THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.

By LOUISE MICHEL.

PART II.

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

Chapter 1—(Continued).

"At the Ministers' entrance I met, and took in with me, M. Ernest Picard who was coming to take leave of M. Thiers. A country crowd barracaded the passage, so we set off to the Prefecture of Police to ascertain the situation exactly. The Prefect was out; his attendant in charge could not give us any information. We left therefore, and by making a great round and passing on the side of the barracks we were able to get into the Hotel de Ville. It was a little past two o'clock. I must do my friend M. Ernest Picard the justice of saying that through that day he showed the greatest sang-froid and vigour. He did not wish us to enter the Hotel de Ville, observing, not without reason, that it would be of no use to offer ourselves as a holocaust to the angry mob; that it would be much wiser and much more politic to come without a moment's loss of time the means of attack which it would be necessary to employ against them. I could not but see there was some sense in this advice; I did not however yield to it . . . . I had given orders to the Prefect of Police and to the Commandant of the National Guards. These orders would certainly be carried out, and I knew the National Guard too well not to feel convinced that whatever might happen sedition would certainly be repressed . . . . .

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

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

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

"As to the occupation of Bourget, the general declared that it was entirely the responsible act of the commune, and that the inhabitants of the commune of Paris were very ill-judged—the occupation of the village had taken place out of order, and contrary to the general system adopted by the Government of Paris and the Committee of Defense; it would in any case have been necessary to withdraw.

The general invited the deputation to quiet the movement that had been started, which might otherwise lead to unfortunate consequences. The Government intended to seriously examine the petitions that had been submitted to it, etc., etc.

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

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

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

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

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

"While speaking M. Etienne Arago had difficulty in restraining tears . . . . However the reply was that this request of the mayors meant neither more nor less than the abdication of the Government, and the installation of the Commune; and the proposal was turned out, and we were ready to face the most terrible eventualities. Anew threat was further expressed at the pretension of the mayors.

"For the rest, the council would examine the question, and the Mayor of Paris might assure his colleagues that we would solve it by immediate elections; that the Government would abide by these; that being thus able to give itself a municipal government and a Government of its own choosing, Paris would have no further pretext for complaint, or for sedition, that we are expecting the coming of all good citizens devoted opposition to aggressors who, by their criminal behaviour, constituted themselves the helpers of the Prussians."

"A few moments later he returned, pale and disconcerted, etc., etc.

"And indeed a terrible tumult was going on in the adjoining rooms, and presently a torrent of people—armed National Guards, proletarian civilians, and volunteers in all sorts of uniforms—burst into the room . . . .

"We remained throughout the whole table of debate. I had General Trochu on my right, on my left, M. Garnier-Pagès; opposite me sat M. Jules Simon and M. Picard. Flourens and Millière, who seemed the most important, ran from one end of the table to the other, claiming obedience which no one seemed disposed to accord them. This scene lasted about two hours.

"Lamps were called for, and thanks to this incident Flourens managed to put in a few words.

"I had only one thing heard this evening, unfortunately, young man, whose name had brilliantly enfolded and who, born as he was, under happiest conditions, seemed fitted for a future worthy of the illustrious name he bore. He had done me the honour of coming to see me with two chiefs of the Cadette insurrection, in regard to which he had taken a glorious part. I had been struck with his pleasant manner, and his distinguished appearance; although there was a restlessness about him which inspired some misgivings.

"Jules Favre then cites at some length the words of Flourens, who began by claiming silence, in order that the names might be proposed: his own, "for he knew how to be of service, and under some circumstances there is no time to consider whether the name one proposes be his own or another man's, provided the man can be useful;" then Millière, Delescluse, Bochefort, Dorian, Felix-Plat.

"He put a motion for returning the members of the Government as hostages at the Hotel de Ville, until they should have given in their resignation. To act otherwise, knowing the men, was impossible; a native generosity carried him away. Poor Flourens! In his hands the prisoners remained free on parole. Millière shared his confidence in them. Both died soon after by order of those whose lives they had respected!"
AS TO BIBING EXCELLENCE.

By WILLIAM MORRIS.

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

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

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

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

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

In truth it was in this way that those great works of art which are still left us from the past were produced: in those times whatever inequalities of status existed otherwise, amongst the handicraftsmen there was a much nearer approach to equality than most people imagine, e.g., the architects of our ancient buildings were not “gentlemen” sitting in offices, surrounded by an army of clerks and draftsmen, ghosting their work for them, but workmen abiding by the work, helping the masons and carpenters certainly, directing them no doubt, but paid little more than they were worth. The carver’s again, who, mind you, were free to design their ornaments, were paid no more than the ordinary masons; and the whole was through all the crafts. And did they do their work the worse for this approach to equality? did they neglect it because they were not bribed into excellence? There stands their work to-day in unapproachable excellence to answer the question. Go to Westminster Abbey, and see what craftsmanship has destroyed.

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

Even amidst the present turmoil of Commercialism there are men who, working in a comparatively humble sphere, can resist it, and who work for the work’s sake. I will give one instance of such men, a man I knew: he was a book-binder, to say truth the only man I have known who could be trusted to repair a fine old book—nothing would make him spoil his work or hurry it; he would give the utmost care and attention to it, and produce results quite wonderful, doing the work with his own hands. Now he did not need to be bribed; in fact he refused it, always working for ordinary book-binder’s wages. If he had employed a number of men and done the work a little worse, he would have made a good income: but as it was, he lived poor, and died poor; an artist, but a wage-earner. That was a shame to all of us. Yet I cannot pity him, for all his work was a pleasure to him, and his pride also, which I am sure he had a good right to.

