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A JOURNAL OF

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM

WILLIAM REEVES, 185, FLEET STREET, E.C.
seriously to examine the petitions that had been submitted to it, etc., etc.

"This speech, repeatedly interrupted by vehement questions, aroused a tempest of disorderly recriminations on the part of the confused and tumultuous audience.

"The general proceeded his way through the group which separated him from the room leading to the usual set of our debates; we followed him, and rejoined our friends, to whom we related what had just occurred.

"There was no room for doubting that this scene would prove only the prologue to a more serious drama. If we were not promptly discouraged, we ran the risk of being swept away. It was, however, still possible to endeavour to arrest the movement by announcing the elections. This was therefore the first subject of deliberation.

"At this moment the mayor of Paris, M. Etienne Arago, entered the room. He was evidently in a state of extreme agitation.

"The mayors of the various districts, he began, have combined, and have sent me to you to entreat you to unite your efforts with theirs, in order to prevent imminent catastrophe. They demand that the Government should join them and in concert with them declare that municipal elections will take place. They are unanimous in thinking these elections are at present the only means of safety. In the name of the country and in the name of peace I beseech you not to repulse their petition.

"While speaking M. Etienne Arago had difficulty in restraining his tears . . . . However the reply was that this request of the mayors meant neither more nor less than the abdication of the Government, and the installation of the Commune; and the room was cleared out, and I knew the National Guard too well not to feel convinced that whatever might happen sedition would certainly be repressed . . . . .

"The members of the government were not all in the usual chamber of our deliberations. General Trochu, M. Jules Simon, and M. Pellestan had consented to give audience to a deputation which had gone upstairs with them into the large hall. I took my place near them, the hall being quite full. In the midst of a rather close circle stood General Trochu, his arms crossed, his face severe and calm, listening to M. Maurice Joly, the speaker for the deputation. This person, notwithstanding the agitation which he evidently restrained with difficulty, expressed himself with some address. He put questions relative to the renovation of the Bouquet, which he declared had been an act of treachery; and he was again and again interrupted by the crowd who considered him too moderate. On perceiving me he challenged me concerning the armistice, accusing us of complicity with the enemy, and of deserting the defence. He concluded by saying that under such disastrous circumstances the Government could not refuse the desires of the people who loudly demanded the addition of more resolute men; that it was time to have done with these temporariness which ruined everything, and that Paris, whose destiny was being played with, had assuredly the right to protect itself; that the city demanded the election of a Commune which should share with the Government the burden whose weight was proving too much for the latter.

"The general replied without giving signs either of uneasiness or emotion. He explained at some length the advantages and the necessity of an armistice—it was a question of negotiating not of capitulation—the Government would accept no conditions which should be contrary to the interests, to say nothing of the dignity, of France. Paris was resisting valiantly, but Paris alone could never repulse the enemy.

"The aid of the departments was indispensable; the best means of rendering it efficacious would be the convocation of an assembly, etc., etc.

"As to the occupation of Bouquet, the general declared that it was not legally necessary under any circumstances whatsoever, and that the disturbance on the part of the people of Paris was very ill-judged—the occupation of the village had taken place out of order, and contrary to the system adopted by the Government of Paris and the Committee of Defence; it would in any case have been necessary to withdraw.

"The general invited the deputation to quiet the movement that had been started, which might otherwise lead to unfortunate consequences. The Government intended
AS TO Bribing Excellence.

By WILLIAM MORRIS.

Objections to Socialism, founded on the difficulty of getting necessary work done when people will be free to choose their own work, are common in the months of anti-socialists; and it is true, and still is not uncommon to hear persons saying that no great works of art, no product of high intellect will be possible under the condition of things in which a reward is not given for such work out of all proportion to the average work, the heaving of wood and the drawing of water. Even Socialists themselves are sometimes busy upon these subjects; and sometimes they seem ready to accept the view that when people are free they will no longer care for anything more than what are now called necessities of life. Let us look into this matter a little. And first we shall find that what lies at the root of these misconceptions is that reading of the present into the future, which is so often a stumbling-block is the way of a frank acceptance of the new Society.

