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A JOURNAL OF

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

WILLIAM REEVES, 185, FLEET STREET, E.C.
The so-called "Progressives" of the London County Council, and the Duty of Socialists.

By T. BOTAS.

The London County Council has far outdone the old Metropolitan Board of Works in the proportion of superfluous officials to useful workers, and it has actually raised the previously enormous salaries paid by the old Board. The party on the Council which falsely calls itself Progressive, supposes that the best and most useful forms of supervision are grasping at the letter of a law, as against the spirit; and this to secure private advantage.

The Municipal Corporations Act very properly provides against public legislators charging members, but it contains a clause which allows advertisements to be inserted in a newspaper even though a councilor may have a share in such newspaper. So-called Progressives on the Council have taken advantage of this exception to have a journal put forward by themselves, and they have employed such Council advertisements as they voted to form. This scandal was publicly protested against by Mr. Boulnois and other members; but the party of straightforwardness and honesty was outvoted by the traitors Progressives.

It has been claimed that the Progressive party on the London County Council in some way represents Socialism, or Socialist action, it becomes necessary for Socialists of every grade to repudiate any which in its spirit and substance is unseemly, and a calculated to disgrace Socialism in the eyes of honest persons.

In order to make clear how the action of the London County Council is essentially in opposition to the aspirations and aims of the real Progressive party, it is desirable to briefly refer to the social condition of the boroughs as a formative influence on the formation of the Socialist party.

The basis of the Progressive or Socialist movement is to abolish the present system of giving the least pay to those who work hardest; while hereditary landlords who, like the Duke of Westminster, do not work steadily for the largest incomes.

One third of the produce of industry in Great Britain is taken by landlords, bondholders, and shareholders, who do no work for that which they take, and of the remaining two thirds, one portion goes to industrial workers, the men who have in the women who do the work. The remaining third goes to a much smaller class of persons, who are largely engaged in work of superintendence, and who have incomes of more than £1,000 per annum. This class subsidizes mainly on what has been called "extra wages of superintendence," but a little bit of thought will show the "extra wage" is mainly taken by useless hangers-on of the landholding, bondholding and shareholding classes. Their "extra wage," indeed, their whole wage, is for the most part paid to them for assimilation to the rich and for rearing that class of idle children on national income which they now take.

This parasitic class apes the manners and extravagant habits of the class it serves and so insists on a high salary. On the other hand, persons of notable ability or genius do not make a large salary the condition of exercising their talents; indeed they are generally willing to make a pecuniary sacrifice in order that they may do such work as they are specially qualified to do; and the early history of most great men contains a chapter recording some pecuniary sacrifice. The competitive system is such that persons of exceptional genius would be quite ready to exercise that genius at less than the usual rate of remuneration. Suppose, for example, that the painter Millais had the option between receiving the same sum of the chairman and painting on the other hand; can it be supposed that he would fail to choose the latter, even if the pay were somewhat less.

The main objects of all real Progressives are threefold: First, to prevent the idle classes (landlords, bondholders, shareholders) from appropriating their usual third of the produce of industry. Secondly, to bring into the ranks of the useful workers, not only all idlers, but also those who have hitherto been engaged in the pernicious operation of absorbing value from the workers in the pockets of the idle class. Such increase in the number of the workers should be so organised as to shorten working hours for all and ensure leisure for high education and culture. Thirdly, the Socialist party aims at securing for all workers, as nearly as practicable, the same rate of remuneration.

Those who, like the so-called Progressive section of the London County Council, have preferred, to obtain efficient directors of industry by giving enormous salaries, have completely failed; the first result is a small group of capable persons beguiling, which they know is useless contend against the influence of the rich. We have already seen the struggle of the middle class for the lower limit of wages. The London County Council has actually asserted that it is necessary to pay high salaries in order to keep their officials from bridle-taking and other forms of robbery. If the officials are such that they can only be kept in place by getting up "extra wages" in another and more secure way, we had better have a change at once.

Until the time arrives when all workers, whether handicrafts men, professional men, councillors, members of Parliament, or superintendents, receive salaries at the same rate of remuneration, there will be no far-reaching social reform, no hope of securing the best and most specially qualified persons in each department; till then, there must be a full measure of jollier, and that strife for positions of special advantage in which the worst most triumph.

If all industry was now organised on the basis of removing officials taking enormous salaries) adopted by the false Progressives of the London County Council, the workers in Great Britain would be far worse off than under the most grinding forms of capitalism, and would risk of a smaller share of the produce of the industry; political wire-pullers, chairmen and deadhead officials finding far more than landholders, shareholders and bondholders now take.

Until members of Parliament and all public officials are paid for their services the people have no free choice in sending representatives, and scarcely any option but to send them to the class that lives idly upon interest, usury, or profit; as the workers cannot now spare time to serve in Parliament. Members of Parliament make their choice of candidates, and are chiefly governed by means by which they may further fill their pockets to the detriment of the workmen: for example—jobbing with companies and other business concerns, or getting office. In short, although Parliamentary members are not at present paid in England, and by this reason the straight-forward workers are kept out, there are high speculative rewards which attract the corrupt and unscrupulous. Members of Parliament who devote their whole time to the work should be paid normal wages (at present from 3s. to 4s. per week), and a grave danger to society must exist if they are paid more than normal wages, which is the United States of America, where the high pay to legislators has attracted the worst and made the political system a sink of corruption.

Above all, workers should beware of those false and place seeking agitators who pretend that any one can do the work; as there is no law that the highest rate of pay; all social reform and purity of public bodies hinges on the normal rate of pay for all public representatives and officials. By this course not only will the place-hunters be kept out, but there will be a better tendency towards raising normal wages, and bringing about that equality of condition which will pave the way to abolishing socially wasteful systems of special payment for each use of the means of transit, or of the common necessities of life.

The London County Council is a direct industry by commencing with overpaid officials and working downwards; the reverse of the ordinary course of the evolution of industry. Had the electors of London, instead of sending a set of loud-mouthed political wire-pullers to control those offices, elected those who have studied history and evolution, this mistake would not have been made.

Real action would have been taken towards nationalising those industries which have been organised in the gradual evolution of society—such as gas supply, water supply and railway transit. These have been done by the very obvious plan of investing the companies for a very huge profit, and at the same time striving to obtain legislative consent to the very obvious principle that each as employed extorion, fraud, or failure in duty, should be managed by a fine and capital values, taking into account of public ownership on the share list. This would be confiscation it may be said, but, even according to Tory principles, missused property may be legally confiscated; as, for example, burgesses who steal the stock of a public company that Napoleon confiscation, and unmisused property should be taxated until nationalised.

Now for the practical conclusion, as bearing on the coming contest.

Oppose at every opportunity and denounce as traitors to the Socialist cause all who will not pledge themselves to support

1. Normal Wages and no more, for all who hold public offices, and devote their whole time to the work.

2. The immediate nationalisation—as far as circumstances allow—of industries, which like gas, water, railways and tramways are already organised and really free from ownership.

3. Prosecution of monopolist companies for every offence, and advocating of a pro rata writing in of public ownership on the share books for every offence or failure in duty. This would be the creation of new shares to be owned by the people at large.

A New Magazine.

The International Magazine is the title of a new quarterly recently started by men who formerly published the International at Paris. The object of this periodical is stated in the words of Goethe: "National literature has no more meaning to-day: the time for universal literature is coming, and every one must now work to hasten the time." In the first number English literature is well-represented by Swinburne. There are contributions by Walt Whitman, and others. Our comrade Bernard Layare has an article upon the New University of Brussels, where our comrades have met Richard Beer, Bernard Brouwer, and others. We wish this new review a long and active life, for it has a useful mission to help in the destruction of frontiers between all countries.

The Commune Celebration.

The North London Progressive Society will hold a meeting to commemorate the anniversary of the Commune of Paris, on Millbank Hall, Holwy Gre-cent, Kilnfield, on Monday, March 14th. P. Kro-ткин, Louis Michel, J. Turner, E. Leggatt, A. Smith, J. Tocchetti, and others will speak. All London Anarchists should attend and make this meeting a success.
THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.

By LOUISE MICHEL.

PART II.

THE REPUBLIC OF THE FOURTH OF SEPTEMBER, KNOWN AS "THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE."

CHAPTER I.

On Sept. 2nd, rumours of victory circulated in Paris. They emanated from suspicious sources, and had recurred at each defeat. The greater the victory, the more persistent were such rumours. Paris was jubilant. The 3rd and 4th of Sept. the truth was increasingly suspected. At the demand of Paliako, who admitted that disturbing despatches had been received, a night sitting was held of the Corps-Legislatif. Groups waited about the Place de la Concorde, and along the boulevards, felt a premonition of the final break-up. A young man who affirmed the defeat in face of the post of good news, was mortally wounded by the sergeants de ville.

