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W.M. ROBE

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• ANARCHIST • COMMUNISM •

WILLIAM REEVES. 185, FLEET STREET, E.C.

AND OF J. TOCHATTI, CALMAGNOLE HOUSE, 7, BEADON ROAD, HAMMERSMITH.

THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.

By LOUISE MICHEL.

PART I.

(continued)

THE DEATH-AGONY OF THE EMPIRE.

CHAPTER II.

PROSECUTIONS OF "THE INTERNATIONAL."

"The Poles suffer, but there is all over the world a great nation that is still more oppressed—the Proletariat" (Meeting at St. Martin's Hall, London, Sept. 25th, 1864.)

After the meeting at St. Martin's Hall, the International published its doctrines in the light of day, at the Congresses of Geneva and of Lausanne. Yet none the less was it treated as a secret and illicit association—an association of malefactors. Under direction of the *Juge d'Instruction*, Couet, and other imperial magistrates, perquisitions took place at the headquarters of the society in Paris. A series of raids brought to light nothing that had not been already given to the world, except some private and intimate correspondence in complete agreement with the same; thus proving the entire absence of clandestine methods. Nevertheless the *Instruction* decided to prosecute the "International" as a secret society.

The rules, which had been read out at St. Martin's Hall and then reproduced by the whole London and Paris press, and the public organisation of the Paris section by Limonsin and Tolain, were made grounds for charging the "International" with "secret association"; and fifteen prisoners were cited to appear on March 6th, 1868, before the Correctional Tribunal of Paris, under the presiding magistrate, Delesveaux.

These so-called malefactors were: Chemalé, Tolain, Heligon, Murat, Camelinat, Perrachon, Fournaise, Dantier, Gautier, Bellamy, Geradin, Bastier, Guyard, Delahaye, Delorme.⁽¹⁾ They protested against the summons for March 6th, as the record-office refused to communicate to them the details of their accusation, this being a violation of the rights of defence. The trial was therefore postponed until March 26th.

At Tolain's dwelling a manifesto, printed in Brussels in 1860, had been seized as dangerous to the Imperial State and its society. In this manifesto it was maintained, among other things, that the emancipation of the workers should be accomplished by the workers themselves. To the *Instruction* this appeared like an appeal for a general understanding among the disinherited. There was further a condemnation of frontier wars, in which troops of human beings slaughter one another. These views showed small sympathy on the part of the "International" at a moment when war happened to be equally necessary to Louis Bonaparte in order to maintain himself in power, and to Bismarck in order to re-model the Western Empire.

The imperial advocate, Levelletier, made the accusation appear momentous.

Tolain, in the name of all the accused, presented general considerations; concluding his remarks, as he had agreed with his fellow prisoners to do, with the following:—

"What you have just heard the public minister say, affords plain proof of the danger to which the workers are exposed, when, with the best will in the world, they set themselves to study questions which touch their dearest interests, and to enlighten one another, so as to understand the lines which they have hitherto been blindly pursuing. Whatever they may do, whatever precautions they may take, however great may be their prudence and their integrity, they are always menaced and pursued, and end by falling into the clutches of the law."

And the law had them this time as usual; yet, for a sentence of the empire, and of the empire nearly brought to bay for its crimes by the growing number of rebels for liberty, the penalty was relatively insignificant. The Tribunal contented itself with declaring the "International Association of Workers" to be dissolved, and with the infliction of a fine of 100 francs and 30 days' imprisonment on each of the defendants.

The surest way of multiplying the members of an association is to dissolve it against its will. And the natural result followed. On April 22nd, appeal was made against this judgment, Saillard presiding, when the idea of an association of the workers of all countries was further ventilated, both by the prosecution and by the defence. The program of the "International" was then and there made plain. Energy was to be no longer spent in voting for masters, nor in feebly fighting for a choice of tyrants. Each individual member of the association was free within his own group—free! That was a stirring thought for a society bowed for nearly twenty years beneath the imperial hierarchy.

Tolain once more drew an accurate picture of the way in which the magistracy acted.

"The word 'arbitrary' offends you (he said); well, it is not our fault. One morning it chanced that a functionary got up in a bad temper. Some incident put him in mind of the 'International Association,' and as he happened that day to be seeing everything black, we who were innocent over-night became guilty unawares on the morrow."

"Then the dwellings of those who were supposed to be the chiefs were invaded by night,—as if we had chiefs, or leaders, as some call them. As if we direct our adherents! Our efforts, on the contrary, have always tended to inspire us with their spirit, and to carry out their decisions. Everything has been turned over in these raids, and everything seized which might be suspicious, and yet nothing was found on which to base any charge whatever, since the commissioners charged with these laborious visitations found themselves unable to put in force any one of the warrants with which they had been carefully provided."