For as things now are, though a certain amount of utilities are of necessity produced, yet it is at the expense of a waste of human labor, mental and bodily, which is absolutely appalling. In spite of all the marvelous inventions of modern times, and above all the invention of the organization of labor for production of market wares, the bulk of the population of this country is not better, but worse off, than in the days when a great part of the country was wood, waste, and marsh, when there was no machinery to take the place of mere drudgery in production; when there were no appliances to keep the accounts of the seasons and the rigours of the climate. The mere statement of this fact, which cannot be seriously contravened, shows how desperately wrong we have gone in some way or other.

The truth is that our system of Society is essentially a system of waste. We are, all of us, engaged in making our livelihood, or accumulating our riches, not by means of collaboration, but at each other's expense; the result of this is that we are not free, and as a result cannot think of the things we make as pieces of utility, but rather as weapons for the defeat of others; so that not hundreds or thousands, but millions of skilled and intelligent men are engaged in producing things which people can be forced to buy, but which they don't want at all. Space fails me to give examples of this kind of waste, but a walk down a street of "flash" shops—in Regent Street or Bond Street, e.g.—will illustrate it sufficiently. How many of the articles exhibited in this dreary show would any man in his senses carry home if he were not compelled to buy them? The compulsion of the market is on all of us, and not only forces us to pay for vulgarities and shabby gentilities, but worse still, forces a vast number of workmen to waste their lives in producing them.

Now in a Communist Society all this would be altered; the demand for wares would be real and not fictitious: people would ask for what they really wanted, and not for futilities and make-shifts. Labor would be expended on things worth doing: and it is a fact past discussion that so soon as things worth doing are made, the intellect, the skill, the artistic feeling of the makers are called out by their production; in a word they exercise men's pleasurable energies, and therefore make them happy.

Such wares as this are works of art, each according to the necessities of its own uses; and I have not the slightest doubt that when the opportunity is offered them vast numbers of workmen will take it, and will become artists, working well but pleasurably, and also leisurely, because they would not have to expend their energies in defeating other workmen, but in developing their own best faculties.

In truth it was in this way that those great works of art which are still left us from the past were produced; in those times whatever inequalities of status existed otherwise, amongst the handcraftsman there was a much nearer approach to equality than most people imagine, e.g., the architects of our ancient buildings were not "gentlemen" sitting in offices, surrounded by an army of clerks and craftsmen, on the backs of whom the workers abiding by the work, the masons and carpenters, directing them, no doubt, but paid little more than they were worth. The carving again, who, mind you, were not to design their ornaments, were paid no more than the ordinary masons; and it was through all the crafts. And did they do their work for this approach to equality; did they neglect it because they were not bribed into excellence? There stands their work to-day in unapproachable excellence to answer the question. Go to Westminster Abbey, and ask who raised that mass of loneliness. No one knows; their names have perished. But you can have the name of almost every fool who has damaged the building since the epoch of the artist-workman passed away: the persons were bribed to do their conceived trash by money and position; but those who made its beauty needed no bribing to do their best, because this work was a pleasure to them from day to day. On the one hand they worked for a livelihood, and on the other for the work's sake itself. They were men of the people, doubt it not; and if their names have died, their work in more ways than one has lived.

And when we win equality in its full measure we shall do what we want in like spirit. Work, without wearing anxiety, without personal contention is bound to be happy work, and from happy work comes the beauty and pleasure and self-satisfaction.

