CONTENTS

Between Ourselves.
The School Board Election.
   By Agnes Henry.
The Commune of Paris.
   By Louise Michel.
Parliamentary Politics in the Socialist Movement.
   By Errico Malatesta.
Defence of Emma Goldman.
   What is Anarchism?
   By C. Malato.
Mental and Manual Work.
   By P. Kropotkin.
Socialism in Danger.
   By F. D. Nieuwenhuis.
The Chicago Martyrs.
   With an Illustration by Walter Crane.

A JOURNAL OF

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM

William Reeves, 185, Fleet Street, E.C.
And 4, Tothill Street, Victoria House, 7, Beadon Road, Hammersmith.
THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.

By LOUISE MICHEL.

PART I.

THE DEATH-AGONY OF THE EMPIRE.

CHAPTER II.

PROCESSIONS OF THE "INTERNATIONAL."

The 18th of May, but those who follow the world a great noise is that is more remarkable than in previous years. As at St. Martin's Hall, London, and elsewhere.

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 Lyons. Yet none the less was it treated as a secret and illicit association, and members of it refused admission to the International. Members refused to utilizado 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 society, and this the mere absence of clandestine methods. Nevertheless the International decided to prosecute the "International" as a secret association.

The rules, which had been read out at St. Martin's Hall and then reproduced in the whole London and Paris press, and the public organisation of the Paris section by Lonson and Tolain, were made grounds for charging the International with sedition. At the headquarter of the "International," a chair and fifteen persons were cited to appear on March 6th, 1858, before the Correctional Tribunal of Paris, under the presiding magistrate, Delevaux.

These so-called malefactors were: Chemali, Tolain, Helignon, Murat, Cardinat, Parchin, Davoine, D'aurac, Boulanger, Delahaye, Dodez. They protested against the summons for March 6th, and were refused the right 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 28th. At Tolain's dwelling a manifesto, printed at Brussels in 1855, had been seized and charges were made that the same manifesto was maintained, among other things, that "the emancipation of the workers should be accomplished by the workers themselves." In the "International" this appeared like a call for a general understanding among the members. There was thus the beginning of a condemnation of the workers' wars, in which troops of human beings slough 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 Napoleon, in order to maintain himself in power, and to Biban for the pressing need of the West.

The imperial advocate, Lebelletier, 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:

"We, the prisoners of the public minister say, affirms 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 deepest interests, and to fight for one another, so as to understand the lines which 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 accused and pursued, and end by falling into the clutches of the law."

And the law had taken this time as usual, yet, for a sentence of the empire, and of the empire nearly brought to bar 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 same way of multiplying the members of an association is to dissolve it against its will. And the natural result followed. On April 22nd a new appeal was made against this judgment. Stothard pressed, 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 boldly fighting for a choice of tyrants. Each individual member of the association was free within his own group. That was a startling thought for a society formed for nearly twenty years beneath the imperial order.

Tolain once more drew an accurate picture of the war in which the association acted.

"Then the arbitrary," he said, "will, it is not our fault, one morning it chanced that a functionary got up in a bad temper. Some accident put him in mind of the 'International Association,' and as he happened that day to be seeing everybody face, who were innocent even right became guilty men on the morning's orders."

Then the dwellings of those who were supposed to be the chiefs were invaded in the night, and we had chiefs, or leaders, as some call them. As if we direct our attention to those aspects of the affair which I have spoken of before, in the November 9th, we are directed to read them as the week's news and not the affair of a week ago. That is obviously the case of the matter, and yet nothing was found on which to base any charge whatever, since the committee charged with these libelous investigations found themselves unable to put in force any of the warrants with which they had been charged.

"After strict investigation, and cross-questioning that lasted three or four hours, nothing had been discovered against the Association for what all the world already knew about it, which, indeed, we ourselves had cast to the 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 published they were never published in this way, and if the worst should come to the worst we are still entitled to say that the worst has already been done."

"It was the Paris committee who put on the program of the Congress at Lyons 'The Definition and the Function of the State.' The question is a general one, and is made, you are aware, once more as a declaration of the greatness of the country in June, '48, and December, '51, it does not apply more to monarchial than to republican governments."

At this point the magistrate interrupted, remarking that no evidence could be produced, and the "International," once more dissolved, grew faster than ever.

On the 6th 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.

Charles Bailyn, Malon, Humbert, Grangon, Bourbon, Charbonnier, Combaull, Sandrin, and Molin. The pressing magistrate, Delevaux, inquired if the society to which they belonged had continued its activity since the decree of the court.

Varias accepted Bailyn's reply.

Humbert declared that he had considered it his duty to re-direct subscriptions to the Swiss workers, since they are our fellow-workers, less than that of the French."

