Carnavalesque Syndicate were on the side, half on the other; there had been no preliminary arrangement, each followed the dictates of his own feeling or his impulse at the moment.

Varin said afterwards that had the struggle really taken place that day, the best soldiers of the revolution would have perished. But, after all, the number of those who perished as victims of the victory or by the accidents that so constantly befell the workers, is far greater than that of the victims of a revolution.

With huddled heads we returned—subjects of the Empire still!

This time in truth it was no plot; it was the natural throat of revolution. The so-called Bloc conspiracy was got up by the agents of Louis Napoleon, and described as a plot against the State; it is the usual formula.

Known revolutionists were easily compromised; and with them there were arrested, at random, some of the thousands of rebels who enter the Empire, yet knowing nothing of one another. The accused were divided into two classes, those of the "Internationalist." The sentences varied from 25 to 50 years of transportation!

Mogé was condemned to hard labor; a few whose papers had been badly put together were acquitted; among those was Robert, because he had insulted the court; so inconsistent was the prosecution.

Prost, subsequently a member of the Commune, defended Mogé before the tribunal, which was called the High Court of Bloc. The principal agent provocateur had himself proposed the use of bombs, which made an excellent means of discovering some.

On August 14th, 1870, an attempt was made at La Vilette to proclaim the republic, howbeit the defeat of the Empire was not consummated. On this occasion too, there was treachery; for warning was given to the police in time; while certain groups, as those of Montmartre, were only informed too late. Thus it happened that from Montmartre, elsewhere the groups arrived on the scene only to find the twofold mobsters in the attempt, Enfants and Beauce had been arrested; while a howling有一个accompanying car into which they were thrown, crying "To the Prussians with them!" And shutters were already closed all along the empty boulevards.

The heroes of La Vilette were callumbrated, some of the Radicals even speaking of them as bandits, and Gambetta proposed that they should be executed without a trial. Had it not been that a letter written by Michelet and signed by an immense number of others, had been handed to Trochu (the 18th) Enraces and Beauce would have been executed for the proclamation of the republic. As things fell out, this letter delayed the execution, and on the fatal 5th the people enacted their release—the Homicid crew of great days began to act.

Meanwhile beyond Paris defeat followed defeat in over quicker succession. Forty thousand Prussians had decimated the isolated French army. At Frossich, the Maréchal, counting on the insignificant number of the enemy, took up his position between Reichshoffen on one hand, and Enraces on the other. Here he was surprised by the French Prussians, whose troops assured themselves in the charge of Reichshoffen.

The same day at Fourchau, a whole army of Germans overcame the 2nd Corps. France was entered from three points at once, Nancy, Toul, Lunévile were taken. Frederick of Prussia was marching on Paris in pursuit of Maréchal, who obstinately followed his own plan, doubting invoking Notre Dame d'Anhay. Another German army under the command of the Prince of Saxony descended the Meuse.

A new army, got together in haste and composed of divers elements, was going to try to re-take Metz.

The rear-guard, under the command of General de Failly, being left on August 20th, fell back on Sedan.

On Sept. 1st they were surrounded, and broken up as in a crucible by the German artillery ranged on the surrounding heights.

General Tallard was killed in the morning by the explosion of a shell.

General Margueritte was mortally wounded. His division fell under the command of Colonel de Bauremont who received from Dauzat orders to charge.

Then it was, in his place of battle at the head of the divisions, that Bauremont led the regiments against the Prussian battalions. They were the 1st Hussars and the 8th Chasseurs of Tallard's brigade; and the 1st, 3rd, and 4th Afriques Chasseurs of Margueritte's brigade. It was horrible, and magnificent. This was the charge of Sedan, the slaughter was great, so that the town and the surrounding fields formed one immense charnel house, over which in the mists of evincing the musical German voices, full of dreams, sangs outside of thanksgiving.

Bonaparte had desired no desperate risks; he gave himself up with his 300,000 men, also the arts, and the flag.