Even amidst the present turmoil of Commercialism there are men who, working in a comparatively humble sphere, can resist it, and who work for the work's sake. I will give one instance of such men, a man I knew; he was a book-binder, to say truth the only man I have known who could be trusted to repair a fine old book-binding: nothing would make him spoil his work or hurry it; he would give the utmost care and attention to it, and produce results quite wonderful, doing the work with his own hands. Now he did not need to be bribed; in fact he refused it, always working for ordinary book-binder's wages. If he had employed a number of men and done the work a little worse, he would have made a good income: but as it was, he lived poor, and died poor; an artist, but a wage-earner. That was a shame to all of us. Yet I cannot pity him, for all his work was a pleasure to him, and his pride also, which I am sure he had a good right to. But, you see, he could not now be an example to other workmen. As things go, I am glad there are not many like him, or we should not get on toward our goal. In a better condition of inequality it is better that we should feel our oppression even at the expense of good work and beauty.

We are not fit for such things now, nor shall we be till we are working as equals and friends, all of us. But when we are thus equal, in some such way shall we work; and there will be no fear then of our doing nothing but dry utilitarian work. Have we not our wonderful machines to do that for us, to save us from drudgery? What are the said machines about now, that the mass of the people should toil and toil without pleasure? They are making profits for their owners, and have got time to save the people from drudgery. When the people are the owners—then we shall see.

"Ideas are forces: the existence of one determines our reception of others."—G. H. Lewes.
We have received a copy of an "Anarchist May Day Manifesto," also issued by the Torch Group, which is intended for distribution in the Park on the day of the demonstration.

We have received "Das Christenthum und der Anarchistes-Kommunismus," by H. Joachim Gehlsen. We think his view of the part played by revolution in human affairs is one-sided and prejudiced. As a fact mankind has never retracted any precise step gained by any revolution. Each revolution has tided men on to a point in advance, in the particular respect aimed at by its promoters. The apparent reaction that follows the abatement of impetus, never includes a relinquishment of that precise point which took the energy of revolution to realise.

To ignore the function of revolution as an instrument of progress is an incomprehensible position, and we believe it is due every time to a foregone conclusion as to the actual backwardness of the average human being and the imperviousness of human character to the influences of new environments.

In our next number we shall criticise the above work at length and also give quotations. The author at any rate sees eye to eye with us as to the direction of progress lying along and not atvar by the increasing tendency to Communism within as without the individual consciousness. A society formed of individuals communistic by preference, and in fulfilment of their own impulses, could not but be a just, a free and therefore a healthy and happy society.

While some of our friends are spending their strength in support of the idea that Parliament could and ought to do much to promote the cause of liberty and justice, Parliament itself is giving the lie to anything and everything of that character. The so-called people's house when asked to assist starving millions says, "We won't." When asked to give one of its own clique (who has already been overpaid for all the work he has ever done) £4,000 a year for life, the answer is an enthusiastic "Yes, certainly," and only one small voice is heard to say "No." How many more "object lessons" do the people want?

In various parts of the metropolis, and in some places in the provines, Mr. J. Passmore Edwards, proprietor of The Echo, has been winning the applause of the middle classes by his gifts of money for hospitals and free libraries. The question arising out of this is a pertinent one, and not altogether personal. Should a man be praised for giving away what he has not acquired by his own labour—what, in reality, does not belong to him? It is generally believed that Mr. Edwards has acquired the money he is now so ostentatiously scattering about the country from the above-mentioned journal and sundry weekly publications. If all the individuals engaged in producing these said periodicals had received justly proportioned shares of the result of their labours, would there have been any surplus to distribute in the form of charity? Why were the producers of the wealth deprived of their legitimate shares? Echo, please answer?

Mr. Edwards, in one of his weekly periodicals, poses as the friend and political adviser of the working classes. He engages as contributors writers who hold, or profess to hold, most advanced opinions. Occasionally, however, the petty bourgeois spirit, the sordid capitalistic greed show themselves—the cloven hoof is in evidence. An instance of this occurred on Sunday last, when the journal we are referring to, in an article
on recent events at Chitrall, advocated the vilest "jingoism"; it is possible to conceive: The utter absurdity, to use a very mild term, of such advocacy by a journal setting itself up as "progressive," must surely be apparent to the most stupid of its readers. Charity, it is sometimes said, covers much, but again and again has it failed to hide the sordid and sycophantic characteristics of the capitalist.