The next day (Sunday) those who during their night vigil had not already witnessed its affixing on the walls of Paris, read the following announcement:

PROCLAMATION OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

"Frenchmen, a great misfortune has befallen the country. After three days of heroic struggle on the part of Marshal MacMahon's army against 300,000 of the enemy, 40,000 men have been taken prisoners. General Winfus, who, in consequence of Marshal Mac Mahon being seriously wounded, had taken command of the army, has signed a capitulation.

"This cruel reverse, however, does not shake our courage. Paris is at present in a state of defence. The military forces of the country will be organized in a few days, and there will be a new army beneath the walls of Paris. Another army is in the hands of the Government, under your patriotism, your union, your energy will save France. The Emperor has been made prisoners in the struggle. The Government, in concert with the public authorities, will take all measures in order to avoid the gravity of the situation."

(Council of Ministers.)


Clever though this proclamation was, the idea that the empire could survive entered nobody's head. In a few hours Paris was on its feet. The Place de la Concorde was quickly crowded. The scene of a break-up of catastrophic changes was in the air.

Only a few sergeants de ville drew their swords in face of the battles of the National Guard, who, with beating of drums, marched to the Corps Legislatif. The blades of the sergeants de ville flew right and left, and their owners were broken. The crowd constantly increasing, persisted in invading the Corps Legislatif, pushing before it the National Guards, and shouting: "It is all up! (Obedience!) Vive la Republic! And out beyond the "Marmont Line.""

The Republic was proclaimed, and the Government of National Defense was conducted to the Hotel de Ville. It was composed as follows: 1, Emmanuel Arago; 2, Cremieux (Minister of Foreign Affairs); 4, Jules Perrot; 5, Gambetta (Minister of the Interior); 5, Garnier Pagès; 6, Glass Bixion; 7, Eugene Pelleat; 8, Ernest Picard (Minister of Finance); 9, Jules Simon (Minister of Public Instruction); 10, Henri Rochefort; 11, Trochu (Governor of Paris, and Minister of War).

The word "Republic" electrified Paris; and full of new courage as we felt, defence seemed possible.

The fifteen forts, armed like war-ships, were garrisoned by hardy veterans. On the ramparts there were a thousand guns, good, bad, and indifferent, which the archers knew that Paris should never surrender. Even though our confidence was not great in many members of the Defence, we were far from supposing them so pusillanimous as they proved in the event. It would have seemed that, entering as the wheel turns as left by the Empire, they must of necessity reverse the wheels. But since they were afraid of revolution, they were of course unable to represent it.

Jules Favre, in his "History of the Government of National Defense," says that the only thing the streets compelled to accept revolutionists as its members. "Violent appeals were made to Mons. Gambetta, who energetically repudiated the name of Felix Plati, on the very same ground, however, which made it impossible to reject that of Mons. Gambetta. It was too well known that Jules Favre had said in reference to Rochefort, "He is safer inside than outside." At the sitting of the Corps Legislatif, the names of the members of the government were officially announced.

Meanwhile, what mattered the lack of spirit on the part of the directors? The people had spirit enough. The name of "Republic" world, we thought, had power to give us a union, as in 1792 it had availed to produce a thicker harvest under the hands of the labourers, who, stimulated by believing themselves free, had thrown more energy into the boomings of the soil.

The necessity of boldness was so thoroughly felt that even in more moderate a journal as Le Siècle, P. Jigouaux wrote (under the heading "To us, the audacious") in the following terms: "In difficult circumstances it is prompt intelligence, and unsworn hardihood that are wanted. To us belong the daring, the courage, the audacity, and the undisciplined savants are our men. Ideas and Action must alike be free. Do not interfere with us, nor regulate us; but relieve us, once for all, of old yokes and leading strings. Such is the advice given you by the other day by our friend Jourdan; and the advice is sound."

Not only were those currents of anxiety dried up in an interminable succession of delays and treacheries that supervened, but there were new actions and false steps. On the 3rd and 4th of Sept. an order of the Emperor, and the fact that he was never seen, only reinforced these suspicions. The Emperor's order, every sort of privation endured by the combatants (whose courage nevertheless remained unshaken) on the other hand, scandalously fortunes were made by the providers. Moreover, the arrow of the officers themselves, the War Office, a necropolis whose all possibility of progress was banished. The single battalion which had been armed completely and with weapons of better quality, was that which was appointed to guard the ministries themselves, and was composed entirely of their own employes. General Guérin had replied to those who spoke to him of breach-loading cannon—"Don't speak to me of that stupid business; Duran was so long in obtaining the wherewithal to get the guns made, that they were only ready too late; and after all, the arming of the courts was only for ceremonial purposes."

Strasbourg, which had been invested by the Prussians on August 15th, capitulated on Sept. 28th. On that very day volunteers went about Paris, their numbers augmenting at every step, asking for the soldiers to help. Strasbourg to be freed, and also with her at the head of the ramparts. These demonstrations, dispersed, and their deputies, Andre Leo and I., were only granted an audience in order to be taken into custody. The detention, however, was for a short duration, a member of the Government having ordered it to be set at liberty. We were not told which member did us this service, but we were very sure as to which of them had not done it. "What can it matter to you whether Strasbourg perish or not? You are not there!" This was said to us at the Hotel de Ville by a colonel of Trochu's army.

In the midst of the general depression the courage of the women, whether bourgeois or proletarian, did not flag for an instant; it seemed as if the spirit of the Gauls, which, it is said, is written in the "Society for Aiding the Victims of War," the women of the people on the "Committee of Vigilance," these and those alike busy on the ambulance, while none of them would hear a word of surrender.

During this time the wicked dwarf with the bourgeoisie knew as Mons. Thiers, and whom we called "Fontquenot," was making the round of the courts of Europe.

On Oct. 31st, Paris, on awakening read the following poster, which accompanied the news of the surrender of Mols by Bazaine:

"Mons. Thiers has to-day arrived in Paris, and repaired at once to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in order to report to the Government the result of his mission. He has given us strong impression produced throughout Europe by the resistance of Paris, four great neutral Powers—England, Russia, Austria, and Italy—have rallied to a common idea. They propose an armistice to the belligerents, having for its object the convocation of a National Assembly. It is, of course understood that such an armistice should have its conditions a re-uniting proportionate to its duration and the election of the assembly by the whole country.

Signed, The Minister of Foreign Affairs, par interim, for the Minister of the Interior, Jules Favre."

Then just as on Sept. 4th there had been heard the cry "Vive la République!" so now on Oct. 31st there were shouts of "Vive la Commune!" Paris did not wish to surrender. Moreover, she desired to save herself: she had had enough of "deliveries." Groups gathered, repeating persistently that the people had gone on Sept. 4th to the Corps Legislatif, so now on Oct. 31st they trooped to the Hotel de Ville.

Floquet, who spoke of defying the municipality of Paris once more into universal suffrage, could not make himself heard. Neither Bazaine, nor Jules Simon, of "la Commune," drowned all else, and the crowd displayed a sheet on which one read: "No Armistice! Vive la République! Resist to the Death!"

It rained. The weather was in keeping with the strange scene. Coupled incidents occurred. The final occupant of the building, with a strong disposition to force it open. One or two, however, thought them of knocking, or of simply beating upon the door. It was supposed inside that some members of the Government had arrived. The door was opened, and the crowd invaded the Hotel de Ville.

To be continued.
NOTICE.

The day of the Commune celebration is Sunday, March 17th, at Milford Hall, not Tuesday, as stated in a page 114. A meeting will be held on Monday, March 19th, at 2 p.m., at the Lecture Hall, Hack Road, Tidal Basin, when P. Kropotkin and others will speak.

LIBERTY.

LIBERTY,
LONDON MARCH, 1895.

Between Ourselves.

This paragraph is strictly in order. You want to know why LIBERTY for this month has been delayed in publication. The reason is that the editor and several of his co-workers have been seriously ill; this, we venture to think, will be sufficient explanation; this also accounts for several important notes being crowded out.

KROPOTKIN ON COLONIZATION.

A number of our comrades resident in the North of England; have decided to establish a communist colony, and are negotiating for plots of land, and unless unforeseen difficulties prevent themselves at the eleventh hour, the colony will be established either on Tyneside or Wearside. Our comrade Kropotkin has been invited to become treasurer of the fund, which has returned the following answer.

Viola Cottage, Bromley, Kent, Feb. 16, 1895.

Dear Comrade,—Thank you very much for your kind letter and extremely clear statements of the facts. Thank you still more for your trust in me. But I must say that means could be better in my position as treasurer. To this I am the least appropriate person, as I was never able to keep accounts of my own earnings and spendings. Moreover, I really have no time.