But, you see, he could not now be an example to other workmen. As things go, I am glad there are not many like him, or we should get no further toward our goal. In a world of condition of inequality it is better that we should feel our oppression even at the expense of good work and beauty.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Edwards, in one of his weekly periodicals, poses as the friend and political adviser of the working classes. He engages as contributors writers who hold, or profess to hold, most advanced opinions. Occasionally, however, the petty bourgeois spirit, the sordid capitalist greed themselves—the cloven hoof is in evidence. An instance of this occurred on Sunday last, when the Journal were referring to, in an article

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**LIBERTY.**

**MAY, 1895.**

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**LABOR DAY.**

**WEDNESDAY, MAY THE FIRST, 1895.**

A Great Demonstration

**WILL BE HELD IN**

**Hyde Park**

**ON THE ABOVE DAY AT 3 O'CLOCK.**

**SPEAKING WILL TAKE PLACE FROM TWO PLATFORMS.**

**Platform A.**


**Platform B.**


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**LIBERTY** is a serial of Anarchist Communism; all articles on all phases of the Revolution movement will be freely admitted provided they are written in suitable language; No contribution should exceed one column in length. The writer whose signature the article appears is alone responsible for the opinions expressed, and the Editor in all matters reserves to himself the fullest right to reject any article.

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**REVIEWED—"Das Christentum und der Anarchistische Kommunismus."** Von H. Joachim Gehlsen. Published in Hagen, Westphalia, by H. Risch & Co. and in London by A. Sieve, Bookseller, Lime Street, E.C.—"The Altrurian," for March. Published at Muncie, Indiana, U.S. —"The Creed of Liberty; a Brief Exposition of Philosophical Anarchism." By William Gilmour. Published at 255, Barking Road, E. —"The Labour Annual, 1895." Published by the Labour Press Society, Tib Street, Manchester.

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**LIBERTY,**

**LONDON, MAY, 1895.**

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**Between Ourselves**

All Comrades should muster near the platforms A and B in Hyde Park on May Day. A list of speakers from these platforms will be found above, and on reference to this list the reader will see that it includes men holding strong Anarchist opinions but who are also tried and trusted Trade Unionists.

The Anarchist Communist Alliance have issued an "Anarchist Manifesto" 14 pp., 8vo., price 4d. which can be obtained from The Torch Group, 127 Osulton St., N. W.
SOME THOUGHTS ON THE RECENT
I. L. P. CONFERENCE.
By JOSEPH CLAYTON.

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

The solemn decrees and decisions of a Conference would have been heartening to the debaters, and after much heated and eloquent talk, are perhaps interesting to the parties to the Conference and are usually revised in twelve months' time.

The real function of a Conference is the bringing together of like minded, congenial folk in good fellowship and social intercourse, and their mutual strengthening by hearty hand shake and sacramental meal of comradeship. The talk and resolutions are incidental—so great are the conventional customs of the commercialists that we cannot meet together without such plausible pretexts.

Albeit the Newcastle gathering of Independent Labor Socialists is worth the attention of London readers.

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

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

Again, agricultural colleges, model farms, utilization of sewage, and agricultural produce posts, do not sound inspiring, and in our vision of the land for the people it may not be out of place, but still they may be necessary, and with the increased production of food stuffs required may be inevitable.

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

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

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

An Appeal to all Friends and Sympathisers of Land Colonisation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

William Key, Hon. Treasurer, Tavistock House, Sunderland. F. Kappet, Hon. Secretary, 8. Randolph Street, Sunderland.

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

An Anarchist's Visit to a London Bakery.

I was seeking employment as a baker, an advertisement to that effect brought a telegram, which informed me of a vacancy just off the Southwark Bridge Road. I went to the place named, and agreed with the manager as to wages, etc. At six o'clock the same evening I was to start work, at which hour I duly presented myself before the manager. It was a Wholesale Cake Factory. Having been shown the way, I descended a flight of steps leading to the bakery. The place was lighted by gas; the ceiling was certainly not above, and might have been a foot below the street level; in one corner was a long, low, wide range of windows, and a row of another, while close by, was a 'single decker,' that is, one oven. These ovens being built in the back-house made the air most uncomfortably hot.

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

A number of girls of different ages were engaged in cleaning fruit, mixing cake, and such other work as needs doing in a Cake Bakery. There was one old man, two young men, and a big Scotchman, who looked a regular bully—he was the foreman. Entering into conversation with one or two of the girls, I ascertained that they had been at work since six o'clock in the morning, and that they expected to leave about eight or nine o'clock that night, but frequently they worked longer, being just allowed time to snatch whatever food their scanty wages would permit them to buy. Their wages varied, one girl getting twelve shillings (she was a friend of the foreman) for doing work of a superior kind, such as iced and piping, that being the work of a first-class confectioner whose wages would be from thirty shillings to two pounds per week; the others had from five to six shillings per week.

The men were kept to do the hardest work. The foreman, in a conversation I had with him, said "I can get 10,000 short-hands out of one of these girls (with the aid of machinery) in a day, which is more than you, I, or any other man can turn out. And (continued he) sometimes we work two or three days off the red." From this slave-driver I learnt that the company were about to introduce a new system of payment; from that time the employees would be paid by the hour in the same proportion to what they were then earning weekly, reckoning 6½ hours to the week, so that those earning five shillings per week would get one penny and a fraction of a farthing per hour, for doing work which if done by men they would have to pay 4d., 6d., and 6½d. per hour.