He arrived in Paris in the early hours. In the evening of the same day he was arrested by the police and thrown into prison. Such was the experience of our Comrade Malato on Thursday last. Yet we are told that the French government personifies liberty, and has recently taken an oath to support justice. What will Rochefort, Grave and Reclus have to say to this outrage on personal liberty?

One of the results of the recent amnesty in France will be manifest on the 4th inst, when Le Reveil will reappear under the title of Les Temps Nouveaux (The New Times), with Jean Grave as before in the position of its editor and guiding spirit. Social economy, a term that will be perfectly well understood to include Anarchism, science, art, and literature, will be dealt with by a staff of writers which will include Paul Adam, Charles-Albert, Max Buhr, Rene Changhi, L. Descaives, A. Hamon, Fortune Henry, A. F. Herold, Theodore Jean, P. Kropotkin, Bernard Lazare, Miraau, Elie Reclus, Elise Reclus, A. Rette, etc.

The new journal will appear weekly, and comrades in this country will be able to obtain it by post direct from the publishing office (140, Rue Moultetard, Paris) for 6s. 8d. per year. J. Grave intimates that his revived journal will be in many respects an improvement on his previous literary venture, but that its principles will be the same and their advocacy as pronounced as ever. Anarchists of all sections and of all countries will give a hearty welcome to this new periodical and wish it all success and a long life. As Jean Grave's programme is one so near akin to our own we also wish the new journal a long and prosperous career.

We regret that Comrade Bruce Glasier in the Labour Leader uses the terms Law and Government in a very loose way. No one knows better than he that when an Anarchist uses these words he attaches them to their general meaning, and in no way confuses them with the Organisation and Administration which would be necessary in a free state of society. The misuse of the words is by our comrade: he gives to them something more than their customary meaning, and then seeks to place the onus of his act on the shoulders of Anarchists.

"Liberty" Subsistence Fund.

"Liberty" has up to the present time been carried on with considerable difficulty from various sources of income, which, though not vast, have been sufficient to meet the expenses of the journal and the cost of printing. The journal is now beginning to receive more active support, and we have been able to increase the size of its pages and the number of its contributors. We are therefore able to announce that we have been able to increase the size of our circulation, and to raise the price of the paper from 4d. to 6d. per week. The new price will be valid from the first of November. The increase in the price of the paper is due to the increased cost of printing, and is in order to enable us to continue to publish the journal on a sound financial basis.

We trust that our readers will continue to support the "Liberty" in its efforts to maintain independence and to carry on the work of promoting the principles of Anarchism.

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE RECENT
I. L. P. CONFERENCE.
By JOSEPH CLAYTON.

The gathering together of some 80 men and women from all parts of England and Scotland, coming together to voice the aspirations of 5,000 people in the Independent Labor Party, is not necessarily a matter for much thought or comment. Conferences are now so plentiful and generally so dull and fruitless. Great movements are not inspired by conferences, nor the slumbering, mist-hidden ideals of peoples wakened in the light by them.

The solemn decrees and decisions of a Conference, wrought with heartburning to the debaters, and after much heated and eloquent talk, are perhaps interesting to the parties to the Conference and are usually revised in twelve month's time.

The real function of a Conference is the bringing together of like minded, congenial folk in good fellowship and social intercourse, and their mutual strengthening by hearty handshake and sacramental meal of comradeship. The talk and resolutions are incidental—so great are the conventional customs of the commercialists that we cannot meet together without such plausible pretexts. Albeit, the Newcastle gathering of Independent Labor Socialists is worth the attention of Labour readers.