As to your scheme, I must own that I have little confidence in schemes of communist communities started under the present conditions, and always regret to see men and women going to suffer all sorts of privations in order to find only disappointment at the end; retiring for many years from the work of propaganda of ideas among the great masses, and of aid to the masses in their organization, for making an experiment which has nothing to do with a failure. But I must also say, that your scheme undoubtedly has several points which give it much more chance of success than some previous experiments were in possession of. For years I have preached that only there are men decided to make such an experiment, it must be made.

(1.) Not in distant countries, where they would find, in addition to their own difficulties, all the hardships which a pioneer of culture has to cope with in an uneducated country (and I only too well know by my own and my friends' experience how great these difficulties are), but the neighbourhood of large cities. In such case every member of the community can enjoy the many benefits of civilization, the struggle for life is easier, on account of the facilities for taking advantage of the work done by our forefathers, and, for enjoying by the experience of our neighbours, and every member who is discontented with communal life can at any given moment return to the most pleasant and comfortable life of the present society. One can, in such case, enjoy the intellectual, scientific, and artistic life of our civilization without necessarily abandoning the community.

(2.) That a new community, instead of imitating the example of our forefathers, and starting with extensive agriculture, with its hardships, accidents, drawbacks, and amount of hard work required, very often superior to the forces of the colonists, ought to open new ways of production as it opens new ways of consumption. It must, it seems to me, start with intensive agriculture—that is, market gardening, culture, as much as possible in glass houses. Besides the advantages of security in the crops, obtained by their variety and the very means of culture, this sort of culture has the advantages of allowing the community, as I have written in the past, when every one knows how very different the conditions of work are in the horticultural as in the cereal fields. The work of the gardeners is not only more agreeable, but it is also more productive, and more profitable than the work of the farmers. And as the advantage of the gardeners is greater, the more difficult it is for them to obtain a sufficient supply of food, and the more necessary it is to embark in a new field of cultivation, which is more productive and more profitable than the old one.

(3.) That the first condition of success, as proved by the American colonists, is to divest communism from its monastery and barack garments, and to receive it as the life of independent families, united together by the desire of obtaining material and moral wellbeing by combining their efforts. The theory, according to which families are entirely destroyed in order to obtain some economy in fuel in the kitchen, or in the space of the dining rooms, is utterly false; and it is most certain that the Young Icarians are absolutely correct in introducing as much as possible of family and friendly grouping, even in the ways they are taking their meals.

(4.) It seems to me proved to evidence, that men being neither the angels nor the slaves they are supposed to be by the authoritarian theorists, Anarchist principles are the only ones under which a community has any chance to succeed. In the hundreds of thousands of communities which I have had the opportunity to read, I always saw that the introduction of any sort of elected authority has always been, without single exception, the point which the community strangled upon; while on the other side, there is a partial and sometimes very substantial success, which accepted no authority besides the unanimous decision of the folk-moot, and preferred, as a couple of hundred of millions of Salvorian peasants do, and as the German Commune of the anarchistic Commune of America has done, so far as I understand it, as a unanimous, decision of the folk-moot could be arrived at. Communities, who are bound to live in a narrow circle of a few individuals, in which circle the petty struggle for dominion are the more easily felt, that is decided by the will of the majority of the committee's management and majority rule; they must bend the reality of practice which is at work for many hundreds of years in hundreds of thousands of village communities, the folk-moot, and they must remember that in these communities the very least rules of elected government have always been synonymous with concomitant with Disintegration—never with consolidation.

To these four points I have come, from what I know of communist communities, such as has been written by Russian and West Europeans who had no theoretical conclusions, whom I cannot understand no theoretical views, but simply put down on paper or verbally told me what they had lived through. Misery, dulness of life, and the consequent growth of the spirit of intrigue for power, have always been the two chief causes of non-success.

Now, as far as I see from your letter, the community which you try to bring into existence takes the above four points as fundamental, and in so doing it has, I believe, as many more chances of success.

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As far as I see from your letter, the community which you try to bring into existence takes the above four points as fundamental, and in so doing it has, I believe, as many more chances of success.
In order to succeed, the communist experiment, being an experiment in human accommodability, ought to be made on a grand scale. A whole city of, at least 10,000 inhabitants, ought to organize itself for self-managed consumption of necessities, life, houses, and essential furnishing, clothing, for the satisfaction of the highest artistic, scientific, and literary needs and hobbies—before it be possible to say anything about the experimentally tested capacities, or incapacities, of our contemporaries for this life. (By the way, the experiment is not an ensemble as it might seem at the first sight.)

The next great difficulty is this. We are not savages who can be a tribe life with a few more than a few arrows. Even if without laws did exist, we shall find that—some addition for and for some better stimulating for higher life than a drop of whisky supplied by the trader in exchange for fur. But in most cases, a communist community is compelled to start with even less than that, as it is burdened by an energy that was not yet united to settle upon anything, as a nuisance by the surrounding land and industry lords. It usually starts with a heavy debt, while it ought to start with some share of the capital which has been produced by the accumulated labor of the preceding generations. Miners and a terrible struggle for the sheer necessities of life is therefore the usual condition for all the communist colonies which have hitherto been attempted, to say nothing of the above hostility. This is why I could not insist too much upon your wise decision of starting intensive culture under the guidance of experienced gardeners—that is, the most remunerative of all agriculture.

And then comes in the difficulty of men being not accustomed to hard agricultural work, navvies' work and building trades work—that is, exactly those sorts of work which are most in request in the young colonies.

And finally, there is the difficulty with which all such colonies had to contend. The moment they begin to become prosperous, they are invaded by new comers—mostly the unsuccessful ones in the present life, these who have been driven away by a long series of out of work life and privations, of which so few of the rich ones have had the slightest idea. What they ought to have been before setting to work would be rest on good food, and then set hard work. This difficulty is not the communist one, but the American one. Europeans have experienced it; and unless the colonists throw overboard the very principles of communism and proclaim themselves individualists—small bourgeois, who have succeeded and will keep for themselves the same organization—which is in which the communist principle having once been abandoned, the community is doomed to fail under the duality which has crept in; or, they accept the new comers with an unfriendly feeling the old stock say, and gradually they are really interchanged by the newcomers, whose numbers soon exceed the capital to be worked with. For a communist colony, the very success thus becomes a cause of ultimate failure.

This is why some of the Labor leaders in America and their sympathizers from the Chicago middle classes who intended during the last Chicago strike to retire to some remote state of the Union, and there start with a socialist territory which they would have defended against aggression from without, had more chances of success than a colony.

Here is, dear comrade, what I had to say in answer to your letter. By no means should I like to discourage you and your comrades. I simply think that "forewarned means forearmed." The better one sees the difficulties in advance, the better one can cope with them. Once you feel inclined to attempt the experiment, although knowing all its difficulties, there must be no hesitation in making it. Earnest men will always find out in it something to learn themselves and to teach their comrades.

Once your inscriptions go this way, certainly go on! You have some more chances of success than many of your forerunners, and I am sure you will find sympathies in your way. Mine will certainly follow you, and if you think that the publication of this letter can bring you any aid, I can give it to you. It is an open letter to comrades intending to start a Communist colony—Yours fraternally.

K. KROPOTKIN.

[This expresses the Anarchist-Communist's point of view with regard to communism as well, that is, no occasion to answer Comrade Phipps' article—Ed.]

WHY I AM A BELIEVER IN COLONIZATION.

BY E. A. PHIPSON.

Because, however magnificent the idea of arousing the whole world to overthrow the power of the landlord and landlord, the forces sustaining vested interests are so enormous that generations must elapse before they succumb to direct attack, whether by political, revolutionary or horatary methods; whereas I want to see those who are actually suffering enabled to escape from their poverty and misery.

Because the desire among the mass of mankind, and even many of the poorest, to become themselves "independent" (i.e., to live on the labor of others) is so widespread, the gambling instinct so strong, and the willingness to earn an honest living by steady work so rare, that even those who would chiefly benefit by the abolition of capitalism would for the most part oppose it.

Because reform cannot be simultaneous over the whole earth, and if one country may adopt a new social system—before another so may one part of a country, or a colony settled expressly for the purpose.

Because the great majority of people, though impregnable to theorizing and argument, are convinced at once by solid facts, and a single colony where men were actually enjoying the full fruits of their industry could not fail, when these had become appreciably larger than wages outside, to convert the most obtuse.

Because there are so many schools of reformers, whose efforts simply neutralize and defeat each other when endeavouring to convert a whole country; while colonies, into which the adherents of each could converge, would enable them without hinderance to carry out their views. Thus any country could be divided into districts, all having their own distinct systems, and then the relative prosperity of each would be the best criterion of the soundness of its principles.