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

On asking the old man what kind of a place it was, he despairingly replied: "If I was young I should not stay here, but at my age very few masters would employ me so I have to put up with it." The Trade Unionist bakers are trying to get the bakers' trade placed under the Factory Act hoping to benefit thereby. This bakery came under the Act but there was no improvement. Instead of wasting their time and energies in trying to get Parliament to do something for them, they should make use of their organizations in the direction of true co-operation. The Federation of trades could by this means wrest capital from the Capitalists—meaning by capital the means by which production and distribution are carried on—landowners would enter into possession of their own, thus idle shareholders, like those furnishing the subject of 'Springfields' would be prevented from living on the blood and sweat, prostitution and misery of young girls.

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

W. H. M.

What is Wrong?

"As long as our civilization is essentially one of property, of fences, of exclusions, it will be mocked by delusions. Only that good profit, which serves all men."—Emerson.

Why wait for Ever?

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

By F. DOMELI NUENWÜTIS.

Continued from No. 20.

For the movement is the foundation of the state as a whole. Without the movement, there is no state. It is the revolution (revolutionäre Kraft). Sometimes they tell us: "We, the Socialists, desire to preserve the state by changing and improving it, while you wish to destroy the present state of society and start from the beginning." But the Socialists do not think of destroying the old system, but of improving it. They believe that by promoting Socialism by means of legislation and education, the state will be improved and become more just and equitable.

On the other hand, the Socialists believe that the Social Revolution will come about through the power of the masses, and not through the power of the state. They believe in the power of the people, and not in the power of the government.

The Socialists believe that the state is the expression of the will of the people, and not the expression of the will of the ruling class. The Socialists believe that the state is the instrument of the ruling class, and not the instrument of the people.

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In and Out of Church.

Dogma-dealer, talking treason,
Spreading truth, perverting reason.
In and out of folly’s season.

Year by year—
Oh, a plague on all the swaddle
In your hum drumiddle noodle, noodle,
Mammon’s law paid molly noodle.

Limp with fear.

Is there “ain’t” in worldly learn?
Yet there’s not one day in seven
When you fail to sell your mammon
All for pelf;

“Heaven to let”—to buying lodger;
Ah, you canting devil dodger;
Damn not us who spam mammon;
Damn yourself!

If I’ve done some bad behaving,
And I don’t deserve the saving,
Then ’tis honour bolds the bravest
Of my soul.

Pilot souls to your sky place
Who are full of Sunday graces;
And with sweat from poor men’s faces
Pay for pews.

Call the purse proudest from their bliss,
Call the fashionable misses
From “advisers” holy kisses,
Call, and call;

Call the people’s sky mind shapers,
Call the kings of daily papers
Cutting “law and order” paper
And all.

Here’s my Lord Archbishop, mind you,
Paid to grogg his self, and blind you,
Till your very soul can’t find you
Anywhere;

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

Ah, dismiss them, with a “blessing,”
All intoning and confusing;
Never more our souls distressing
With their cant!

Help to silence priestly mumble,
Help the Mammon temples tumble,
Freedom’s banner o’er the jumble
Firm to plant.

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

You who labour heave laden,
Slaving mother, trampered maiden,
Ever preached to, ever preyed on,
In your need;

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

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

Anarchism is the Surest way.

“Freedom is the one purpose wisely aimed at or unaimed, of all man’s struggles toil and sufferings in this earth.”—Carlyle.

LABOUR LITERATURE SOCIETY
66 BRUNSWICK STREET, GLASGOW.
Agents for Liberty and Liberty Pamphlets.
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A JOURNAL OF

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM

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

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

Chapter I.—(Continued).

Jules Farve concludes his account of the episode of Oct. 31st with the arrival of the 100th battalion. Messieurs Ferry and Picard had not wasted their time. They never wasted it when it was a question of taking Paris. And, blinded by power, Jules Farve which was much:

"This assistance was due from us, especially as regards M. Picard. Hardly had he crossed the threshold of the Hotel de Ville, than he sought admission to the Governor (Truchot). No orders had been given. Everyone was waiting, without coming to a resolution. No one wished to accept the responsibility of deciding on any course. M. Picard was not baffled by an instant such vain formality, he ordered the signal to be given to summon the military immediately to the Hotel de Ville. M. Jules Ferry, and his brother Charles at once placed themselves at his disposal and displayed no less coolness than intrepidity.

"As fast as the National Guards could be got together they were massed around the Hotel de Ville occupying all approaches.

"When General Trochon was let go, he found the attack already organised, and had nothing to do but to fill in the details . . . .

"Orders were given to the battalion of mobiles who were quartered in the Napoleon barracks, to pass through a subterranean passage communicating with the Hotel de Ville.

"These brave fellows plunged courageously into the narrow dark subpassage, the outlet of which was unknown to the insurgents; and in less than half an hour the battalion had reached an inner court-yard, and was master of the place. Meanwhile, outside, the National Guard was ready to commence an attack from the front," etc.

No comment on these fragments is necessary. The axioms which they contain are eloquent enough.

Chapter II.

THE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENCE.