These 80 men and women assembled must make a change in England. Held in bonds of political warfare, and believing eagerly in achieving Socialism by electioneering tactics and seats captured in Parliament, Local Councils, and wherever the elected person sits, they do believe in achieving Socialism, and for such a belief alone we may justly rejoice. The belief in Socialism in the I. L. P. was manifestly much stronger at the Newcastle than its skill in winning elections, or even in drawing up programmes and constitutions.

The greater part of two and a half days was spent in the latter operation, and though we may scoff (with the capitalist) at the eight hours day, abolition of child labor, and free pensions for everybody at fifty years of age as the industrial ideal, most of us would gladly give our short lives to get even such palliatives for the workers.

Again, agricultural colleges, model farms, utilisation of sewage, and agricultural produce posts, do not sound inspiring, and in our vision of the land for the people there really is no place, but still they may be necessary, and with the increased production of food stuffs required may be inevitable.

With the unemployed problem the programme makers were not so happy, and after much serious questioning as to whether local or imperial "authorities" should provide the work and at what wage, the Conference decided in favour of Parliament doing the needful thing at not less than 6d. an hour—the generous suggestion of a Huddersfield delegate that 30s. a week should be paid not being acceptable.

The year's Report of the National Administrative Council was generally approved, but the revolutionary instincts of Comrade Bruce Glasier justly took exception to a resolution, disowning the Anarchists, passed by the N. A. C. in February. Pointing out that the preceding I. L. P. Conference at Manchester, in 1894, had agreed to entertain such a resolution, he moved its deletion from the report. It was stated by a Leeds delegate that Bruce Glasier carried his point. With applause, Keir Hardie generously urging that political Socialists had better work to do than throwing stones at their Anarchist comrades.

The "Marseilleise"... was to have completed the Conference agenda, but at the last moment no one felt equal to pitching on the right note, and the difficulties of the French language pressed heavily, so with crossed hands and to strains of "Auld lang syne" the Newcastle Conference of 1895 passed peacefully away.
THE PROJECTED FREE COMMUNIST AND CO-OPERATIVE COLONY.

An Appeal to all Friends and Sympathizers of Land Colonization.

Never in the whole history of humanity has the need for practical acts been so pressing as it is today. Our cities and towns are overcrowded, the unemployed workers can be numbered nearly by millions, and industry is almost at a standstill, and starvation, misery, and vice are in the homes of the people. Shall we remain inactive in the face of all this? No, the question, "What's to be done?" needs a reply, and our answer is: "Get the workers back to the land to cultivate the soil; but not in the lines of the average English farmer and his labourers, but on principles as explained by practical scientists, and already adopted by some practical men."

The Review of Reviews, in its notice on a valuable paper of Prince Kropotkin's, says: "Prince Kropotkin's chief illustrations, however, as to the possibility of intensive agriculture are taken from the Channel Islands, and notably from Guernsey. Guernsey has 1,800 persons to the square mile, and has more productive soil than Jersey; but Guernsey leads the way in the matter of advanced agriculture, because Guernsey is being practically roofed in. The Guernsey kitchen garden is all under glass. Prince Kropotkin found in one place three-fourths of the area covered with glass; in another, in Jersey, he found vineyards under glass covering thirty acres, and yielding more money return than that which can be taken from an ordinary English farm of 1,300 acres. Each acre of greenhouse employs three men. The cost of erecting them is about ten shillings per square yard, exclusive of the cost of heating pipes. The thirteen acres are warmed by consuming a thousand curt loads of coke and coal. Prince Kropotkin notes that before long immense vineyards will spread up round the coal-pits of Northumberland, where artificial heat can be obtained from coal selling at the cost of three shillings per ton."