"After strict investigation, and cross-questioning that lasted three or four hours, nothing has been discovered against the Association but what all the world already knew—that which, indeed, we ourselves, had cast to the four winds of publicity."

"Yes, there are letters; letters which have not been published, nor read out at meetings. You ignore the contents of these; when they were seized at our dwellings, it was erroneously supposed they would be found to contain proofs of a conspiracy. Acknowledge, then, that at the present moment we are being tried for our opinions. It is desired to prosecute us, not for derelictions actually committed, but for those which we are supposed likely to commit."

"It was the Paris committee who put on the program of the Congress at Lausanne 'The Definition and the Function of the State.' But does this question bear reference exclusively to France? Surely we must be taken for simple indeed, if it be supposed that at our age we have not arrived at opinions of our own with regard to the government of our country. The question is a general one, and in the opinion of us socialists, as of those who were shot down in June, '48, and December, '51, it does not apply more to monarchical than to republican governments."

At this point the magistrate interrupted, remarking that no glorification of "June" and "December" could be allowed. The sentence was confirmed, and the "International," once more dissolved, grew faster than ever.

On the 23rd of May following, nine defendants were called to account for having continued the "International Association of Workers," in spite of the dissolution of the same in March, and of the confirmation of this decree in April.

The prisoners this time were Varlin, Malon, Humbert, Granjon, Bourdon, Charbonneau, Combault, Sandrin, and Mollin.

The presiding magistrate, Delesveaux, enquired if the society to which they belonged had continued its activity since the decision of the court.

Varlin at once assented.

Malon accepted Varlin's reply.

Humbert declared that he had considered it his duty to collect subscriptions for the Swiss workers, "since they are our fellow-men no less than the French."

Charbonneau admitted having continued to carry out his original commission because the work was in the cause of justice.

Combault declared that the workers had a right to occupy themselves with their own affairs, and that he had acted under this conviction.

All avowed the same principles, to which the private letters that had been seized and which were now read out to the court, gave a grave color.

"This is a struggle against justice!" cried Delesveaux.

"On the contrary, it is a struggle for justice" replied the accused.

In course of the raids certain articles from journals had also been seized; among others, an article by Dr. Palley, of Oxford University, in which occurs the following passage:—

"Poverty should not be brought to an end through the extinction of the less fortunate, but through the participation of all in the good things of life. Ancient civilization perished because it retained in its constitution the plague-spot of slavery. Modern civilization will likewise perish, if it persists in believing that the many ought to labor and endure privation, only to procure luxury for the few."

To be continued.

SOCIALISM IN DANGER.

By F. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS.

[Continued from No. 10.]

However, it is a most remarkable thing that Germany has been able to swallow a resolution of which the introductory words constitute a flat contradiction of the proposition brought forward in the congress by her delegates. This freak of compromise can be proved by collating the two texts:

German Proposition—The war against class rule and exploitation must be **POLITICAL** and have for its end **THE CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER.**

Resolution carried. Considering that political action is only a means of achieving the economic emancipation of the proletariat:

1st, That the national and international organisation of the workers of all countries in trades unions and other associations to fight the exploiter is an absolute necessity;

2nd, That political action is necessary as much for the purpose of agitation and the consequent discussion of socialist

⁽¹⁾ These names are for so far it has not been found possible to prosecute men a second time for a crime on which a punishment has been already passed. Death has made breaches among them, and among those surviving, some have been placed beyond further attack.

principles as for the purpose of obtaining urgent reforms; to that end it recommends the workers of all countries to struggle for the acquisition and exercise of political rights, which may be made available to present as effectively as possible the claims of the proletariat in all legislative and administrative bodies; to obtain possession of the means of political power and capitalist supremacy, and to change them into instruments for the emancipation of the worker;

3rd, The choice of methods and means of waging the economic and political war must be left, in consequence of the peculiar circumstances of each country, to the different nationalities;

Nevertheless, the congress declares that it is necessary that, in this war the revolutionary purpose of the socialist movement be kept in the foreground, involving, as it does, the complete overthrow, in its economic, political, and moral aspects, of society as at present constituted. Political action must never be used as an excuse for compromises or alliances injurious to our principles and to our solidarity.

It is true that this resolution, itself the product of a compromise, does not as a whole dazzle the reader by its logical consistency. The first section of it contained the bait which the Dutch contingent were expected to swallow, and whereby it was anticipated that their consent to the whole resolution would be secured. In the following sections some concessions are made to the other side, for instance, where the acquisition and use of political rights are recommended to the workers; and finally, to satisfy both wings of parliamentarians, and that each might give its approval, mention is made of political power as a means of agitation as well as an instrument for obtaining urgent reforms.