No sooner were the bills posted in which the mayors of Paris called on the electors to nominate the Commune, than the posters were torn down, and replaced by others in which the Government announced that the promises to elect a Commune had been illusory, and that the insurrection was disavowed. The sworn oath that no prosecutions would follow was likewise violated. Blanqui, Millier, Florens, Juchard, Vermond, Felix Piat, Leima Cap, Eudes, Lecerre, Trochon, Rivière, Lauson, Tibaldi, Goupil, Vézinos, Regère, Marius, d'Ailly, and Eugène Château were arraigned; and a number of further arrests were made at random with a view to making an impression which should scare the bourgeoisie. Then it was that Émile Adam, prefect of police, who, on his return from a balloting expedition, had been witness of the given parade, refused to make the arrests, and gave in his resignation. The incidents of Oct. 31st had had too many witnesses to remain unknown, and the crowd made no secret of its sentiment as regarded this violation of sworn faith.

"Is the Empire coming back?" asked some. Truth to tell it had never departed. The men of Sept. 4th in confining themselves with the administrative machinery as left by the Empire, bore a false resemblance to the latter. To this was added, for grinding the people, they attacked themselves like the blind horse to the wheel he has to turn. Nothing had changed.

The affair of Oct. 31st was indicted as follows:

1. Criminal attempt, with the object of exciting civil war by assuming citizens against one another. 2. Arbitrary sequestration. 3. Menaces under conditions. Queruet, examining magistrate of the Empire, presided over the case; the other magistrates were Henri Dutier, solicitor general—the same man who had formerly defended Pastre. This caused surprise, but Lablond admitted that in the present case he was merely the proxy of Jules Farve, and of Emanuelle Arago, who abided by the traditions of those in power.

Then for some weeks there followed a great talk about the defence of Paris; and the subscriptions that were got up for guns were not only not prosecuted, but were actually encouraged. The Parisians were called upon for a veritable plebiscite—to say "Yes" or "No," as to whether they desired the maintenance of the government. For the most part they declined to take part in this force; they assembled in the clubs, (where they were more secure,) and loudly declared the will of the people; to die, if need be; but, in any case to release Paris. Nevertheless, nearly 70,000 went to the ballot-boxes to give in the word "No" by reply to the question of the Government. But the peoples of the Empire had been too notorious for Paris to be duped by what is called "following the will of the people," which in fact means taking count of those who dare not have a will; by adding to these the simple and the corrupt, the product is always the reply desired by the chiefs and governments less than anyone can cherish illusions. A few concessions were, however, made. Each district was to elect, not a commune, but a mayor and three deputies. The faubourgs clearly expressed their will in choosing by way of protest some of the imprisoned Socialists, or men known for their opinions. It was necessary to leave the result to the faubourgs; so the Government of National Defence appointed a municipal commission to occupy office for the prisoners nominated; and despite all protests, this commission functioned until the 10th of March. This, Bazelier had been chosen mayor of the 25th district, Millier, Florens, and Lefrançois as deputy mayors for the same. Bazelier had been nominated as one of the deputies for Montmartre, where Clemenceau was mayor, the other deputies chosen being Omont and Lafont. The names of Malon, Aeligon, Tolain, Mural, Vernoril, Valles, Blanqui, and Felix Piat also figured as elected in protest against the imprisonments. Mouche and Buzenval changed nothing as to external conditions; but they showed the authorities that Parisians were not sparing of their lives; which indeed they knew already.

The "National Defence," feeling itself menaced, employed the ordinary expedients of power. All Paris demanded a general sally—a sally of desperation, which after all might save the city. One thought many times of Moscow in flames.

The women, bourgeois, and proletarians alike, cried "warrant," as regarded those who spoke of armistice. Thiara continued his travels in search of tranquility for the classes,; concerning himself not at all about the people, (whom he had already designated as the vile multitude,) except by way of having them shot down when troublesome. He carried on the work of framming, thinking of the Empire, Paris was crying for a torrent-like sally against the enemy, and for a battle of desperation, as the only chance of possible deliverance.

At this point it may be as well to sketch for the English reader the biographical features of Monsieur Thiara. The French he is only too well known. I transcribe the following from the second number of a series of brochures entitled "La Verte," the writer being "An Artillery Officer of the Army of Paris."

"In passing I give some of the mischievous dwarf. His hands were large and spongy; he resembled a goblin in the powerful shoulders, yet a monkey in the meanness of the general build; the humpy, blinking eyes, the heavy jaws, the projecting chin, reminding one alternately of Quasimodo, Napoleon III, and Robert Macaire. All this, however, was the work of nature; let us look at the work of Thiara himself. His whole life was of one pattern:

"Was he not an infamous paid spy and traitor in the matter of the theft of the Duchess of Barry? And if he be forgotten that his benefactor, Lafitte, was shamelessly betrayed by him? That on his first day it was his first care was to sell to the highest bidder such places, ranks, and offices as depended on him. And then, the massacre of Rue Transnonain. Yes, this man has continually persecuted the people with ferocious and implacable hatred . . . . . Well, this individual at once ridiculous and sinister, knew that he might reap advantage from the disasters following the 4th of Sept. The republic—that thing of the people, the detested people—had just been proclaimed. His rage would have been more than even of conviction at its head. But it made him smile to see the Government of National Defence. Such men as these would necessarily become the accomplices and instruments of the first comer who knew how to manage them. In '48 the title of president would have filled the monstrous ambition of "Fourquier," but France had been at that time too vigorous to submit to the blandishments of an old

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LEGALIST SOCIALISTS
AND REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS.

By ERRICO MALATESTA.