Charlesbain admitted having continued to carry out his original commission because the war was not in the cause of justice. Combaull declared that the workers had a right to speak for themselves with their own affairs, and that he had acted under this conviction.

He followed the same principles, to which the private letters that have been seized and which were now read out to the court, gave a grave color."

"Does a struggle against injustice?" cried Delevaux.

"On the contrary, it is a struggle for justice," replied the accused. In course of the cases certain articles from journals had also been seized; among others, an article by Dr. Palley, of Oxford University, in which the following passage is quoted:

"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 permits in believing that the many ought to labor and endure privation, only to preserve luxury for the few."
PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.
By ERNICO MALATESTA.

1. 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 never so much respected as when 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 consequence, just as he submits to the natural laws of the cosmosal 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 minorities. Of course, I do not believe it possible that all could be always of the same opinion upon all questions, which unanimity, even if possible, would destroy all possibility of progress; and consequently I understand that in all practical problems, if men will not or cannot separate, 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 result of power of expression 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.

"Liberty" Sustenance Fund.

Liberty has up to the present time been carried on with considerate ability and heart and soul among the working men; but only those who have some idea what editing, printing, and publishing a paper means, can realise. Hitherto we have asked no one for subscriptions. We now therefore ask those who think Liberty justifies its existence, for pittance, in order to strengthen our propagandists, and to take us over the present difficulties. All subscriptions are to be sent to James Tishetti, Café Margarete, 7 Beadon Road, Hammersmith, London.
Between Ourselves.

By ministerial decree, all the branches of the Italian Socialist Workers' Party, all Italian associations, prevalent and co-operating 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 Lombardy, 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. Barricades, road-blocks 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 Crisp 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 came, before even the Anarchists have been reduced to motion. And the game will go on until even the republicans and the constitutional liberals have had 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 one voice a cry of indignation against the government, and are backing on their armament 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 which socialists are involved in the tactics of compromise preached with so much zeal by the parliamentary legislators.

Herr Reibelt, who is beyond doubt one of the most honest and sincere champions of Social-Democracy, has just delivered an address in favour of iniquity in professional schemes 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 Reibelt'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 distasteful ideal, to which we are steadily and patiently 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 force—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 be doing 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 Socialists wanted to lead an obedient heel, 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 more negation in the place of a clear conception, excite the masses to revolution. We cannot, with more negation, lead them successfully along a road strewn with formidable obstacles, where at every step they may have to leave a belt of flesh.

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

We can do without parliaments, chiefs of the state, landlords, masters, shooters, spies, and priests: we can not 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 movements 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 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, Edinburgh, 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 actually working with the Progressivists and have secured Milton Hall, Hanley 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 re-perusal 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 thousands 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, of 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. —Anarchist News.

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 cannon against us, we shall use dynamite against them. —Louis Lingg.

I am too much of a man of feeling, not to battle against the society conditions of today. —Gino Berti.

A MEETING in commemoration of the Chicago Martyrs will be held at the Cosmopolitan Club, Charles Square, Boston, Sunday morning, November 11th, at 11:30. Admission Free.

Speakers: J. T. Tchatchi, Graham, Forrest, and others.

A COMMEMORATION meeting will be held in the Secular Hall, Humberstone Gate, Leicesters, on Monday, Nov. 12th, at 8.

Speakers: J. Tchatchi, Ben Warner, W. B. Baim, A. Gore, O. Gore, and others. Mrs. Tchatchi 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 lives, to see the hands at clasped upon 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, unseen 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 an ar. 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 wall of night, a wall of stone, a wall of water! Thus has the great State of New York maundered Emma Goldman; thus have the clausuaries 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 race of a sedulous person, who once upon a time went about with a few despised fellows in Palestine, taking corn out of other people’s cornfields, (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 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. All their works they do to be seen of men; they make bread their phylacteries, and the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and yet to be called of men, Lord. And thou hast given 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 whitened sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but within are full of dead men’s bones and all uncleanness. Even so ye outwardly appear right, comen unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity. Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! Because ye bring forth the burdens of the prophets, and your father and your mother, who have broken my commandments, and have indeed outwardly followed the commandments, but within ye are full of uncleanness and iniquity. Woe unto you, ye legalists! for ye are like unto blind guides, who lead astray the blind, and they that are no blind, but make them worse; because ye are like unto the blind who lead astray the blind; and he that is no blind, but makes them worse. Therefore when the Prophets were in the days of our fathers, 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. Fall 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 labour, this man who set the Right of Property beneath his feet, the 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? Was he 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 spattered by the vomit of gin 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 a dressng 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 they tripped him.

Even with respect to convenience only, it is not yet determinable by the everyday calendar, what time of com-
THE SCHOOL BOARD ELECTION.

By AGNES HENRY.