Similar examples can be given, but the above will suffice to explain our intentions, which are as follows:

1. To buy or rent on long lease sufficient land to enable us to organise an industrial colony.
2. To cultivate the land intensively, either as vegetable gardens or orchards.
3. To raise a portion of the land to be covered with glass immediately, and extended as funds permit.
4. To adopt the method of cultivation, and by attention to articles of consumption itself most entirely supplied by the Channel Islands and Continental countries, to demonstrate that the land can be worked with benefit, under present conditions.
5. To give an object lesson to those who are really desirous of solving the unemployed problem. If as Kropotkin points out, a large number of workers were settled prosperously upon the land, it would not only give them employment, but increase the purchasing power of manufactured articles would give an impetus to such industries, thus providing employment for a still greater number.
6. To organise a Poultry and Dairy Farm as a source of immediate income.
7. To introduce as many industries into the colony as possible.
8. To invest all surplus funds in extensions, or in the establishing of other Colonies.
9. To accept any one as a member, according to the statement of principles.
10. The Colony to be organised on the principles of Co-operation and Free Communism.

These brief statements embody the principles on which it is proposed to erect the structure. To develop these ideas, sympathy and material assistance is necessary, and as the only capital possessed by the workers at the present time is their labor force and the will to work, we venture to appeal to all our more fortunate brothers and sisters to take the foregoing proposals into consideration, and to aid us as far as they are able in the work in which we are engaged. All sums advanced will be returned as the Colony progresses.

Should any further information be desired, the Secretary will be happy to supply same.

William Key, Hon. Treasurer, Twiston House, Sunderland. F. Kupfer, Hon. Secretary, 9 Randolph Street, Sunderland.

"It is hard to imagine a more execrable emotion than the omnipresent religiosity of the prosperous."—John Morley.

An Anarchist's Visit to a London Bakery.

I was seeking employment as a baker, an advertisement to that effect having been put up. I went to the address named, and agreed with the manager as to wages, etc. At six o'clock the same evening I was to start work, at which hour I duly presented myself before the manager. It was a Wholesale Cake Factory. Having been shown the way, I descended a flight of steps leading to the bakery.

The place was lighted by gas; the ceiling was certainly not above, and might have been a foot below the street level; in one corner was a small room, known as a "double-decker," that is, two ovens one on the top of another; while close by, was a "single-deck," that is, one oven. These ovens being built in the back-house made the air most uncomfortably hot.

The Factory Regulations were hung up in a prominent place, and saw-dust was sprinkled over the floor.

A number of girls of different ages were engaged in cleaning fruit, mixing cake, and such other work as needs doing in a Cake Bakery. There was one old man, two young men, and a big Scotchman, who looked a regular bully—he was the foreman.

Entering into conversation with one or two of the girls, I ascertained that they had been at work since six o'clock in the morning, and that they expected to leave about eight or nine o'clock that night, but frequently they worked longer, being just allowed time to snatch what food their scanty wage would permit them to buy. Their wages varied, one girl getting twelve shillings (she was a friend of the foreman) for doing work of a superior kind, such as icing and piping, that being the work of a first-class confectioner whose wage would be from thirty shillings to two pounds per week; the others had from five to six shillings per week.

The men were kept to do the hardest work. The foreman, in a conversation I had with him, said: "I can get 10,000 short-hand-outs out of one of these girls (with the aid of machineries) in a day, which is more than you, I, or any other man can turn out. And (continued he) sometimes we work two or three days off the reel."

From this slave-driver I learned that the company were about to introduce a new system of payment; from that time the employees would be paid by the hour in the same proportion to what they were then earning weekly, reckoning 6½ hours to the week, so that those earning five shillings per week would get one penny and a fraction of a farthing per hour, for doing work which if done by men they would have to pay 4d, 6d., and 6½d. per hour.

While girls are paid such wages as this who can wonder at prostitution?

On asking the old man what kind of a place it was, he despairingly replied: "If I was young I should not stay here, but at my age very few masters would employ me so I have to put up with it."

The Trade Unionist bakers are trying to get the bakers' place under the Factory Act hoping to benefit thereby. The bakery came under the Act but there was no improvement.