Because, while the adherents of a colony when isolated can do but little, they may have complete power, when congregated into a colony, to give effect to their ideas, being unhindered by the apathy or hostility.

Because, the pleasure of living together with those holding similar views would render such a colony most agreeable to members and attractive to outsiders.

Because, such colonies require nothing but the small initial expenses of buying or emigrating to the land chosen, and making the first start, for when industry was once organized, wealth would grow so rapidly that further aid from outside would be needless.

Because, even if the advantages of co-operation in manufactures are attainable without removal to a colony, combination in the equally important matter of domestic work is impossible among those living in isolated dwellings, scattered in different parts of a city or country, while the heavy expenses of distribution over such extended areas, and above all, the high ground rents which would have to be paid to town-owners, and which would be gradually raised as the prosperity of the community increased, would absorb much of the pecuniary benefit resulting from members' efforts.

Because in this manner, without any direct attack on vested interests or consequent interference by law or public opinion, the power of capital would indirectly but most effectually be undermined by withdrawing labor from the market and progressively increasing the standard of comfort. And as the colonies would be open to all who agreed with their principles, outside workers would be able to demand a constantly higher rate of wages under threat of joining the colonies.

Because there is thus no question of forming little Arcadias, or of deserting the general Labor cause. Every such colony would exert the most immediate and powerful effort on the condition of workers everywhere, and would form at once a refuge and a citadel in which workers could make sure of obtaining their full earnings and could defy the power of their former oppressors.

But any propaganda work that is necessary could be far more effectively carried on from such a colony where all were in the enjoyment of plenty and had ample leisure than in odd moments snatched under great difficulties from time needed to earn a living under capitalism.

Because the average man does not care one jot for reforms that will only benefit future generations, but will throw his whole strength into a scheme which he clearly sees will benefit himself.
PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

BY ERHIC MALATESTA.

II.—SOCIALISM AND PARLIAMENTARISM (continued from No. 14).

From the very beginning socialism, in its critical judgment, had estimated universal suffrage and the whole parliamentary system at its true value. Had it not otherwise, its practice would have been no reason for the existence of socialism as a separate party, as it would have been mistaken, as far as regards practical purposes that constitute the life of parties, for the absurd Liberal Utopia that expects harmonious peace and general well-being from "representative government" and from putting into practice the principle of "one man one vote."

Socialism in the broadest and most authentic meaning of the word signifies society constituted an instrument of well-being, of liberty and industrial development and progressive for all its members—for all human beings. Starting from the fundamental truth that the moral and intellectual faculties can only be evolved when material wants have been previously satisfied and that there can be no morality and solidarity, Socialism recognized that slavery in all its forms, political, moral, and material, results from the economic dependence of the workers on those who possess the land, the raw materials, and the instruments of production. And since the existing systems of government for several fallacies and Utopian systems, Socialism found at last a firm basis in the principle, actively demonstrated, of the justice, utility and necessity of socializing wealth and power.

The term being thus determined, it was necessary to seek the ways and means of maintaining it. During this period, the Socialists, as soon as they emerged from the period of abstract speculation and began to organize the masses and to try their strength in the political struggle, it was observed, and by an iron circle that could only be broken by violence. Socialism had proved it impossible to be free without being economically independent. On the other hand, how can economical independence be attained if man is a slave? Man, deprived of all possibility of the proletariat are such, that some of their human labor added to the work of nature, depends for its existence on the goodwill of the owners, and is reduced by misery to a state of degradation and impecuniosity. And he is besides compelled to obey the government by which the interests of the owner, almighty with the force of the army, the police, and finance.

What legal means of emancipation can exist when the law has been purposely framed to destroy a system that ought to be destroyed? It cannot be by legal politics, because it is this weapon to have any value presupposes consciousness and independence in the numerical majority of the people, and it is precisely the problem to render these qualities possible and to conquer them. And moreover, whatever the outcome of the struggle, the workers, on account of their insubordinate, or, when terrorized by their threatening demands, they see therein a means of leading them astray and killing them in sleep. In this latter case, from every point of view, it were folly to be satisfied with it. Abandoned, rejected the vote, the workers, knowing the king, have tried it and to juggle with it, and if by chance it proved itself hostile to their interests, they know how to suppress it. Then the only thing left to the people is the Revolution, that the vote ought to have rendered impossible.

Neither can legal means of emancipation be found in economic action—mutual help, saving banks, co-operation, strikes—because the crushing and ever-increasing power of capital and the material conditions is such that some of its resources are absurd and ridiculous, and the others are powerless and insubordinate as long as they remain within legal bounds.

Thus there are only two ways out of the difficulty: either the government changes the law, which is a变更 of currents of thought. That one composed of altruistic Socialists who wished, for emancipating the masses, to make use of the same mechanism which enslaves them to-day, and they aimed at the conquest of political power—that is to say of the government. The other composed of Anarchists thought that the State exists only to represent and defend the interests of a class, and would disappear on the day that power and initiative became general, and so they aimed at the destruction of government.

The one party wished to control government and power, in a dictatorial manner from above downwards, socialistic production and distribution. The other wished to abolish political power and private property simultaneously; and reorganize production, consumption and all social life, by the direct and voluntary co-operation of all forces and that seek to manifest themselves. But both parties, I repeat, wanted a Revolution—an appeal to arms, and to bring about this Revolution, they determined to carry on an indefatigable propaganda of the truths discovered by socialism, and to organize among the masses with the same fervent and fervent phrasing, that making use of every pretexts occasion was to initiate the storming of existing institutions.

The struggle would no doubt have been long and hard, but the path would have been clear, and we should have attained by direct means, at least so it was thought, a complete and entire victory.

But certain Socialists arose, who, putting themselves in opposition to the tendencies of the parties and propaganda, which they themselves had initiated, and who were given the label of "legalists" and "intellectuals," must enter the tortuous and endless path of parliamentarism.

Questions for Anarchists.

The following answers are from E. Pouget (Père Paimard).

(1) Our idea has nothing in common with that of the Christian paradise: it does not imply passive acceptance of evils, and still less an effort to ameliorate the present state of things, leads to foolish resignation, and to the admission, as truth, of a host of absurdities, of which the greatest consists in believing that "the greater the misery, the greater the fulfillment." We are moreover truthful, there would be no force here left for us but to fold our arms, rejoice, and allow the world to endure and wish them more intense in order that the Revolution should come more rapidly. In reality the spirit of revolt declines in proportion as misery is intensified, and grows when misery diminishes. Moreover, in the better social conditions become, the more violent will be the spirit of revolt and the more we will approach the realization of the anarchist ideal.

(2) It follows from what I have just said that the revolt is not to be brought about by action in the sense of violent revolts, but by the organized and systematic effort of the masses. All times must, in itself itself, in all directions, and as much as possible in all our actions, in anticipation of the final cataclysm: The Social Revolution. If we go from theory to practice in economics, Anarchists must convince the workers of the immense value of the existing system; by making them understand, that under it they are reduced to zero; to baffle legality it is impossible to completely. Under which system has this resistance the greater chance of bearing fruit? If you go in for governmental action, (even in the opposition) but you are not yourself in an anarchist party, that you have acquired in the existence of the state, you have given it a part of your own strength. The best way is to fight the state without taking part in its functions; by creating a world around it you weaken it. Besides you must enter the statistics that depend on its initiative. Where State influence is nil, or where it is felt, endeavour to destroy it. Act, in these circumstances so as to prepare the present society by the development of individual initiative, the aggregation of elements that in a future society, the State being destroyed, will replace it in the few real economic functions it had monopolized, to make believe in the necessity of its existence.

No Necessity to work.

PULLEN: "I worked hard trying to get a Government clerical job, but I'm going to take a rest now."

PUSC: "You've given up trying, have you?"

PULLEN: "Oh, no; I secured the place."

Assuming the working age to be from twenty to sixty years, and counting only male workers, 500 persons in this country (United States) live on the labor of every 100 workers. But if we advocate a system by which all could work four hours a day, and all have a chance to enjoy the proceeds of their toil, and all have plenty and be hungry, contented, and prosperous, we are called "Anarchists, revolutionists, and lunatics."

One afternoon, near the end of my first summer, when I went to the village to get a shoelace from the cobber's, I heard a man put into jail, because, as I have elsewhere related, I did not pay a tax to, or recognize the authority of, the state which buys and sells men, women, and children, like cattle at the door of its senate-house. —Emerson.
SOCIAL WILD-FIRE

Set the social wild-fire flaming!

Set the social wild-fire blazing!

Dullard rulers finely shaming

Who would force men to do right.

Comrades! ye who trust your fellow-

Men and women, brave and true,

Up, while yet to correction falters

Prove it vain by what ye do.