In short, nothing has been effected by this resolution, constructed to conciliate both parties, and to display at all hazards an unbroken front to outsiders. To demonstrate the most complete international union was the purpose of the congress, and that end has certainly not been achieved. Not only was the Dutch delegation in direct opposition, but many of the Germans, too, could not possibly have approved the latter part of the proposition, for they openly declared themselves in favour of the principle of direct legislation by the people, of the initiative and referendum, and of the system of proportional representation. This is in open conflict with the views of the well-known Karl Kautsky, who writes as follows:

"Partizans of direct legislation hunt the devil from one body into many, for to grant to all citizens the right of voting upon proposed legal enactments is nothing more nor less than to carry corruption from parliament to people." And here is his conclusion: "In fact, in Europe, to the east of the Rhine at all events, the bourgeoisie has become so enfeebled and cowardly that it seems as if the government of politicians armed with the sword will only be done away with when the proletariat will be able to exercise political power, as if the fall of military absolutism involved the immediate transference of authority to the workers. One thing is certain, that in Germany, in Austria, and in most European countries, the conditions indispensable to the progress of socialist legislation, and above all the democratic institutions needful to the triumph of the proletariat will never come into existence. In the United States, in England, and in the English colonies, even perhaps in France, legislation by the people might reach a certain state of development; but for us, Eastern Europeans, it must be reckoned as one of the adjuncts of Utopia."

Is it possible that a practical people like the Germans, who pride themselves on their common sense and moderation, are at this time of day going to wax enthusiastic over an "adjunct of Utopia" and become fanatics and dreamers? Forbid the thought!

Although our motion may have been rejected, we have the satisfaction to have forced the partisans of the reactionary tendency to play a far more revolutionary rôle than they ever intended. First, they have acknowledged that political action is *only a means* of obtaining the economic freedom of the workers. Secondly, they have accepted the principle of direct legislation by the people. They have thus left the ground they originally held, and have advanced nearer to our position. And when Liebknecht said: "What separates us is not any difference of principle, but a mere revolutionary phraseology and we must get rid of the phraseology," we are, so far as his last words are concerned, entirely in agreement with him, but we ask who is responsible for that phraseology: he and his party who lose themselves in intricate and redundant sentences, or we who use expressions that are clear, pithy, and correct?

To be continued.

What "Government" has done in Corea.

When in former times the Coreans worked to obtain something more than mere food and raiment, their money was seized by the Government. This destroyed all energy, all capacity for work, all desire for the cultivation of art or support of manufacture, and of all religion, and led to the misery and poverty prevailing in that country to-day.

Just as maternal love, idealizing offspring, sees perfections but not defects, and believes in the future good behavior of a worthless son, notwithstanding countless broken promises of amendment; so this power-worship idealizes the State, as embodied either in a despot, or in king, lords or commons, or in a republican assembly, and continually hopes in spite of continual disappointments. — *Herbert Spencer.*

PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

By ERRICO MALATESTA.

I.—UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE (continued from No. 10).

Theoretically, universal suffrage is government by the majority, and takes for granted the right of these to impose their will on the minority.

I have much to object against this pretended right, because the personality, freedom, and happiness of any single individual are as sacred and as much to be respected as are those of all the rest. And, moreover, there is no ground for admitting that the greater number are always on the side of truth, of justice, and of general utility, since facts very often prove that precisely the contrary is the case. Even supposing that all men, with one single exception, were contented to be slaves, and to submit to all kinds of unnecessary suffering, this single man would have a just right to revolt, and to claim freedom and happiness.

True, I am not here speaking of absolute liberty of the individual, but simply of possible and reciprocal liberty; since the individual cannot exist apart from society. He is mainly its product and consequently, just as he submits to the natural laws of the cosmical environment, so should he submit to the conditions necessary to the existence of society; and this as much in his own interest as in the interest of others. But these conditions (which render human society possible and effectual,) when not imposed by evident necessity and instinctively accepted by all, should be the result of an understanding among all, and not of the blind chance of numbers.

Of course, I do not believe it possible that all could be always of the same opinion upon all questions, which unanimity, even were it possible, would destroy all possibility of progress; and consequently I understand that in all practical problems, if men will not or cannot separate, and if it is not possible or expedient to adopt several different solutions at once, it is needful that one fraction yield to the other, and I am very willing to admit that it should be the minority which yields. But this should not happen as a "divine" or "natural" right of the greater number, but should be the consequence of express or tacit compact among those who are associated—a compact imposed by necessity, and which, so far as that goes, is also limited by necessity.

The ideal of society is harmony, free understanding, mutual concession, voluntary submission to social necessity. Those who will not agree voluntarily may, under certain circumstances, live independently of one another, or, as is more common, struggle against each other, and form classes of oppressors and oppressed, according to the fortunes of the struggle; but they do not thus constitute society in the true sense of the word.

However all this has little to do with the subject of the present study, for whatever may be anyone's opinion as to the rights of the majority, the fact remains that universal suffrage is a fraud, like the parliamentary system in general, and in reality it is not by any means government by the majority, nor even government by the majority of electors. It is simply an artifice by which the government of a class or of a party assumes the appearance of popular government.