Instead of wasting their time and energies in trying to get Parliament to do something for them, they should make use of their organizations in the direction of true co-operation. The Federated Trades could by this means wrest Capital from the Capitalists—meaning by capital the means by which production and distribution is carried on—and thereafter would enter into possession of its own, thus idle shareholders, like those forming the subject of prints, would be prevented from living on the blood and tears, prostitution and misery of young girls.

Having no desire to perpetuate this phase of civilization, I informed the manager that the place was no good to me and that I should not start work. W. H. N.

What is Wrong?

"As long as our civilization is essentially one of property, of fences, of exclusions, it will be mocked by delusions. Only that good profit;

which serves all men."—EMERSON.

Why wait for Ever?

"Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the old story, who refused not to go into the water till he had learnt to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become good and wise in slavery, they may indeed wait for ever."—MACAULAY.
SOCIALISM IN DANGER.

By F. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS.

Continued from No. 15.

The confusion there is in the definition of the state. It is a matter of course, that socialists are at one time as anxious to develop the state as it is a matter of course, that socialists are at another time as anxious to develop the state, but is it not a real question whether, or rather, if the state (staatsbestandskraft) and the people (staatsbestandskraft)? Sometimes they tell us: "We, the socialists, desire to preserve the state by changing and improving it, while you, who wish to maintain the present state, do, in fact, wish the state to be destroyed, and with it the state. Again they tell us: "The state can only be revived and brought up to date by bringing Socialism along the high-road of legislation; social democracy is just the party to which the state should look for support, if there is to be a revival of the state."

Is there not in the independent spirit of these words: "Socialism is not an academic discussion, but a burning question that parliaments will never be able to solve, but that must be finally settled in the street and on the battle-field?" Sometimes Bebel holds "social reform will never be real socialism."

We have now considered its trifling value. Now he speaks of the fall of bourgeois society as being very near, and strongly advises the discussion of principles; and again, he advocates practical reforms, because bourgeois society is still strong, and the discussion of principles might give the impression that the social revolution is at hand.

On the one hand they criticize those who in their impiety think we are near the revolution, and yet Bebel and Engels have named a year, the year 1888 to wit, the year of revolution, the year of victory, by practical methods, by means of the polling-booth.

Can that be the great "Kladderadatsch" that is believed to be near?

Lobekhuet even speaks of the outgrowth of socialist society. He now believes that it is possible to reach the solution of the social question by means of the ballot-box. That is that the state exist, and can this? Were Marx and Engels in error when they taught that the state is the organisation of the possessing classes to effect the complete subjection of the non-possessing classes?

Was Marx and Engels in error when he said that the social revolution must see an end of the state, when he was not even among the systematic representatives, and that the state was a mere word, which is the identity of the present order, and in default of doing anything better, they fling themselves with enthusiasm into the efforts of the reactionaries to promote the so-called raising of the working classes.

That is exactly what we have been saying. In the distance the proletarians speak about the abolition of private property, but coming to close quarters they bury themselves with practical politics. It is really sad to find men like Bebel and Engels handling this rubbish. They are in the listener's words at the Paris International Congress of 1889, "ready to hurl at the workers of the future.

Compare this quotation with those from Lobekhuet and Bebel, and you will see that they flatly contradict each other. The latter are the essence of state socialism against which Kuhtzke protests. We must choose between the two: Either we are working, as Bebel says, to get what we want by the ballot-box to such an extent that the evil conditions imposed upon the workers under the present social régime (and this constitutes practical policies) the policy by which the German Social Democratic party obtain at the ballot box what it promises, and embrace the view of the State, that under existing social conditions the situation of the proletariat cannot be appreciably improved. If we adopt the first hypothesis we perishing the working of the workers, for all these palliatives have only the effect of realising the present state. Yet Bebel professes to recognise, so as not to run entirely out of gear with Engels, that in the last resort we must decide upon the abolition of the state, which in reality "is merely an organisation to maintain the business of production and exchange on its present basis, in other words, an organisation in conformity with the ideas of man when under existing social conditions the situation of the proletariat cannot be appreciably improved."