Cried tolerers! ye who feed us,

Hungry idlers, crowded out,

Form your ranks in free-will order,

Put things to the right about.

Thief—and food-adulterator;

Drunkard—and poison-mix-mate too;

Prostitute—and purse-picking, mock-brat,

Fatted priest, and greedy Jew.

Victims, hand in hand with spoilers,

Join your venture and your fate;

Needs are like, while powers are diverse,

Not to resist, but to federate.

Lay aside your pen and paper,

Mammon-flattering Sophistry;

Wait to press your last conclusion

Till ye've known men, Mammon-free.

Social wild-fire, spreading, spreading,

Setting souls and minds agleam;

Sweeping laws, and laws agleam,

Trunchbon, gallowas, dynamite.

Lay the bomb—tense social impulse

Charged with sharp-edged words of truth,

At the doors of institutions,

Churches, Schools of youth.

Set all hearts on fire! Oh, free them!

Risk your all for what is just;

Trust a happier human nature

To be faithful to its trust.

So shall magnates find their safety,

So shall scholars find their peace,

When their freedom rises to reclaim them

For the People's last release.

Revolution! Choose your champions,

(Life's Whole Freedom for the price)

Men and women, brave and trusty,

Social wild-fire in their eyes.

SOCIALISM IN DANGER

By F. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS

Continued from p. 11

Indeed they can go far. Not long ago Caprivi in a jovial spirit called Bebel "Reizergenksmisseraats"; and although Bebel replied "We have not spoken as government commissioners, but governments have adopted Social-Democratic measures to impede the work of the people; we are the point, and the incident is an invincible proof of how closely the so-called antagonistic parties have drawn together, and suggested that the spirit of fraternalism may work wonders.

There is no longer any doubt in the fact that the bold saying "Not a man nor a taxing to the government" is quite out of date, and Bebel indeed promised his support to the government when, to meet the new situation created by the invention of smokeless wootser, it asked for a gant to provide dark uniforms to the army. If they yield to militarism the soul to the army, it will possess a deep hold on the day they vote credits for dark uniforms, to-morrow for improved artillery, and the day after for an additional army corps, etc., always with the same justification.

Yes, compromise of principle marched in step with success at the polls, so that at length the exploiting classes found that an anti-

Socialist law was not needed. We would be simple indeed to imagine that they repealed the law from a sense of its injustice! It was the inevitable progress of Social-Democracy that broke against the abolition; and do not subsequent events go far to prove that they had weighed up the party to a nicety? Has not its degeneracy since then made progress with leaps and bounds?

Locke in 1690, in his "Two Treatises on Government" continued the political situation: "Every attempt at action in Parliament, every effort to help in the work of legislation, necessitates some abandonment of our principles, degenerates us upon the slope of compromise and of political give-and-take, till at last we are in the treacherous bog of parliamento-lism, which by its foulness degrades everything that is worthy." Notwithstanding, what is the upshot of all this searching of heart? Why, we resolve to go on working at the dirty business. Surely that conclusion is in direct opposition to the premises, and we are surprised! But a thinker like Bebel will see the whole situation.

Very suggestive are the following remarks of Stock on the two methods of work, the parliamentary and the revolutionary:

"The party of reform would achieve political power just after the style of any bourgeois party. For that purpose it avoids isolation, does not oppose the world, any programme of principles, and advances towards its object much in the same as any other bourgeois party. It is indefinite on all sides in its working and in its scope.

Sometimes here and there, but very rarely, it acts as might a Social Democratic party, but almost always it reveals itself as a Democratic party, an Economic Democratic party, or a Workmen's Democratic party.

The progressive democracy seeks its end in the acquisition of palliative reforms, as if that were its sole object. It accepts them thankfully from the bourgeois, with all the modifications and reductions thought necessary by the donors. It seeks alliances if possible with the more progressive elements of the middle-class parties. In this way it is finally recognised as the head and front of middle-class reform. There is no gulf between it and the ordinary political factions of the progressive type, because it no longer proceeds with the revolutionary principles of Social Democracy. That kind of tactics may achieve some small success, such as the other parties might obtain; only a success, measured by its programme of principles, is very small and often of doubtful utility, and at its best it may be of the color but it is not of the essence of Social Democracy.

We must not fancy, however, that a matter of tactics is unimportant. The risk of losing sight of the chief end of Social Democracy is great, although less is to be dreaded among the leaders than among the rank and file. But the temporary eclipse of the socialist ideal is already perceptible, chiefly from the fact that the minds of the people are bent on the acquisition of palliative reforms, which are then rated at far more intrinsic worth than their intrinsic worth.

Again it is unquestionable that the habitual resort to compromise not only hinders but aggressively damages the propaganda for the principles of socialism, and prevents its healthy development. Often action of reformers in the cause are induced to barter their principles for some immediate political advantage.

"If this compromising spirit in the party is allowed to have the ascendency it might easily happen that greater conceptions would replace perhaps even some ardent spirit might be made with the conservative parties by which a slightly amended form of the present social order would be tolerated. The effect of such a state of things would be a reduction of privileges and an increase in the number of a still privileged class; it would improve the social position of a party at the inevitable expense of the exploited masses, whose position would still be one of economic subjection.

"It would not be the first time a revolutionist agitation has been brought to an end by satisfying one section of the discontented at the expense of the others. Besides it is quite in the act of political reformers to refrain from upsetting capitalism, and slowly to transform it and make it by degrees more tolerable to the socialist spirit of the age.

"In reply to the assertion that the organized proletariat would not be satisfied with a partial success, but would insist, in spite of leaders in obtaining its complete emancipation, there stands out the fact that gradually the proletariat is being divided against itself, and that it is being evolved from the ranks of an aristocracy of labour, that will have the power to block revolutionist movements, when keen eye can already discern here and there symptoms of such a division.

The revolutionary party, on the other hand, desires to obtain political power in the name of Social Democracy only, with the party's grand object inscribed upon its banner. It will be obliged for a long time to struggle as a minority, to endure defeat after defeat, and to suffer bitter persecution. But ultimately its triumph will be unduly and complete, for a Social Democratic society will be in existence and supreme.

Stock likewise recognises that "in reality the revolutionary method is the most direct." "Our party," says he, "ought to be revolutionary from the head to the foot, and that it reveals such a character in all its political manifest and measures. Let our propaganda and our claims be for ever revolutionary. Let us meditate continually on our sublime purpose, and let us become the slaves of a great work, the road to be the best. Let us for ever be and remain, in life as in death, Revolutionary Social Democrats and no other. So will the future be ours.

Now, there are two points of view taken by Parliamentary Socialists. Some there are who desire to obtain political power in order to possess themselves of economic powers; and that is the professed object of the German Social Democratic party, as witness the formal declarations of their party-leader, Bebel, and others. But there are those who will only engage in political and parliamentary actions as a means of agitation. For them all elections are merely instruments of propaganda. But here is the danger of coquetting with evil; a door should be shut when it is ajar. We cannot by nominating candidates for purposes of protest, but as the more moderate of most serious candidates. At first-Socialist members of Parliament assume an irremovable attitude, but when their numbers increase they introduce bills and to go imitate legislation. In order to make their party's success successful they are forced to enter into compromises, as Singer has well remarked. It is the first step which costs, and once on the slope they are obliged to descend. Is not the practical programme.
By Peter Kropotkin.

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THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.

By LOUISE MICHEL.

PART II.

THE REPUBLIC OF THE FOURTH OF SEPTEMBER, KNOWN AS

"THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE."

CHAPTER I.

The fact was that some of Talabot's young revolutionists had climbed through a window into the building, and passing by the bellows of the furnace, opened the door to a flood of flames. All those who had understood the Government's refusal to Floraens, on Sept. 5th, to arm the battalions of Belleville—those who knew that the noise kept up at night by a formidable artillery firing from the forts of Paris, had no object but to insinuate with the belief that the Government of "National Defence" was keeping its word—those, in short, who hoped, nothing from the Government, now rushed in at the door till the Hotel de Ville could hold no more. The rest remained on the street, covering a large area like a swarm of bees that overflow the hive.

The surrender of Metz was dwelt on, and the treachery of Bismarck; which, but for Rochefort, Floraens, Felix Patat, and (some said also) Pelican, would have been concealed until the passions of all had cooled, realising the nature of the present peril, we believed we should be able to triumph over it. The gate of the Hotel de Ville was sealed; the crowd, continually increasing, climbed over all obstacles. Revolution was mistress of the field so long as the street remained there; should they however retreat, at midnight last, for Floraens had only the 400 rifles of Belleville, Millière was the sole representative of his own battalion, and Mayor Durand would bring up his three battalions on account of "discipline," which did not permit him to place his men under the orders of Floraens. In consequence of the Government's refusal to arm Belleville, the latter had resigned his rank of Colonel in the National Guard. The script was idiotic, since at a critical juncture events themselves impose the momentous action; and it is not by means of discipline that a revolution can be accomplished.