To be continued.

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Between Ourselves.

By ministerial decree, all the branches of the Italian Socialistic Workers' Party, all workmen's associations, provident and co-operative societies, indeed all bodies that have shown any sympathy with socialism or tendency to move in that direction, have been dissolved. Some hundreds of societies throughout Italy have been struck by this decree. No association in Sicily and in Lunigiana, according to dispatches, has been dissolved; but a very good reason exists for this, as the government, taking advantage of the state of siege to which it had reduced these provinces, had already dissolved and forbidden every popular association.

The police have been as usual brutal and stupid in carrying out their orders. Houses ransacked, books and cash belonging to societies seized wherever they have been able to lay hands on them, private correspondence laid bare to every police officer; all these incidents have been of common occurrence. To be short, they have subjected every class of socialists, even the most moderate and law-abiding, to the same treatment they formerly reserved specially for Anarchists. When Crispi brought forward in Parliament his Anti-Anarchist law the socialists of the Workers' Party (Marxists) hastened to separate their cause from that of the Anarchists, and failed even to utter a dignified and courageous protest against a law that denied the most elementary liberty to an entire class of citizens because of their opinions.

The Socialists were often told that when the government had crushed the Anarchists they would be subjected to the same treatment. Their turn has come, before even the Anarchists have been reduced to inaction. And the game will go on until even the republicans and the constitutional liberals find their liberties invaded and set at naught. All these parties will have reason to regret the day they left the Anarchists to their cruel fate. But now at last from every part of Italy all the advanced parties are raising with one voice a cry of indignation against the government, and are buckling on their armour against it. Perhaps these are the last days of Italian monarchy, and the Italian Anarchists will soon have an occasion to show their capacity of action.

The German Social-Democratic Congress at Frankfort has given us fresh proof of the danger to socialism involved in the tactics of compromise preached with so much zeal by the parliamentary legalists.

Herr Bebel, who is beyond doubt one of the most honest and sincere champions of Social-Democracy, has just delivered an address in favour of inequality in professional salaries which is a direct contradiction to socialist principles and completely favours privilege and the bourgeoisie.

It is with great regret that we draw attention to this speech of Bebel's, approved as it was by the majority at the Congress. We will attempt to analyse it in our next number.

WHAT IS THE PRACTICAL SCOPE OF ANARCHISM?

BY CH. MALATO.

For some of us, Anarchism is a living, moving tendency—a powerful and eternally flowing current, bearing us towards a perfect but not distrainable ideal, and ever onwards to "That great harbour that ever flees."

For others, endowed with a less contemplative and more positive spirit, it is a social influence or form—not narrow and inflexible but definite, practicable and tangible enough to interest the great mass of the people who cannot get impassioned and enthusiastic beyond measure for things of the year 2000.

The latter view of the question is ours. We do not prohibit any flight into the blue sky of the ideal: to do so would be acting oppressively and even absurdly. On the other hand, however, to leave the enemy completely in possession of the whole ground of practical effort, and to confine ourselves to the land of dreams, is to make a mistake, commit a blunder, perpetrate a deadly fault.

When Socialism appeared under a dogmatical and authoritarian shape, Anarchism manifested itself as a reacting force in the form of Individualism. This was fatal: an excess in one direction is sure to produce its counterpart in another direction. Because some Socialist doctors wanted to lead an obedient herd, some Anarchists ventured to prescribe a lonely independence.

But to exist only as a counterpoise—as a negation, would be pitiful. Men possessing will, heart, and activity cannot confine themselves in the perpetual bondage of such a position. We cannot, with a mere negation in the place of a clear conception, excite the masses to revolution. We cannot, with a mere negation, lead them successfully along a road strewn with formidable obstacles, where at every step they may have to leave a bit of flesh.

Let us think less of what may happen in a century's time, and more of what may—and should—happen to-morrow.

We can do without parliaments, chiefs of the state, bankers, masters, shooters, spies, and priests: we cannot do without bread. If we deny the political fallacies, we must affirm the economical necessities; if we contend with hierarchy, we must proclaim association. Possession in common of all the means of production and exchange, in place of individual monopoly; free association of producers on the principle of equal rights—the liberty of the individual being limited only by the rights of others: in this manner may be sketched our general conception of the society we desire to see established.

The economical groupments and forces, *i. e.* the trade unions, are destined—whether we like it or not to play the principal part in an economic reformation. If we leave these forces in the hands of authoritarians they will crush us; if, on the contrary, we enter these unions with a view to transform their spirit, and to imbue them with our ideas of freedom and revolution, we shall at no distant day see our scope realised—at least partially, and otherwise than in a dream.

We have just returned from Aberdeen, Dundee, Elginburg, Glasgow, and are deeply impressed with the growth and strength of Anarchist-Communism in Scotland. We intend giving our impressions of the Scotch movement, in our next number.