Of the two sections constituting the Socialist party, one must naturally have less repugnance to parliamentary tactics than the other, because (excepting a period during which the economic renovation of society would be effected in a revolutionary way) the political form to which it aspires is a form of parliamentaryism. The aim of this section must be to maintain respect for authority in the masses, and develop in them the propensity to abdicate all initiative and vigour. But in thus accepting parliamentaryism, such as the present economical system has made it, this fraction will cease to be Socialist in practice and become simply Democraticists for universal suffrage for its sole programme—with the exception, we admit, of certain claims that universal suffrage can no longer realize.

What will happen then? Democratic Republicans say: „Let the people give effect to their will by means of an assembly elected by universal suffrage.“ But assemblies obey the will of the owners and politicians of which they are composed, and this will continue so long as present economic conditions obtain. Socialists should therefore answer (under pain of no longer being Socialists) that the masses cannot do what they would, and cannot know what they ought to do, so long as they are economically enslaved. But having by electoral necessity and personal expediency, at first neglected, and then opposed revolutionary propaganda, they will be forced to yield, and nothing will then differentiate them from the opponents of Socialism.

The acts of turncoats, traitors, compromisers—which parliamentary tactics engender—have produced in the Socialist camp a long period of doubt and confusion which has paralyzed the movement; but to-day the position is limpid and clear. The evolution of ideas and facts, and the logic of method, have brought about the condition that true Socialism can no longer be anything but free Socialism, which by its nature is antiparliamentary and revolutionary. Socialism existing can only be understood in the meaning given to it by its apostles and martyrs, who have made of it the powerful lever destined to overthrow the bourgeois world. Socialism must not signify that hybrid collection of burlesque reforms, contradictory aspirations, and impudent lies, which form the basis of so-called “Socialist” electoral programmes such as those of William of Germany and Leo XIII. These men never understood Socialism as taught by Karl Marx, who revealed the lies of political economics; or as expounded by Bakunin and our comrades of the International who opposed Mazzinism and Radicalism; or as understood by all who have sacrificed peace, youth, love and liberty to Socialist propaganda.

Socialism—freed from the speculations of philosophers, the dreams of Utopians, and popular riots—Socialism presents itself to the world as the good tidings of the new era. It is a promise of superior civilization; it is a rebellion against all tyranny and injustice; it is the abolition of all hatred, competition and war; it is the triumph of love, the asceticism of peace, the coming of well-being and liberty for all; the approaching realization of that Paradise which the imagination of nations and poets, imbued with idealism and ignorant of history, placed at the origin of humanity. It is pre-eminently the struggle of humanity rising above all distinctions of race and countries, above religions and schools of philosophy, above class and caste. It embraces all men in a holy ideal of equality and solidarity. It does not ask for the substitution of one party for another, one class for another, nor the advent to power and riches of a new social stratum—the proletariat, but the abolition of classes, the solidarity of all human beings for work and enjoyment. Socialists feel that they carry a world within themselves; they have a consciousness of their sublime mission, which makes them proud, courageous, and good.

“Saint and Devil,” by John Mark, is a fairly meritorious attempt to satirise the dominant creeds, customs and beliefs of to-day. In a few instances the author hits the right nail on the head, but in some cases the ridicule is weak and lacking in good taste. The following is an excerpt of the conversation between the characters described in this little work: "Says the Devil—The Church tells men that they are all miserable sinners, that this world is a vale of tears... That's what makes me so angry. Here am I trying to make people happy all the week, and the Church goes and spoils all my work on a Sunday..." Satan, says St. Peter: "You ought to tell men that happiness can be found even in a church." "I can't tell a lie," answered the Devil.

"The Labour Annual for 1886." It is not too late to mention that this very useful publication has reached a second edition, and that by an addition of many pages of new matter it has been brought well up to date. There are so many good and useful features in this book that we gladly refrain from noticing any of its few faults. We heartily congratulate the Editor on the result of his arduous labour, and recommend every comrade to add the book to his library.

"Master and Man," by Tolstoi, seems to us like a piece of unfinished work by a great master. It is nevertheless worth reading, for underlying—or perhaps we should say connecting—its few tragic incidents, there is the inculcation of a great truth dear to all lovers of the higher possibilities in humanity.
Between Ourselves

The Socialists will make headway by hook or by crook. Many are the tricks of the advertiser. Mr. Keir Hardie some time ago invited the Anarchists to open a discussion in the columns of the Labor Leader upon the respective merits of Anarchism and Socialism. He certainly said he could not promise to find space for all contributions sent. He did, notwithstanding, manage to find a twocolumn space for articles of representative Socialists, but narrowed down representative Anarchists to a dozen lines, and in most cases, excluded their contributions altogether. From which we may infer what kind of fair play is likely to happen under Social Democracy.

At a recent meeting at the Lecture Hall, Greenwich, Mr. H. Seymour (who has recently become the Secretary to an influential committee which is pushing an agitation on behalf of Mrs. Maybrick) effectually denounced Mr. Asquith in particular, and the dark practices of the Home Office in general. He referred to Asquith's underhand treatment of a memorial presented to him urging a reconsideration of the Maybrick Case, and exposed his scandalous treatment of the cases of Potter and Kehall, recently released by public pressure being brought to bear. Has Mr. Seymour forgotten other victims of the secret service, the Walsall Anarchists, the plot for which they were convicted and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, being got up by the police? Or are these not entitled to public sympathy because they are—Anarchists?

Dr. Macgregor has at last realized the hollowness and hypocrisy of political life, and has refused any longer to be the dupe of the political tricksters: he says

"I consider political life a delusion and a snare. I have found it impossible to do an honest, straightforward day's work, and have been snared under that feeling."