The war was ended, and so profoundly buried that nothing of it could revive. The Man of December, as he was called on the March of Sedan, took with him his whole dynasty. Henceforth all was over for the Bonapartes; nothing but the ashes can be stirred of the imperial traditions.

Over the valley of Sedan there seems to pass a flight of spectres, come to see the passing of the imperial château, led by the two Offenbachs and the popular orchestra of La Belle Helene, while the ghosts of dead also spectrally arise.

The death of 24,000 Prussians were conducted into Germany. Six months later the commission charged with the disaffection of the battlefield had the pits opened in which the corpse had been laid, almost even with the ground, to avoid infection during the heat of summer. Cold air was thrown over the heaps of decomposing dead; then petroleum, and with the help of the fire the feeble were slowly reduced to ashes. And on the calcined débris quick-line was poured.

That year quick-line was a terrible devourer of men.

End of Part I.

Joint Responsibility.

Between the government which does evil and the people who accept it there is a certain shameful solidarity.—Victor Hugo.

Mutum in Parvo.

The stomach has more rights than even the brain, for it is the stomach that sustains the whole structure.—P. Krotoynik.

Self-development is greater than self-sacrifice.—Grant Allen.
THE JUDGMENT AGAINST PROPERTY.

(Mr. Seymour's Ground Reserved.)

In your October number Mr. Seymour criticised some of my objections to the property question, and I think he misunderstood my argument, and consequently the whole point to which I was objecting. I am not against property in itself, but against the wrongs and injustices inseparable from its present system.

Anarchists have controversial reason to grumble at our present property system. We cannot get our questions answered. We asked Mr. Seymour what he meant by the expression "individualists"—what he meant by a "right." He did not reply.

"They are too busy. I have tried for years to disprove the basis of the property idea with different individualists, but they always shut up shop, and slide off on side issues. Let me put the preliminary question to the individualists: Is it not the right of the owner to dispose of his property, just as he likes, by giving it away, by selling it, by renting it, or by using it himself? And what is the "right" of the owner, if it is not his right to dispose of his property as he likes?"

(2) Why does anyone care about retaining the "right" to one's property? What is the importance of a man's property? It is not the property as such that is in dispute, but the question of whether a person has a right to keep his property from being used, and to sell it to the highest bidder.

(3) Then, what is that about Malthus? Perhaps Malthus's data and opinion are accurate, but they are not the only possibilities inherent in the facts of life. The assertion that a man has the right to own property is not the only way to live. There is no one definite way to live. There are many ways, and the human race is capable of surviving in many different ways.

(4) The idea of "Communism" is impossible. Even a primitive man only tolerated "communism" (or the idea of personal property) through necessity. It was due to the need for a common form of organization and the need for protection from outside threats.

(5) Seymour's "industrialist" idea is, then, not necessarily the commodity-hunter after all. It is only the idea that human beings are the producers of their own happiness and that they must work to obtain it. It is not the notion that one must work to obtain happiness, but that one is capable of working to obtain it and must work to obtain it.

(6) The idea of "individual property" is then, as Mr. Seymour points out, a matter of personal choice. It is not the idea that one must work to obtain happiness, but that one is capable of working to obtain it and must work to obtain it.

(7) Seymour then suggests that a man's "individual property" is not necessarily the commodity-hunter after all. It is only the idea that human beings are the producers of their own happiness and that they must work to obtain it. It is not the notion that one must work to obtain happiness, but that one is capable of working to obtain it and must work to obtain it.

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(9) What is to be done with the man who thinks he wants to "industrialist"? If he wants to be a "worker," he must work for himself, and if he wants to be a "property owner," he must own property. If he wants to be both, he must work for himself and own property. If he wants to be neither, he must be neither. If he wants to be a "worker," he must work for himself, and if he wants to be a "property owner," he must own property. If he wants to be both, he must work for himself and own property. If he wants to be neither, he must be neither.

(10) Seymour then suggests that a man's "individual property" is then, as Mr. Seymour points out, a matter of personal choice. It is not the idea that one must work to obtain happiness, but that one is capable of working to obtain it and must work to obtain it.