We are pleased to see that a few of our comrades are actively working with the Progressionists and have secured Milton Hall, Hawley Crescent, Kentish Town, where lectures will be delivered Sunday evenings. Comrade P. Kropotkin is down to lecture on "Anarchist Socialism," Nov. 11th; and Bernard Shaw on "The Limits of Social-Democracy," Dec. 2nd.

In commemoration of the legal murder of the five Anarchists—August Spies, Albert R. Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, and Louis Lingg—in Chicago, on Friday, November 11th 1887, we print the accompanying illustration drawn, with special reference to the event, by Mr. Walter Crane. We advise the reading of the speeches made by Spies and the other accused when they were on their trial: they may be said to be the last words of men who by their actions have left indelible footprints behind them: we also advise a reperusal of the reasons given by Governor Altgeld when he pardoned Fielden and others. To-day the deeds of Vaillant and Caserio are fresh in the memory of thou-

sands of comrades scattered throughout the world, and over an equally wide area will be sorrowfully commemorated this month a deed that has rendered the very name of Chicago a byword and a reproach. We remember at this particular moment the burning words uttered by our dear comrade, S. Merlino (now a prisoner in Florence) with reference to the Chicago murders: "The feeling of indignation and revenge, which the sight of wrong awakens in sensitive men, is a social progressive force and must be made use of." The same great object—for which Spies and others bravely fought and died, has, since their martyrdom, caused contests equally fierce, and the battle still rages.



Anarchy, therefore, is liberty; is the negation of force, or compulsion, or violence. —ALBERT PARSONS.

You may pronounce the sentence upon me, honorable judge, but let the world know that in A. D., 1886, in the State of Illinois, eight men were sentenced to death because they believed in a better future; because they had not lost their faith in the ultimate victory of liberty and justice. —AUGUST SPIES.

If we are executed, we can ascend the scaffold with the satisfaction that by our death we have advanced our noble cause more than we could possibly have done had we grown as old as Methuselah. —ADOLPH FISCHER.

If they use cannons against us, we shall use dynamite against them. —LOUIS LINGG.

I am too much of a man of feeling, not to battle against the societary conditions of to-day. —GEORGE ENGEL.

A MEETING in commemoration of the Chicago Martyrs will be held at the Cosmopolitan Club, Charles Square, Hoxton, Sunday morning November 11th, at 11.30. Admission Free.

Speakers: J. Tochatti, Graham, Forrester, and others.

A COMMEMORATION meeting will be held in the Secular Hall, Humberstone Gate, Leicester, on Monday, Nov. 12th, at 8. Speakers: J. Tochatti, Ben Warner, W. Banham, A. Gorrie, G. Cores, and others. Mrs. Tochatti will sing "All for the Cause."

IN DEFENCE OF EMMA GOLDMANN AND THE RIGHT OF EXPROPRIATION.

BY VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

The light is pleasant, is it not, my friends? It is good to look into each other's faces, to see the hands that clasp our own, to read the eyes that search our thoughts, to know what manner of lips give utterance to our pleasant greetings. It is good to be able to wink defiance at the Night, the cold, unseeing Night. How weird, how gruesome, how chilly it would be if I stood here in blackness, a shadow addressing shadows, in a house of blindness! Yet each would know that he was not alone; yet might we stretch hands and touch each other, and feel the warmth of human presence near. Yet might a sympathetic voice ring thro' the darkness, quickening the dragging moments.—The lonely prisoners in the cells of Blackwell's Island have neither light nor sound! The short day hurries across the sky, the short day still more shortened in the gloomy walls. The long chill night creeps up so early, weaving its sombre curtain before the imprisoned eyes. And thro' the curtain comes no sympathizing voice, beyond the curtain lies the prison silence, beyond that the cheerless, uncommunicating land, and still beyond the icy, fretting river, black and menacing, ready to drown. A wail of night, a wall of stone, a wall of water! Thus has the great State of New York answered EMMA GOLDMAN; thus have the classes replied to the masses; thus do the rich respond to the poor; thus does the Institution of Property give its ultimatum to Hunger!