In this way they slide down the slope of compromise, and at least they have whole agitated on the question of the state, and formulate such blood-curdling reforms as those submitted to the Workers' Congress of Marseilles in 1892, among which may be named the binding the eat, or the transference of small properties, ready-money, taxation, and farm laborers' allotments. And even a century, Jan, and then the authors who are considering the state as a means of "Whoever talks with the enemy parleys with him; whoever parleys bargains with him." No. Others have been corrupted and so will ours be, because man is the product of circumstances and moulded by the environment in which he lives.

Human Nature.

"Equitable society demands nothing impossible of humanity. It is human intercourse, only, that has to be scientifically regulated, and not human nature that requires something impossible. If such a reform in the state is not possible, it is that in the masses it is too good, too confiding, too generous—a knowledge of which weakness has enabled the cunning and unscrupulous few to tyrannise over and enslave the simple and evolutive many."—(The Euroyn of Human's Vindication.)

Nearing Dissolution.

"New ideas, however ardently preached, will dissolve no society unless it is already in a condition of profound disorganisation. If dissolvent ideas do make way for it is because society is already ripe for dissolution."—John Morley.

Anarchists do not Handle it.

"Government is the tool to obtain which avarice and ambition strive; it is the sword with which now this, now that one strikes and wounds, and calls it governing. We shall constantly be struck and wounded, let who will wield the sword, until we have destroyed the weapon itself."—Dr. S. Engels.
In and Out of Church.
Dogma-dealer, talking treason,
Spurring truth, perverting reason,
In and out of folly's season.

Year by year—
Oh, a plague on all the swaddle
In your hum drum niddle-nodle,
Mammon's law-paid molly-nodle
Limp with fear.

Is there "ain't" in worldly learn?
Yet there's not one day in seven
When you fail to sell your mammon
All for self;

"Heaven to let"—to paying lodger;
Ah, you canting devil-dodger,
Darn not us who spurn your Mammon,
Darn yourself!

If I've done some bad behaving,
And I don't deserve the saving,
Then 'tis honour bode the bravest
Of my dues;

Pilot souls to your sky places
Who are full of Sunday graces,
And with sweat from poor men's faces
Pay for pews.

Call the purse-proud from their blisses,
Call the fashionable misses
From "advisers"—holy kisses,
Call, and call;

Call the people's sky-shapers,
Call the kings of daily papers
Cutting "law and order"—crapes
And all.

Here's my Lord Archbishop, mind you,
Paid to gorge himself, and blind you,
Till your very soul can't find you
Anywhere;

Simple Jesus! See the old 'un!
Why, his dinner-plates are golden!
May the sight our hearts embolden
In our prayer.

Ah, dismiss them, with a "blessing,"
All intoning and confessing,
Never more our souls distressing
With their cant!

Help to silence priestly rumble,
Help the Mammon-temples tumble,
Freedom's banner o'er the jumble
Firm to plant.

Come, dear toilers, stained and weary,
Come and help the world grow cheery,
Come from out your prison dreary
Built by greed;

You who labour hearts-laden,
Slaving mother, trampled maiden,
Ever preached to, ever preyed on,
In your need;

Let your winters grow no colder,
Rise at last and dare be bolder,
Setting shoulder firm to shoulder
For a thrust!

Yokes be casted, and burdens lighter,
As the great Hope warms the fighter,
And the broad New Day grows brighter
And more just.

Anarchism is the Surest way.
"Freedom is the one purport wisely aimed at or unwise, of all man's struggles toilings and sufferings in this earth."—Carpire.

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THE PLACE OF ANARCHISM IN SOCIALISTIC EVOLUTION. By P. Kropotkin. 1d.
REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT. Price 1d.
REVOLUTIONARY STUDIES. 32 pp. Price 2d.
JONES' BOY: Dialogues on Social Questions between an "Entirely Terrible" and his Father. By "Spex-shaver." 1d.
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