"That is not good enough for me" declared Macgregor—a conclusion we Anarchists arrived at long ago, and we trust the workers will soon hold the same opinion. How many of these object lessons do the people want in order to discover that not only are politics a delusion, but that Representative Government is a sham?

Every effort should be made to secure the release of our Walsall comrades. The chance of succeeding must depend on the intelligent co-operation of all lovers of freedom. Those who know anything of the case agree that our comrades are the victims of an infamous police plot, the recent admissions of ex-detective McIntyre confirming this up to the very hilt. Not a moment must be lost, since the life and liberty of our comrades depend on immediate action.

When Pot appeals to Kettle it is indicative of Pot having no other friend to appeal to. When the Belgian Government appeals to Pope "Pious" to help them to suppress Belgian Socialism it may with certainty be assumed that the Belgian authorities have sunk to a very demoralised and demoralising stage of existence. In the Pope attempting to stop the advancing wave of Socialist thought and action we have a revival of the redoubtable farce of "Mrs. Partington, her mop, and the Ocean." In a few years the Ocean will still be living and moving, but where will Mrs. Pope Partington be?

Hand to hand, and heart to heart, across oceans and across deserts! And why not? This would seem to be the spirit in which the appeal from British Socialists to Socialists all the world over—has been issued. Humanity is not one family after all. With its many divergent Ratures, it has much and should have more in common. When its atoms understand each other better, and mix together in thought or action more frequently, their common interests will stand out more clearly, and the long and weary battle of right versus might will be nearing its end. Some of the most pleasing results of the publication of Liberty have been the many kind expressions of sympathy received from comrades in all parts of the globe. Such links cannot be too numerous, or forged with too much strength. True Socialism can have but one goal and, towards that goal "Our host is marching on."

The poor old Echo, which has got the jingo's badly just at present, doesn't like the Labor-Day movement at all. It wants a nice "law'n order" Sunday holiday with plenty of empty show and no significance whatever; as of course all her Majesty's faithful capitalists—sweaters, will join Echo in desiring. Could we have a better sign of the real value of the May-Day effort; or a plainer proof of what we revolutionists have maintained all along—that the Sunday demonstrating does not mean or say anything, nor shake anything real before Johnny Bull's optics? Poor, disturbed old Echo! It makes believe the weather on the 1st was too much for us all; for it wouldn't do to be truthful just here and notice the suspicious fact that water isn't wet enough to melt up an Anarchist meeting; though it so effectually dispersed the parliamentary demonstrators. Echo was altogether afraid to allude to that; and after all, what could it say? poor old thing! It is another sign that we must keep our countermoves and not laugh too much at such a manifest little editorial predicament.

Dear old Echo.—Thank you for your shining letter about our May-day effort in the Park. We think it's a very good sign that you and your soap didn't like it; and just bears out what we Anarchists are always saying, that the exploiters and profit-mongers are not a bit afraid of plenty of empty show, brass bands, on a legitimate law and order holiday; because it don't mean nothing substantial; one that way. So, we are not going to "twiddle into insignificance," as you put it. No fear! Significance don't lie in numbers and show; but in spirit, and proof of a determination to do things independent. You know that, right enough, dad. Look here; in '93 only as held
INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

The Anti-revolutionary bill has been rejected by the German Parliament and a blow aimed not only at Socialist and Anarchist propaganda but, in no less degree, at the propagation of the results of science and every modern progress, has been frustrated. When this defeat of the Government, over which the Social Democrats are triumphant, leaves us cool and pessimistic as before, it is because the events of last year have shown that this Government needs no extension of its powers to do what they like to suppress Anarchist propaganda.

Thus whilst only the editor signing a paper is legally responsible for its contents, the printer and manager of the Socialist of Berlin were arrested and sentenced as well, and when this blow was parried by entrusting all these functions to one comrade, not only was he arrested but all the books, lists of addresses and correspondence seized which, finally, forced the comrades to give up the publication of the paper.

From an article in the Paris Temps Nouveaux we see that the last 45 numbers of the Socialist cost not less than 80 months of prison, and still, after the arrest of the last editor, when on his road to prison a dozen comrades volunteered to take over his post.

Unfortunately in the months of repression following, the old, long exploded idea of co-operation crept up again among the Berlin comrades, and some have published quite a phantastical appeal in favour of creating an independent power outside the State by free co-operation—as if, quite apart from the economic impossibilities, the political persecution would ever let such enterprises take root.

Under these circumstances the announcement of a new paper and new pamphlets to be published abroad comes not a moment too soon to prevent, by the consequent exposition of our principles, this movement which is only a few years old, from being driven away in falacious side-tracks.

No such voices of momentous despair were heard in the French movement, which is started again, and three of the comrades who in the monstrous trial of the thirty last summer were represented by the accusation as a band of criminals and threatened with transportation for life, are now as vigorous as ever at their work again. La Revolte is succeeded by Le Temps Nouveaux (the third number of which begins a series of articles by Elisee Reclus, entitled "Anarchy"). Le Per Pecaud, La Sociale, and besides Comrades Grave and Pouget, the editors of these papers, Sebastien Faure starts a series of lectures and debates which are attended by numerous audiences.

It is not to be forgotten how many of our comrades are suffering in the prisons of the Republic, on the sunburnt and fever breeding islands of Cayenne, and in New Caledonia.

E. Pouget in La Sociale publishes a series of articles in reference to those who were forgotten by the amnesty, in which, having for the moment aside those who were sentenced for really having done something against the present system, he tells the story of those who are sentenced to long terms of prison whilst they never did anything even in the eyes of ordinary law, but were sentenced simply because the lies and excitements of the public prosecutors had influenced the juries to find them guilty.