"Give us work" said EMMA GOLDMAN; "if you will not give us work, then give us bread; if you do not give us either work or bread then we shall take bread." It wasn't a very wise remark to make to the State of New York, that is — Wealth and its watch-dogs, the Police. But I fear me much that the apostles of liberty, the fore-runners of revolt, have never been very wise. There is a record of a seditious person, who once upon a time went about with a few despised followers in Palestine, taking corn out of other people's corn-fields, (on the Sabbath day, too). That same person, when he wished to ride into Jerusalem told his disciples to go forward to where they would find a young colt tied, to unloose it and bring it to him, and if any one interfered or said anything to them, were to say: "My master hath need of it". That same person said: "Give to him that asketh of thee, and from him that taketh away thy goods ask them not back again". That same person once stood before the hungry multitudes of Galilee and taught them, saying: "The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; therefore whatever they bid you observe, that observe and do. But do not ye after their works, for they say, and do not. For they bind heavy burdens, and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders; but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers. But all their works they do to be seen of men; they make broad their phylacteries, and enlarge the borders of their garments: and love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and greeting in the markets, and to be called of men, 'Rabbi, Rabbi'." And turning to the Scribes and the Pharisees, he continued: "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widows' houses, and for a pretence make long prayers: therefore shall ye receive the greater damnation. Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, and mercy, and faith: these ought ye to have done and not left the other undone. Ye blind guides, that strain at a gnat and swallow a camel! Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and

platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess. Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For ye are like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but within are full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness. Even so ye outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity. Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! Because ye build the tombs of the prophets and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous; and say 'if we had been in the days of our fathers we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets. Wherefore ye be witnesses unto yourselves that ye are the children of them which killed the prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers! Ye serpents! Ye generation of vipers! How can ye escape the damnation of hell!'"

Yes; these are the words of the outlaw who is alleged to form the foundation stone of modern civilization, to the authorities of his day. Hypocrites, extortionists, doers of iniquity, robbers of the poor, blood-partakers, serpents, vipers, fit for hell!

It wasn't a very wise speech, from beginning to end. Perhaps he knew it when he stood before Pilate to receive his sentence, when he bore his heavy crucifix up Calvary, when nailed upon it, stretched in agony, he cried: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!"

No, it wasn't wise—but it was very grand.

This grand, foolish person, this beggar-tramp, this thief who justified the action of hunger, this man who set the Right of Property beneath his foot, this Individual who defied the State, do you know why he was so feared and hated, and punished? Because, as it is said in the record, "the common people heard him gladly;" and the accusation before Pontius Pilate was, "we found this fellow perverting the whole nation. He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Jewry."

Ah, the dreaded "common people!"

When Cardinal Manning wrote: "Necessity knows no law, and a starving man has a natural right to a share of his neighbor's bread," who thought of arresting Cardinal Manning? His was a carefully written article in the *Fortnightly Review*. Who read it? Not the people who needed bread. Without food in their stomachs, they had not fifty cents to spend for a magazine. It was not the voice of the people themselves asserting their rights. No one for one instant imagined that Cardinal Manning would put himself at the head of ten thousand hungry men to loot the bakeries of London. It was a piece of ethical hair-splitting to be discussed in after-dinner speeches by the wine-muddled gentlemen who think themselves most competent to consider such subjects when their dress-coats are spoiled by the vomit of gluttony and drunkenness. But when EMMA GOLDMAN stood in Union Square and said, "if they do not give you work or bread take bread", the common people heard her gladly; and as of old the wandering carpenter of Nazareth addressed his own class, teaching throughout all Jewry, stirring up the people against the authorities, so the dressmaker of New York addressing the unemployed working-people of New York was the menace of the depths of society, crying in its own tongue. The authorities heard and were afraid; therefore the triple wall.

To be continued.

Even with respect to convenience only, it is not yet determinable by the evidence of history, what is absolutely the best form of government to live under. There are indeed said to be republican villages (towns?) in America, where everybody is civil, honest, and substantially comfortable; but these villages have several unfair advantages—there are no lawyers in them, no town councils, and no parliaments; such republicanism, if possible on a large scale, would be worth fighting for. *Ruskin*.

"Under any government, whatever it may be, nature has set limits to the miseries of the people. Beyond these limits lie death, flight, or revolt."—*Didrot*.

THE SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION.

By AGNES HENRY.

Now that every London daily and weekly is busily urging the claims of its respective party's candidates for the coming election to the London School Board, and while every society whether ethical, religious or secular, is doing its best to arouse the interest of its members in the contest, it may perhaps not be amiss to bring forward a few questions and comments as they arise in the mind of the Anarchist observer.

In the first place does not this agitation betray as much party spirit as any other contest with a view to the election of so-called representatives? And consequently is it not evident that the School Board, like every other governing body, is and will be composed of people representing widely differing interests. And in this case (except for the few Social-Democrats who may be successful candidates) not only will the members represent differing interests among themselves, but the large majority will be agreed on just those class interests, which make them the last people who ought to control the education of the workers' children. For they as a class are always united in wishing the children of the worker to become in their turn, obedient, docile, and law-abiding, though at the same time able workers in the future.