When the people poured in, Trochu handed a spittoon to me to carry about him to an officer of the mobilised Bevons. "You may as well be a revolutionary as we," he said to me, "we have no intention of deceiving you of it." (Cipriani was the personal friend of Floraens.) "I did not suppose you had," said Trochu. "Then it is a signal!" Cipriani replied, adding to his companions, "Open your eyes, markmen!" Trochu looked at him steadily, as if he felt his intention had been guessed. Cipriani glancing round, observed that among those present there were many revolutionaries.

Then it was that Bevons, who was at large, had the signal beat, and the 90th battalion of the Fusiliers St. Germain, composed of the national guards of order arrived at the gate of the Hotel de Ville under the conduct of Bevons, a man whose bravery was worthy of a better cause. As these guards approached, they shouted "Vive la Commune!" and the crowd, mingled by the rue, made way for them.

At this juncture, Ferry, Jules Favre, and Trochu attempted to escape. Cipriani took aim at Trochu, but a friend, Labour, pressed him, and made a hole in the feeling, causing much tumult. Captain Greffier was able to stop Bevons; but Trochu ran away. Floraens trusted their word of honour; and the crowd put faith in the promises of the Provisional Government to appoint mass meetings for the Commune, and in the lists of names that had been thrown in at the windows of the Hotel de Ville. Poor Floraens! Poor crowd!

There had been so many names suggested in these lists, there had been so many witnesses to the government's promises to appoint the men suggested, that the people and the National Guards of the faubourgs retired, and for that night slept tranquilly.

Towards midnight, the mobilised Bevons passed through the subterranean passage which leads from the Napoleon Barracks to the Hotel de Ville. Trochu gave the order, and they went; they entered the Hotel de Ville with fixed bayonets, ready to massacre right and left. Dorian, Floraens, and Timisier were, however, able by dint of promises to prevent bloodshed, and between two rows of soldiers Floraens and his friends passed out of the Hotel de Ville.

Paris on awaking found posted on the walls—not the names of the members of the Convention, as promised the day before, but a series of accusations and menaces.

In the court-yard of the Hotel de Ville the Bevons waited; their blue eyes fixed on vacancy, and singing below their breath an old relic, composed at the time of the first revolution, when Floraens had led the Bevons against the Germans in the war of 1812. Those rustics, now employed by Trochu against the revolted Parisians, were under the command of the son or grandson of Charrette:

"Monseigneur de Charrette said to us at home—"

"My friends, "The King goes a-gathering fleurs de lys!"

But the wolves are not where you supple them, poor lads, head, strong and brave! You will know that before long.

Rochefort, at the request of the Government, had announced from one of the windows of the Hotel de Ville the nomination of the Commune, a matter to which he believed the members of Government were pledged by their promise. Perceiving, however, almost immediately airy tours that contrary action in preparation, he laid his resignation on the table, and went home. Trochu, though he had dominated the National Defence more than ever; the Bevons pressed on him as they would have guarded Notre Dame d' Auroy; their blue eyes fixed on him, awaiting his orders. But he gave none! The pennon that morning was to be put to the head of the affair; it was, however, palpably imminent. It was in the air. Here and there the laughing r-rain of the ironical song, "The Plan," could be heard in the dull streets:

"When on nice white paper—" (Plan, plan, plan, plan, plan.)

He had written down his notion—"To carry his point in" (Plan, plan, plan, plan, plan.)

To his attorney Ducx.

"The plan it was of Trochu (Plan, plan, plan, plan, plan.)"

Ye gods! what a beautiful plan (Plan, plan, plan, plan, plan.)

Was the plan of Monsieur Trochu (Plan, plan, plan, plan, plan.)

Thanks to the plan we've won!"

A few incorrigibles sang further:

"Bismarck if you keep on (Of all your soldiers not one, (Thanks, of course, to the "plan, plan, plan, plan, plan")

Not one will be left alive (But Paris desired not to be conquered, either by William of Germany, or by Napoleon III, who was awaiting the restoration of the Empire. Paris did not intend to surrender. Nor, in the event, was it surrender that occurred. The city was given away. Inequality has so many points in common that the one works as well as the other. The fear of revolution was such that a blindness almost amounting to insanity haunted the Government.

On Nov. 3rd the municipal elections took place; an illusory satisfaction, and a duped nation; and was insufficient to remove the indignation that had been aroused by broken promises and by false news circulated with so much dexterity.

As to the Commune, the Government had no further idea of it; but the Parisians dreamt of its disastrous end.

Not that all the directors of affairs were accomplices. Edmund Adam tendered his resignation in consequence of so much bad faith. He was replaced by the advocate Grunier, and arrests began to take place. They were very numerous. Grunier, Vialain, Lefrancais, Felix Patat, Gespault, Trébon, Raivar, Jachard, and Baler were imprisoned. Millière, Blanc, and Floraens, managed to escape. But Floraens, having visited his friends in the Maison Alfort in the southwest of the Island of the National Guard was recognised, arrested, and confined in the Mazas prison. The Government ascribed to him the incitement of Oct. 31st; as though popular indignation had not been incitement enough!

Revolutionists felt itself to be warred by the rebellion; there was no other duty. It was felt by all. The "Marseillaise," hurled in the faubourgs was followed by "La Carmagnole." The very ground brought forth legions of combattants.

An extract from Jules Favre's "Histoire du Gouvernement de la commune nationale" may here be of interest, as presenting from an opposite point of view the incidents of Oct. 31st:

"I was working with M. Thierr and preparing all the details of his departure. At about 12:30 p.m. we sat down to luncheon. We were hardly seated when a telegram came for me from my colleague M. Perry, announcing that the crowd surrounding the Hotel de Ville was increasing every minute, and that the populace seemed disposed to force the doors. I went down himself. I replied that before going to anything else, I must protect the retreat of M. Thierr; but that instead of accompanying him, as I had intended, as far as the bridge of tourbes, I would place myself in a covered place and then come on as soon as possible to the Hotel de Ville. I was just finishing my telegram when M. Jules Ferry himself was announced. He confirmed his previous message, adding pressing at any moment to the Hotel de Ville.

A few minutes later, a fresh telegram informed us that a deputation, followed by a numerous crowd, had penetrated into the large hall. There was no more time for deliberation. I there were M. Thierr and myself. I placed myself in a covered place and, after the fact, I would not be more dangerous than the others. I embraced him; he got into his carriage, and I made the best of my way to the Hotel de Ville."
The Paris papers asked for the names and were told to wait for the arrival of the mail. At last, on Nov. 5th, the names were published: Comrades Marguiez, Shervet, Simon, Leauthier, Mervir.

It was said at that time, that when the mail came, the full facts would be published and that the Socialist deputies intended to implicate the Government on this subject, but nothing has been as yet made public. We have not heard of any desire for the islands of Salvation, and the only fuller report that we have been able to get is to El Clair of Paris by its correspondent in Guiana, published on Nov. 25th or 26th, 1894. From this report we give the following account of an infinitesimal and to us almost unknown group, that seems to have taken place.

In September an anarchist convict, named Anglade, named Mozart, who shot him dead. He died with the words: "I die for Anarchism; the Anarchists will avenge my death." On Oct. 21st, Anglade and his fellow, Pretz, were sentenced to death; the latter was commuted to life imprisonment. The words of the law, which is to be executed on the following day, have been published. The words of the law, which is to be executed on the following day, have been published.

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On the following day a criminal convict was executed, having been sentenced before the events above told.

When his head rolled in the executioner's basket (says the El Clair) the last words he spoke were: "Long live Anarchy! A soldier assisting at the execution said to him: "Shall I do it, or you?" The anarchist, in a way of reply, shouted to him: "Long live Anarchy!" The soldier fired. The ball struck him. He was convicted of murder. He was convicted of murder.

The Anarchist prisoners at Cayenne—among whom are Duval, Pini, and many others—are long since singled out from the other prisoners and chiefly kept to themselves. They have been selected for the type and form of their crimes, and they are treated as they are called. This is but a rock surrounded by the sea, where they have to pass their time in the burning heat of the tropical sun. At night they are put in a dirty prison, on plank beds, their feet chained together. These things were described in a letter, signed, "The anarchist convicts of Guiana." A policeman and private, called Bouillot. This is the import of the revolt and the repression. Since then there is quiet in Guiana. But it is believed that the fireroads under the leaders. Fresh facts of reprisal and fresh facts of chastisement are expected.