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INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST SOCIALISTS.

This Federation has been started in Italy and is seeking to extend itself. The following is a copy of an manifesto just issued:

Considering: That the present social organization, the result of industrial development, which has developed itself in consequence of material misery and moral degradation, and that it is urgent to substitute for it a new organization, based on co-operation and solidarity, that will give to all the means of reaching the highest possible development and be free to all future improvements.

Considering: That the primary cause of the present hatred and antagonism is the monopoly of the land and all the means of production and exchange in the hands of a few; and that to harmonize interests and live in brotherly love it is necessary that society should guarantee to all the means of working and freely associating with other workers.

Considering: That a social organization, answering as much as possible to the adaptation of the interests of all, cannot be based and imposed by a government, but must result from the free action of all concerned, who agree and organize by the impulse of their sentiments and under pressure of their common needs.

Considering: That owing to the consultation of the various economical and political institutions, it is impossible to substantially change it altogether by revolutionary means and by violation of established laws.

Considering: That the resistance of the bourgeoisie to every attempt of the workers to emancipate themselves renders necessary the use of force, in order to destroy the military and the police, who defend the present society by force of arms.

A Federation of Revolutionary Anarchist Socialists, proposing the following aims, has been formed:

(a) To propagate the principles of Anarchist-Socialism and to show that it is the only way to social revolution.
(b) To inspire the people with a consciousness of their rights and a sentiment of love toward all men, and of solidarity with the poor and enslaved.
(c) To encourage the working-class movement and stimulate the workers to organize for the three-fold purpose of: (1) resisting the pretensions of employers and authorities, and striving to gain as much freedom of action as possible; (2) taking part in a general strike or an armed insurrection of the present insurrectionary nature; (3) taking over, on the day of revolution, the production and distribution of food, as well as other public services, without the need of trusting to new governments, who would of necessity be incompetent and who, in attempting to impose the edicts of new governments, would impose the scope of revolution.
(d) To encourage and profit by all movements of emancipation to the advantage of Anarchist-Socialist propaganda, by all progress in ideas and facts which may be realized by the action of other individuals or parties.

RULES.

I. Those who take part in the Federation must accept the aims and engage themselves to co-operate with all those of their fellow-men. Everyone is free to leave the Federation as soon as he sees its idees or new convictions in his interest; but, on the other hand, he must make an honorable statement to the Federation on his honor, to maintain the name of secret as he has become cognizant of his participation in it as a member of the Federation.

II. The members engage themselves to work for the aims of the Federation and to take active part, in case of circumstances, in the working-class movement, in strikes, and other manifestations of the popular labor that answer to the aims of the Federation.

III. The Federation is composed of local groups, that unite in section and in national federation.

IV. The various Federations will nominate "correspondents" whose duty it is to transmit, to all groups, the proposals and resolutions which will be communicated to them by each group.

V. The groups of the Federation will understand another another, and decide upon common action by means of correspondents, by congress or by special delegates.

The resolutions of the delegates will be valid without the approval of the members.

To enter into the Federation it is necessary to be accepted by a group already formed, but there is no group in the locality; comrades must be accepted by a neighboring group and take the initiative of forming a new group.

VI. The Federation provides for all expenses by means of contribution levied on members, to be fixed by the groups or by the congress.

VIII. The existence of the Federation and its program is public.

IX. Events, acts of the members in which there are groups in existence, etc., will be published or secret, according to the circumstances of persons, locality, and political conditions.

DECLARATION.

The members of this Federation know well that many Anarchists, or men calling themselves so, will fight their program and their organization. They do not complain. What they want is, to unite for a common purpose with those who agree with them, and will consider their initiative will contribute to develop their aspirations and will show the difference between principles, tendencies, and aims, often essentially opposed to one another and that go by the name of Anarchy.

They desire, in other respects, that all theories and methods should be subjected to discussion and experience, and they feel a strong sympathy for all those who, by whatever means, achieve sincerely for the good of mankind.

Liberty Pamphlets.