Now, were the true interest of every individual child the aim and object in view, those best fitted—who naturally would have the control and management of educational matters—would be, on the one hand, the wisest and best of the teachers, who know theoretically and practically both what is, and how to impart the best education, and, on the other hand, the parents, whose interests must be most nearly bound up with the individual advantages of their own children: and with children surely an all-round education with the object of making them happy and efficient human beings ought to be the one and only consideration. With regard to these, class or sectarian interests have certainly no right to intervene. But, some may object, if the teachers understand their business, the parents of the working classes do not understand, in the matter of education at least, what the requirements of their children are, or, if they do understand, they are not in the economic position to enable them to procure them. As to great numbers of the workers not understanding what it would be good to teach their children, that is a very debateable question; by the way many of them seek after that learning which they see would be power or enjoyment to themselves, to the careful observer it seems that they might be just as well trusted to find able teachers for their children as the middle classes are. And as for the rest, they show just as much tendency to copy or follow in the footsteps of the more intelligent in society, as are the more stupid of the middle-class, if only for ambition's or respectability's sake. And as to their capabilities economically they never will have their children well taught until they can command these too.

But let us look at the great crucial burning point in this present School Board agitation. Is it not a matter which, in every other class, would be considered ought to be decided by the parents themselves exclusively?

Who would now in this country tolerate the laying down of the law by any government as to whether our high schools or collegiate schools were to be orthodox, freethinking or merely biblical in their teaching? There are schools of all these tendencies, *because* there are parents upholding these, but the final decision, in regard to every individual child, rests exclusively with the parents, who are now recognised to be the only people who ought to decide.

After all what does it matter which way the majority will go on this question, so long as it rests with the

parents as to whether their children shall be given a religious education or not? Let them individually speak out. Let those who are not believers keep their children away from the religious instruction whatever it may be; and let them individually protest wherever their children meet with petty persecution for their opinion's sake, and then so soon as they, the parents, assert their wills the matter will be settled.

For those again who desire "the compromise," let them side with the broader minded teachers and strike against the introduction of dogma. So soon as they do this, School Board or any other Government will be impotent to resist them. From the beginning to the end of time, the determined will of determined individuals can alone break down the authority or tyranny of any Government whatever. To conclude, what School Board we have matters little, what individual and united part the parents and teachers play matters all.

Questions for Anarchists.

To the Editor of *Liberty*.

Will you permit one who is outside the ranks of your party, but who has the strongest sympathy with its principles, to ask one or two very plain questions? (1) Does the work of spreading a knowledge of your principles and winning appreciation of your ideals prevent the making of even the least effort for the immediate removal of some present-day evils? (2) Is it necessary on joining the ranks of Anarchism to give up all one's endeavours to deal with, improve if possible, such forms of government as pertain to parish and parochial affairs—to our charities, our schools, our vestries, workhouses, etc?

I cannot find any guidance out of the difficulties hinted at in these questions by perusing the very able articles in *LIBERTY*: and the same may be said with regard to the contents of journals similar to yours.

If I may assume that your answer to my first question will be in the affirmative, may I ask if, in your opinion, it would not be good policy on the part of Anarchists to render what practical assistance they can in solving one of the most pressing dilemmas of the day, viz. "What to do with the unemployed." Winter will be here directly, and the unemployed (there is every reason for supposing) more numerous than ever. Meetings on Tower Hill, and processions about the City, were tried last winter, the result being almost nil. Can Anarchists come forward with a remedy, or even a scheme for partial relief? I think they might, and at the same time give such an object lesson as would demonstrate the all-important value of their principles. I may however be wrong both in my premises and in my conclusions, and before saying more will wait to see if you think my questions worthy of answers.—Yours, etc.,

INQUIRER.

A comrade to whom we forwarded a proof of the above letter has favoured us with the following reply from the Individualist Anarchist point of view:—

My answer to question No. 1 is: No; provided the remedy does not partake of the nature of government, *i.e.*, does not violate the principle of equal liberty.

In answer to No. 2, I say it is most decidedly un-Anarchistic to have anything to do with National or Parochial government, except in so far as it may be necessary in order to prevent as much as possible its further encroachment upon individual freedom. Charities and all voluntary institutions are perfectly Anarchistic. As for the schools for compulsory education this is the Anarchist position briefly stated: Inasmuch as the School Board is a governing body delegated to administer funds which are raised by compulsory taxation, and the wishes of the minority being ignored by the majority, an Anarchist cannot consistently take part in it. The only course open is that of withdrawing the child from the tuition, if the parents do not agree with it, if then compelled, submission with the best grace possible till such a time arrives that the Anarchist Party is sufficiently strong to repel the invasion, and establish Voluntary Schools. Regarding workhouses as being made necessary by a system of Monopoly, we use our influence in outside agitation, in the direction of cutting down officialism and making the condition of the inmates as bearable as possible.

"What to do with the unemployed." Though having the most sincere sympathy with the reserve army of labor we have no scheme to offer for partial relief: they are entitled to what they can squeeze (by any means they choose to employ) from their late masters who have cast them aside.