At a time when the Italian Comrades suffer in the prison of Porto Ercole (sent there, not for having done something but simply because of their opinions—sent there by the administration, just as in Russia), when all these horrors are exposed in France, etc., do we not feel tenfold confidence in the truth of our opinions, which will triumph as does every good cause has triumphed in the end?

"Let Liberty alone: fanatics fear her more than they fear persecution in her own unaided strength she knows how to overcome her enemies."—Emile Bruy.

“Liberty” Sustenance Fund.

Liberty has up to the present time been carried on with considerable difficulty and heavy personal sacrifices in time and money, which take it, and are the ideal of our strivers,--people who have some idea what is meant by printing, publishing and maintaining a paper mean, can realize. We have received but a few contributions and have acknowledged them. We give below a list of other sums just to hand, and at the same time make a further appeal to all who care to join in strengthening our position, and in tiding over the present difficulties. All subscriptions to be sent to James Thosait, 3 Cambray House, 7 Bond Street, Hammersmith, London.

C. G. C., £1; X. W., £2., 5s.; N. S., £5.

Sheffield Anarchist Group.—The winning numbers in the draw are as follows:


THE WHEREABOUTS OF PROPERTY ETHICS.

By L. S. BEVINGTON.

In Mr. Seymour’s useful rejoinder (see April No.) to my recent survey of his position, he charges me with "sophistry." Which may pass: readers will judge.

The present article concludes my share in this particular controversy, and before saying farewell to my courteous opponent, it may be well to draw our mutual readers’ attention to the valuable verbal concessions we free communists have obtained from him. The propositions which have been answered are the following which was to be foreseen. They were awkward questions. To point out what its identical use is, if not to force your own way with, is much like asking Government how it would get on if Property didn’t hire its services. No answer is possible, in either case, when “property” analyses does not “give away” the property position, as inimical to the progress of men, and of Man.

The original questions put to Mr. Seymour as an Individualist were these: What is an “own” labor-producer? What is “appropriation”? What is a “right”? I prefaced the controversy by challenging Mr. Seymour to trot out a man who should have “conceived or carried out all by himself the production of a commodity," and who, further, should be bound to that commodity, when produced, otherwise than by his “need or fitness to be its consumer or user.”

And I challenged him to show that any extra bond (beyond this of need and fitness) between a man and a product, should be “other or more than a legal, conventional, and removable, constraint on part of other people.”

In Liberty of Oct. 94, Mr. Seymour gives the desired reply as to the "individual producer." He admits that the term cannot be taken literally, since he means by it “every contributor” to the joint product of each and every individual who has paid his way as a worker; buying his tools, and, by expenditure of personal energy, acquiring—what? The natural fruits of such conduct?—increased aptness as worker and purchaser?—increased usefulness as producer and co-operators?—increased personal facility as economist of personal powers and resources? No; it is something perfectly irrelevant to his activity which Mr. Seymour conceives him to
ASSOCIATION AND LIBERTY.

By A. HAMON.

Capitallist society is now giving birth to a socialistic society. Pregnant with a new social form, bourgeois society sees with fear the moment quietly approaching when all the present social organs will have successively given place to new organs, which exist in embryo already. Against this unavoidable delivery the infuriated bourgeoisie in vain erects gallows, guillotines, prisons, and galleys. Whether willingly or not, the bourgeois society carries in its bosom the socialistic society of to-morrow, just as the inferior animal forms of other times carried in them the germ of the present superior animal forms; these again no doubt being the embryos of still more perfect animal forms.

The world is bringing forth a new form of social life, and the throes of this birth are so unmistakable that every one perceives them readily. Two different tendencies dominate in these agitations: Association and Liberty; Sociality and Individualism.

In the associations of working men the economic and political life of the future is preparing. Man urged by an exact idea of his own interests, and by inherent tendencies—implanted in him through an evolution of ages—associates with other men with similar inlets in the same town in which he lives. These associated units form a trades union, which is a new unity, and the source of other associations, branching off in different directions.

On the one hand, all the trades unions in the same town associate, forming a new and larger unity, a federation. The municipal federations in the same district, they themselves into a still larger unity, a regional or provincial federation of different trades. This, in its turn, unites with similar federations in the country, and with them forms the national federation of all trade unions. A day will come when these great units will unite into an international federation, the embryo of which exists already.

On the other hand, the unions of the same trade in one district unite to form a larger unity, the district federation of the same trades. These units throughout the land unite to form national federations of the same trade, and soon these national units will form a new one—the international federation of the same trade.

In these processes the unity becomes greater and greater. It includes fewer and fewer individual unions, while all the time comprising more and more human beings. These two processes operate conjointly. Like all phenomena they are complex, they entangle one another. Here, the union of all the trade's unions in a nation is more firmly established than the federation of all the unions of the same trade. There, the contrary is the case.

In the district or regional, national and international associations of the same trade are found, in an embryonic state, the economic organs of that society which is slowly elaborating in the social alembic; while the germ of the political organs lie in the municipal, communal, regional, national and international unions of the different trades.

Everywhere—I mean in Europe, America and Australia—these phenomena are being accomplished. The working men unite in unions, the unions associate in federations. Everywhere the organs of the future society come to life and are developing slowly in the present society, just as the infant takes form in the mother's womb.