Now that every London daily and weekly is busily urging the election 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, will be composed of parties 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 to control the working class.

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 child 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 would be good to teach their children, that is a very debatable 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 earn enough.

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 orthodoxy, 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 recognized 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 all this School Board or any other Government will be impotent to resist. 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, that 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 is the strongest supporter of your principles, to ask you 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 evils? (2) Do the principles of Anarchism give enough power to the Anarchist to give up all one's endeavours to deal with, improve if possible, such forms of government as pert ain to parish and parochial administration of our charities, our schools, our woods, etc. The fact is, 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. I may assume that your answer to my first question will be 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 and wretched, who are the unemployed (there is no reason for supposing) more numerous than ever. Meetings on Tower Hill, and possessions 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.

Letter to Inquirer.

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 princi ple of equal liberty.

My answer to question No. 2 is: 1) it is most decidedly un-Anarchist 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. 2) As to compulsory education this is the Anarchist position briefly stated two or three times a week, but 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, whereupon compelled, subsequent to the decision of the Board in such a time arrives that the Anarchist Party is sufficiently strong to compel 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 legislation and making the condition of the inmates as bearable as possible.

"What to do with the unemployed?" Though having most sincere sympathy with the reserve army of labor we have no scheme to offer for partial relief, etc. Anarchists, though as sparsely as any means they choose to employ) from their late masters who have cast them adrift.

But, we state a remedy, and that is Free Money and Free Land, the former being the "Democratization of spendable value" as the sole basis of credit, and the Generalization of real credit by the Monetization of all marketable values. The latter being the destruction of land monopolies which is supported by the Anarchists, because it is equitably being acquired and use. Thus free money furnishing a medium of exchange: free of interest, plus the cost of working, the means of the markets of the Mutual Banks based upon actual work. In the end of the benefits Anarchists would, by the value of today, would give such an impetus to trade, combined with free land, as would create a demand for labor that some 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 many a manual labor, 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. Lomon became a smith 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 pretense of dividing labour, we have made a great gulf between the mental and the manual work. Most labourers receive no more education in science than their grandfathers had, and yet, if we threw them all into a vast factory, the worker, demoralized by the severity 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 heard in the history of human thought? Who is to 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 confined within the walls of the academic institution, becomes necessary to the progress of invention. Let us instruct the worker and 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 manual worker 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 science to which it is related.

Many will think that we ask too much, that we underrate in a dream the value of education. Yet I have the same confidence even in this, as many that little faith that we ask nothing preposterous, something indeed which is already in operation on a small scale, and which may yet be accomplished on a world-wide area, out of the economic and social difficulties which hinder every serious reform of our badly organized modern society.

In support of our contention we produce the results of twenty years' work of the Technische Hochschule at Munich, 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. The students have received over two hundred diplomas, and have been enabled to acquire an education of the highest rank.

NOTICES OF PROPAGANDA.

LONDON Hyde Park, 3:30; Regent's Park, 11; Canning Town, 11:30; Clerkenwell Green, 7:30; Speeches in English and Italian. Stratford. The Grove, 11:30; Deptford, 9:30 New Cross Road. (top floor) group meetings every Monday at 8; Hoxton, Cosmopolitan Club, Charles St. 11:30 London evening debates will be conducted "Spokeshave" through newspapers.

ABERDEEN Regent's Quay, Sundays, 3 p.m.; Castle Street, 6:30 p.m.; Small Oddfellows' Hall, Mondays, 8. Large Hall, Sundays, 6:30.

EDINBURGH - Sundays, Meadows, 3 and 6:30.

Glasgow: - The Green, Saturdays, 12 noon: Wellington Palace, 6:30; information of group meetings can be had of the Agent.

LEEDS Sundays, Vicar's Croft, 11 and The International Workers' Club, New York Street 7.

EASTBOURNE - Sundays, Meads, Quality, 3 and 6:30.

BLACKPOOL - Sundays, Clapham, 4:30, 8; Blandford Gate, 8; Ainsdale Club, Charles Street, 6:30.

Aberdeen: - Regent's Quay, Sundays, 3 p.m.; Castle Street, 6:30 p.m.; Small Oddfellows' Hall, Mondays, 8. Large Hall, Sundays, 6:30.


Manchester: - Sundays, Russell Square, 10:45 a.m.; Market Place, 8:15 a.m.; Hamburger Gate, 8 p.m.; Gladstone Club, Charles Street, 6:30.

Manchester: - Sundays, Stephenson's Square, 3, New Cross, 8.

NOTICE OF PROPAGANDA.

Norwich: - Sundays, Market Place, 11, and 3:30.

Portsmouth: - A M.P. 4, 10, 9 and 11:15, Kemble Street, Eastbourne, 8.

Manchester: - Sundays, Stephenson's Square, 3, New Cross, 8.