Who is responsible for these massacres? Not only the degraded brood of the police and "justice" departments—the people who follow occupations from which every honest man is shamed are therefore entirely given to the worst type— but all who, in one way or another, uphold the State—that huge network of oppression and crime, which sanctions and defends every villainy done. When the State is a gigantic polyhedron that attacks the body of human society with its myriads of bloodsucking fangs, all of which are animated by the same central will and act for the benefit of the central body. Whatevery other being, atoms, we should do this, would be extinguished by it and thus getting rid of the whole cancerous and stupid humanity—believing in authority, religion, government, etc. —cherishes and fosters the monster.

The people who take part in the administration of the State are for the most part men, and are the considered as more or less useful and necessary public servants. Even if there are dissenting some of them, they are simply replaced by others, who make great promises while they work or ever keep. Take the profession made by the Liberals when out of office with regard to Ireland as a sample. How many political prisoners have they released since they have been in office? In short, everyone who upholds by any means the monster Government that preys upon humanity and which defends itself by the use of the economic exploitation, education poisoned by religion, etc.—is in our eyes sanctioning all the crimes that this State and every State perpetuates. A man must choose whether he will side with the oppressors or with the oppressed, sides with the oppressors by upholding the principle of the State, whether he wants to change the personal of the State or not (a useless delusion), he must sanction the acts of the State "in self defense" and support under this name, the acts of the State. And this principle is upheld by all parties, from the Conservatives to the State Socialists, and everyone putting a voting paper in a ballot box is thereby practically upholding it, whether he dreams of imposing it, or whether he is merely a tool and mouthpiece of those who dream of imposing it. Thus we hold all men, all classes of society, responsible for these atrocities, and repeat, that there is no choice between being the abettors and abettors of all crimes conceivable, and the only defenders of liberty, etc., Anarchists.
Between Ourselves

Contrary to general expectation, the elections to the new County Council have been disadvantageous to the 'Progressives.' And it is noteworthy that the districts, in which the Progressives have lost the greatest number of votes, are the poorest in London. If we thought workmen were discontented with the policy pursued by the two preceding County Councils, because they have acquired a clearer consciousness of their rights, and are more determined to insist upon them, more energy, and more energy, we should rejoice. But it appears only too certain that the failure of Progressives is due to indifference and apathy.

Undoubtedly, viewed by the light of Socialist principles, the policy of the Progressives on the County Council calls for the severest criticism. In the course of six years the Progressives, many of whom call themselves Socialists, although undoubted masters of the Council, kept straight at first, afraid of losing their seats at the second election: three fourths who voted for the fair wage clause were against it, and intrigued as hard as they could to keep it out, so long as they could do so unknown to the public. The last two years—not hard pressed by the few men whose energy seems to have dwindled—certainly have not done much for labour.

While there are so many people in London without the necessities of life, and so many wishing to work and nothing to do, the County Council makes no attempt to save the workless, who are also the least informed, from the oppression of capitalism, by putting them in a position to obtain work, bread, fuel, and housing, and the necessities of existence. And to-day London is still in the same condition it was six years ago, with its hundreds of thousands of unemployed and starved; with its tens of thousands of children who, barely covered with rags, go hungry to school; with its pestilential slums, with its criminals, prostitutes and drunkards who get driven to crime and vice by misery.

But if the work of the Progressive Council has been a complete failure to what it might have been, looked upon objectively, in comparison with the former state of affairs, we must admit that the Progressives have done something to improve the sanitary condition of London, to save workmen, engaged on public works, from the limitless oppression of contractors, to fix a minimum wage relatively sufficient to live on, and to prepare the way for the municipalisation of public services. It is right to find this ridiculously inadequate for the pressing needs of London, but it does not seem to be the right way of obtaining better conditions, to take no interest in public questions, and let the direction of affairs slip into the hands of the Conservatives, to whom even these few concessions appear extremely revolutionary.

What conclusion can be drawn from the foregoing? That the people are content to be oppressed? To us it seems a new proof that in the present economical and moral condition of the workers, the right to vote is a fraud. The power of capitalists is too great, the needs of the people are too urgent, for a little immediate help, cleverly distributed, not to win an easy victory over propagandists who promise slow and distant improvements.

And then, after the terrible sufferings that the bad weather has entailed on the poor of London, how could they summon enough energy to interpose themselves in public affairs, and in their own self-interest, in the future? Give immediate and real well-being to the people, or speak truly, show them how they are to procure it, and there will be no longer danger of their falling into apathy or throwing themselves into the arms of reaction:

At the Criminal Court, W. Connors and R. Stevens pleaded guilty to burglary at the house of Mr. Wills. Battersby—Commissioner Kerr, in sentencing Connors to six months and Stevens to three years, said Stevens was an habitual criminal, and it would have been cheaper for the country to set him up in business, or given him a pension of 30s. per week. Such a bargain would have been better for the country; but every one talked about these things—no one thought of doing anything. The Legislature was nothing but a talking shop.

Commissioner Kerr seems to have a vague idea that if men like Stevens were set up in business or had the means of earning a livelihood they would not be driven down to crime. This comes with reference only to Commissioner Kerr; but has it never occurred to him that monopoly in land and capital is the root cause of all the crime and poverty, and until these are swept away will crime be abolished.

His reference to the Legislature is, unfortunately, only half the truth; it is a cunningly devised means by which those in power keep the workers in submission by cajolery, and that, should fail, intimidate them by sending gunboats against them as at Hull, or dragging them as at Bristol and in Wales, or ruthlessly shooting them down as the Liberal Government did the miners at Featherstone, and then explain afterwards. At the War Office, on March 4th, issued a document which calls the attention of the troops to the fact, "That to fire over the heads of a crowd . . . would have the effect of favouring the most daring and guilty." This is disingenuous, and means "Fire Low," and this with rifles of great penetrating power would make it madness for strikers to face uniformed assassins. One result of actions of this nature will be the forcing of the people into gendarmerie warfare.

On February the 16th our comrade Merlino was tried by a Florentine jury for press offences. He was accused of attacking the rights of property and insulting revolution, pillage, massacre of the rich, etc., crimes committed in his pamphlet, "Necessity and Basis of an
impression on public opinion, and even Conservative papers speak of the necessity of amending the exceptional laws, that are a disgrace to a civilized nation.

The Government continues to imprison Anarchists simply by police decrees; in spite of public opinion declaring itself always more clearly against this system, which is the negation, not only of every human right but of bourgeois law.

Within the last few days seven comrades succeeded in escaping from the prison at Porto Ercol; but as their object was not so much to secure liberty as to attract public attention more and more to the moral and physical torture to which the imprisoned Anarchists are subjected, they made no attempt to hide themselves and took the train unconcernedly. Being recognized along the road they were informed against and arrested.

In consequence of the amnesty in France, the publication of the _Pere Peinard_ in London has been stopped, to make way for a new organ _La Sociale_, which will be published in Paris.

_La Sociale_, (like "Social" in English) is an adjective in French, and therefore rather slangy when standing by itself. It is abbreviated from "La Revolution Sociale" and all Paris workmen know its meaning. Perhaps it will pass some day into polite French. The Comrades often drink to "La Sociale."

Comrades who publish newspapers, reviews, pamphlets, posters, manifestoes, songs, drawings, or placards with reference to Anarchism, Socialism, or the labor movement, in any language, are requested to send at least one copy to M. A. Hamon, 132 Avenue de Clichy, Paris, who intends to use them for sociological studies.

**PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.**

**By ERHICO MALATESTA.**

II.—SOCIALISM AND PARLIAMENTARIANISM. (continued from No. 15.)

A variety of causes brought about this insidious evolution. Socialism, long disbelieved in and derided at the beginning, then fought with rabid fury, was just growing sufficiently powerful for the bourgeoisie to recognize in it a serious danger, and a force with which they would have to reckon in the future. Among them, those who have always looked for new fields of activity and new weapons to be used in the struggle. And there were even some, who, tired and subdued by persecution, were disposed to approach the bourgeoisie they had fought so fiercely. These last, in other circumstances, would have openly betrayed their friends and forewarned the Capital, or they would have simply and honestly retired from the struggle, like every combatant whose strength gives way. But a means was given them to disseminate their weariness under cover of a change of tactics, to hide their breach of faith under the show of conviction, and they at once seized it.

This method, that some sincerely believed would be a weapon to fight the bourgeoisie with, and bring the Revolution nearer, and for others was to be instrumental in satisfying their vanity and personal ambition—this means that has been of so much use to the bourgeoisie in arresting and leading the Socialist movement astray was the electoral campaign.

In truth, the harm done would not have been great if this change of tactics had been frankly recognized, in a manner that would at once have provoked a new division of parties in conformity with the aims and tactics of the divers factions. But instead, partly design- partly by the chance of circumstances, those who wished to introduce among Socialists electoral tactics acted deceitfully, as if...
A letter printed on a page with text that appears to be in English, discussing various topics. The content is not clearly visible due to the quality of the image.
to lead them to the slaughter-house. As a rule, if the defence of a nation rests in the hands of exploiters only, you may feel sure it will be sold.