But we have a remedy, and that is Free Money and Free Land; the former being the "De-monetization of specie-value as the sole basis of credit, and the Generalisation of real credit by the Monetization of all marketable values". The latter being the destruction of land monopoly which is supported by statute laws. The only title to land which is equitable being occupancy and use. Thus free money furnishing a medium of exchange free of interest, plus the cost of working, (by means of the machinery of the Mutual Bank) based upon actual wealth instead of the fictitious government-created specie value of today, would give such an impetus to trade, combined with free land, as would create a demand for labor that none would be left unemployed.

MENTAL AND MANUAL WORK.

By P. KROPOTKIN.

Translated and condensed specially for LIBERTY.

In past times men of science, and especially those who achieved most in the department of physics, did not despise manual labour, and sometimes they even worked at a trade. Galileo made his own telescopes. Newton learned in youth to form the tools he needed. Leibnitz amused himself by inventing machines. Linnæus became a botanist while helping his father, who was a gardener. On the other hand, although workmen, then as now, had but little opportunity to become experts in science, the majority of them had their minds enlarged by the variety and scope of the work done in their shops.

We have changed all that. Under the pretence of dividing labour, we have made a great gulf between the mental and the manual workers. Most labourers receive no more education in science than did their grandfathers, they do not even serve a thorough apprenticeship to a trade. As for "scientists," they despise labour with the hand. How many of them could make a telescope or an elementary tool? Few of them know how to draw, and they can only in the vaguest way give a skilled artisan some comprehension of the apparatus they need, leaving to his inventive faculty the trouble of supplying the deficiency.

What is the source of the popular clamour for technical education in England, France, the United States, Germany, and Russia, if not the general discontent with that division of men into the categories: scientists, employers, workmen? Listen to those who utter a protest. What say they in substance? The workman, especially in the more complex trades, spends his life over some small and insignificant part of the vast work in which he collaborates, and consequently has lost all breadth of mind, and blunted his inventive faculty. Formerly the contrary was the case: it was craftsmen, and not savants or employers, who invented and improved the wonderful machines that during the last century have revolutionised industry. To-day a mere unit in a vast factory, the worker, demoralised by the sameness of his labour, invents nothing. What can a weaver discover who sees work done by a complicated mechanism he does not understand, of which he has never learned the history and evolution? What can be expected of a man whose life is spent in fastening ends of thread, and who has never made anything more elaborate than a knot?

Scientific education, general and thorough, which has up to now been withheld from the artisan, becomes necessary to the progress of invention. Let the instruction reserved for the savant be imparted to the craftsman, and not only will science advance by leaps and bounds, but the class antagonism will receive a peaceful solution. That is the meaning of the popular cry for technical education.

We are convinced that in the highest interests both of science and industry, indeed of society as a whole, the human being must, universally and without regard to rank or birth, receive such an education as will fit him to combine the mastery of a trade with a thorough understanding of the sciences to which it is related.

Many will think that we ask too much, that we indulge in a dream that can never be realised. Yet I hope to convince even those of little faith that we ask nothing preposterous, something indeed which is already in operation on a small scale, and which may yet be accomplished over a world-wide area, spite of the economic and social difficulties which hinder every serious reform of our badly organised modern society.

In support of our contention we produce the results of twenty years' progress of the Technical School at Moscow, where several hundreds of pupils receive their training. That this experiment is a remarkable success was testified by the most competent judges at the exhibitions held at Brussels, Philadelphia, Vienna, and Paris. L'Ecole de Moscou receives no pupils over 15 years of age. They must have on entry a fair knowledge of algebra and geometry, likewise of their mother tongue. Below that age they enter into preparatory classes. The school is divided into two sections: mechanics and chemistry. I shall say nothing of the latter, my acquaintance being confined to the first, which is besides the more interesting of the two, in illustration of our subject. After a sojourn of five or six years students leave the school with a thorough knowledge of the higher mathematics, physics, mechanics, and the cognate sciences. We may fairly claim that they are in no way inferior to the graduates of the best universities in Europe. When I was studying mathematics at the St. Petersburg University I had the chance to compare their work with our own, and the notes in geometry excellently drawn up by students of L'Ecole Technique for the use of their fellow-pupils. I saw reason to admire the ease with which they applied the integral calculus to problems in dynamics and I came to the conclusion that even if the university students were stronger in the abstract sciences, (mathematics applied to astronomy, for instance) the pupils of the technical school were ahead of us in their geometry and in their use of the higher mathematics to the most difficult questions with regard to the later theories about heat and electricity. Again, while we, the university men, scarcely knew how to use our hands in productive work, the technical students could make, without the help of artisans and by the use of splendid engines, all kinds of implements, from a heavy boiler to a delicate instrument, and were conversant with the

obtained the highest prizes at various international exhibitions. These products of expert workmen with a university education were highly appreciated by Russian manufacturers, a class who are notoriously slow to adopt the novelties of science.

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