There is an intimate connection between economic and political freedom inasmuch as each fresh economic development there is a corresponding political transference. Korea is a case in point; Absolute monarchy in the political world is met with personal slavery and vassalage in economics. Representative government in politics goes along with the economic system of commercialism. Sometimes they are two faces of the same coin, or, the mode of production is not found consistent with an outward fashion of consumption, and does not exist contemporaneously with antique modes of political organisation. In a society, where capitalist and worker can be merged in one individual, there be no necessity for a government; it would be an anarchism, an agglomeration. Free workers need a free organisation which is incompatible with the existence of the statesman. The destruction of capitalism implies the destruction of government.

The roads taken by parliamentary and revolutionary socialism do not lean to the same destruction; no, they may run parallel but they will never meet.

Social Democracy must end in State Socialism, although the Social Democratic leaders do not yet recognize the fact, and declared in Berlin that Social Democracy and State Socialism are irreconcilable. But they commence with state railways, state charitable halls, state education. State or Parliamentary Socialists do not want the abolition of the State, but the centralisation of production in the hands of government, that is to say, that the state should be the supreme regulator of industry. Do they not name a new form of national social capitalism in its municipal undertakings as an example of practical socialism?

Emile Vandervelde, a Belgian writer of political philosophy, makes the same city serve as a model. Well, if that is the best instance they can cite, the hopes of practical socialism do not rise very high. The number of unemployed there is appalling, the working masses live in squalor, the streets, the airports, the docks, are full of them. The author lauds the cooperative movement in Belgium, as it exists in Brussels, Gand, Joimont, and says that we might call it voluntary collectivism. All these cases are specimens more regular than abnormal, and the success expected from the government cannot be measured by the success expected from the government. There is the practical fact apparently at the top, although in their explanations, who rule, and freedom is intolerably, just as in state factories.

Liebknecht, perceiving the danger, said at Berlin:

"Do we suppose that it will be disagreeable to the cotton manufacturers that their business should be transferred to the State? Moreover in a very short time the State will itself be forced to take over and work the mines of the country. Every day the number of capitalists willing to resell such a proposal becomes fewer. Not only trade but agriculture and industry will belong to the State; the nationalisation of the means of production will be the same as the nationalisation of the means of transport. The State will thus become the owner of all the means of production, it will work the mines, the factories, the railways, the telegraphs, the telephones, and the post offices."

But this is not enough; Liebknecht demands that when the working class of exploiters and landlords perceives that collectivism is a first-rate thing for them, and that the State is willing to buy out their bankrupt concerns, they will tumble over each other in haste to avail themselves of the new market afforded them by the collectivist State. We see that Emile Vandervelde proclaims already that "in large industrial undertakings and all the field of collective action this tendency is noticeable, and it is the tendency of our age to rule itself." Then it seems a matter of life and death for the little people to be the owners of free association, even the big men have nothing to fear, for they will be well paid in a bad business in return for a good indemnity. (Cf. "On Collectivism," p. 7.)

But what they all have votes and power for, is not the power of the collective group, but the power of the individual. The State or the Government, which controls the party, decides them.

Socialism, in the time of Jesus Christ and political Hollanders of to-day would not open the dye to the revolution in order to drown the enemy. Save the country, if it be possible, but all hazards, protect order! In this way they betray the masses,

THE END OF THE WORLD.

Comrades! the end of the world's at hand! Not yet do we find the earth barren! The planet shall roll, and the great sun stand, The beautiful sea-waves break on the strand, The flowers and fruits shall cover the land. But the World and its illusion shall go. Wherever has rested the golden smith That beastly purpose to his, Alas! from the god's tottering perch Sees, lo! and lingering far in the lurch. Comes Mammon's black-hairling, the politic Church, Casting the Socialist cry.

Hear how its foolish begin to say, In fear of the final rumble, "Shall we grow old, and the dread new day Requires that we follow the People's way; Give us your gold, ye wise, we pray, For our lamps are all flickering out.

The first time passed, and he died alone, And the dead world held on its way. And all the rule of the tale has a son, Mingled with wheat he has rampant grow, But the Harvester knows his own—his own, And in judgment he comes today.

And Houses shall fall, built on golden sand, And only the Truth be dear. The foundations of faith shall stand, The glad, free people shall joy in the land, And heart trust heart even as hands help hand.

For the end of the World is here.

L. S. BEYERINGTON.

SOCIALISM IN DANGER.

By F. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS.

Continued from No. 13.

Nobly is simple enough to think that the exploiting class will surrender its property, or that the realisation of Socialism can be effected by Act of Parliament. At first we take up political action as a means of attaining our end, but once the power is in our hands, Vollenhoven in the Netherlands, and his programme mark the course of conduct that his fellow-countrymen ought to follow in the future. (See "Les divers courants in démocratie socialiste allemande," Sonate novelle. Soemen, t. 1, p. 295.)

Parliamentarianism, as a method of tactics, is found wanting; even if we could improve it, it would be labor lost. Leverdour's work, "Les Assemblées Parliantes," is in this connection very instructive, and it deals with the question of the Council of 50,000 men. Why not do the work of Parliament? Legislative chambers or Parliaments are as nearly as possible word-mills, or as Leverdour says, "a government of public chatterers. An honest man is the last on the council of the people. The time is too precious to wait for the poor representative who attempts the task—his simple duty—to listen to all the speeches."

"At La Havo, when you visit the prison, the gaoler tells you that in olden days there were dungeons, but upon their bare head water fell drip by drip from the roof. And the honest man always adds that it was the most severe of punishment. Well, that cruel penalty has been transferred to the Chamber of Deputies, and a considerable number must daily undergo the martyrdom of feeling the injury inflicted by the system, which, no man dares to say, in the form of speeches by honourable members.

Such punishment is endurance, so they have devised all sorts of recreation, so as to render life supportable. There is the dining-room, the smoking-room, the gallery, the library, the system of pairing, frequent and prolonged holidays, etc. Let us add also that is indispensable that a man should be a partisan, for if he were to try to work in isolation he would be absolutely without influence. On the subject of the elections, the writer of "Les Assemblées Parliantes" says:

"Every society has a certain occasion: they are always willing but they never do anything."

On the subject of elections, the writer of "Les Assemblées Parliantes" says: "Every society has a certain occasion: they are always willing but they never do anything."

The words of Leverdour also merit reproduction: "Modern democracies are always enmeshed by the invaders. Would not break down their dykes and in the time of Jesus Christ and political Hollanders of to-day would not open the dyke to the revolution in order to drown the enemy. Save the country, if it be possible, but all hazards, protect order!" In this way they betray the masses,
The Majority Superstition.

"The man of the world despises Catholics for taking their religious opinions on trust, and being the slaves of tradition... He laughs at them for their superstitious awe of the Church. As if his own inward awe of the Greater Number were not whit less of a superstition! He mocks their deference of the past. As if his own absorbing deference to the present were not little better bottomed or a jot more respectable. The modern emancipation will profit us very little if the snare of superstition which is fastened round our necks with the despotic authority of a heavenly dispensation, and in the stead of ancient Scriptures we are to accept the plenary inspiration of Majorities." — John Morley.

Why Progress is Slow.

"Not one in a thousand has the smallest turn for thinking; only for passive dreaming and hearsaying — and active babbling by rote." — Carlyle

NOTICES OF PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Hyde Park, 3.30; Regent's Park, 11; Canning Town, Beckton Road, 11.30; Stratford, The Grove, 11.30; Deptford, 395 New Inn Road, (top floor) group meetings every Monday at 8; London committee will التالي by ordering "Liberty" through newspaper.

ABERDEEN—Regent's Quay, Sundays, 9 a.m.; Castle Street, 6.30 p.m.; Small Oddfellows' Hall, Mondays, 9. Large Hall, Sundays, 6.30.

EDINBURGH—Sundays, Meadows, 8 and 6.30.

GLASGOW—The Green, Sundays, 12 noon; Wellington Palace, 6.30 p.m. 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.

LEICESTER—Sundays, Russell Square, 10.45 a.m.; Market Place, 6.15 p.m.; Humberstone Gate, 6 p.m.; Gladstone Club, Charles Street, Fridays, 8.30.

MANCHESTER—Sundays, Stephens' Square, 8; New Cross, 8.

NORWICH—Sundays, Market Place, 11, and 8.30.

YARMOUTH—No meetings. Information of group meetings can be had of the Agent.

Will Comrades forward notices of meetings etc. as soon as possible for insertion in our next issue.

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