These working-men's associations, the germs of the society of the near future, are still in the period of infancy, but the sociologist perceives clearly the time when, arrived at maturity, they will have completely taken the place of the present social organs. Of the latter, then, only such traces will remain as are dear to the historian or archaeologist of the age.

Then, thanks to his sociability, man tends more and more to associate. On the other hand, thanks to his tendecy towards liberty, he goes further and further towards individualisation. These two directions—Association, Individualisation—contend incessantly one with the other, and strive continually towards a perfect concord, essential to perfect harmony, a sum to which humanity doubtless will never attain.

The strife between these tendencies results in an equilibrium which the rupture inevitably throws men under the despotism of the individual or group.

The tendency to liberty is as pronounced and as general as the gregarious tendency. Every human individual aspires to be autonomous, and claims liberty more and more; every individual group has the same aspirations. Everywhere this libertarian effort comes to light; he is blind who denies it. Some even, for dread of authority, wish to liberate themselves of all association, they forget that associated efforts grow and increase, and for fear of the despotism of the group, they tend towards the despotism of the individual.

Everywhere the proletarian world, more conscious of its aspirations, tends to augment the liberties it possesses. It claims the liberty of union, of association, of the press, of the commune. It tends to decentralise, to weaken the unity on which is based the social form; and this it does in the desire for liberty. More and more, man wishes to act for himself, to liberate himself from other individualities. If one considers the strikes, the congresses, the unions, one severs the diminution of individual influence, the growth of aggregation. Among men, under the educative influence of environment the individual differentiations disappear; the individuals assimilate, and thus necessarily results the diminution of individual, and the growth of gregarious influence. Enfranchisement spreads, and the desire for liberty augments as the inevitable result.

To attempt to maintain authoritarianism, to uphold the influence of individualities with excommunication or other penalties as sanction, is to wish to impede the flow of evolution on its natural course. To wish to maintain authority, even while mitigating it, as some schools of socialists wish to do, is to try to stop humanity on its march towards absolute liberty, to which doubtless it will never attain.

To be in harmony with the social evolution, which past and contemporaneous social phenomena indicate to us, it is necessary to develop conjointly the tendencies to solidarity, to association and to sociability, and the tendencies to individualism and liberty.

We Leave them without Regret.

"The ever growing desire for freedom impels the individual to leave his ancient beliefs behind. To-day we see them eternally shattered. Knowledge, truth, science, slowly but surely undermine all that is left, and leave supernaturalism, the naked and unmistakable force of reaction, and conservative decay, like a great mountain seen through a mist from which man is steadily receding as he goes forward in pursuit of his freedom."—William Baillie.

Liberty or Death!

"What we want is liberty, and the power in common with our so-called superiors of enjoying the gifts of nature: it is true our wish may not be gratified, but this one thing is certain, our attempt to obtain it will end only with our lives."—Robert Kett (1549).
"Das Christentum und der Anarchistische Kommunismus." (Christianity and Anarchist Communism.)

—by H. Joachim Gebiesen.

Readers of German may find many points of interest in this little work, which is one more voice, offered from a standpoint outside our movement, as to the fundamental resemblance of the modern social idea with the free communism preached by the Galilean agitator whom we are wont to regard as having gotten up the people of the Tiberias. Herr Gebiesen's point of view is however neither that of the revolutionary socialist, nor of the orthodox Christian. The gist of his booklet is as follows:

I. The goal of human progress is the enjoyment of the free community, based on Free Communism. It can be found no class distinctions, nor political demarcations; no rich, nor poor; no idlers, no starvation, no church and no state. But such a society, in which Liberty and Equality are to be the order of the day, can only exist so long as mankind continues to be of a divided character, depending on a character and sentiment formed in individuals, and as such, can neither be imposed by politicians or priests, nor brought about by violent revolution. Its establishment can only result from the slow outgrowing of mankind of greed and selfishness, and from the expansion of equal institutions in conformity with the expanding character and rights of citizens.

Towards this ideal—free communism, based on fraternity, or republicanism—Herr Gebiesen considers that the general life of mankind has continually tended; the Individual's interest in the interests of the whole becomes increasingly manifest. The idea is "divine," (whatever that may be) and hence eternal and invincible. An almost religious reverence is paid to a specially gifted race of men who make its proclamation the great concern of their lives, is its special apostles. This happened (he considers) in complete considerable degree in the case of Christ, whose doctrine is the true expression of all thinking mankind (free community), and whose foundation and spirit is in the people of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. This view, the history of government, the view of government as "the protection of aggression and by aggression," is surely true. And governments, set up and manipulated by the stronger, have obviously made it their business to get the better of it, in position and in possessions. Not with a fundamental view to the advantage of all in common, but with the bottom idea of protecting private and national property, has the State ever legislated and functioned.

II. Social Democracy. As is the case with all movements towards human emancipation and the ideal freedom, so also in the social democratic agitation of the past 30 years the leading thought and sole point of vitality has been its communist feature. But however, should have itself the fundamentally stupendous task of establishing Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity by means of a complicated administrative apparatus is only a proof of its insignificance, its political lifelessness, its moral impotence." (p. 29.)

The following can be obtained from the Editor, or will be forwarded on receipt of stamps.

AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG. By P. Kropotkin. Translated from the French. 1d.

ANARCHIST MORALITY. By P. Kropotkin. 4d.

THE COMMUNE OF PARIS. By P. Kropotkin. 1d.

REVOLUTIONARY STUDIES. 32 pp. Price 2d.

JONES' BOY: Dialogues on Social Questions between an "Enfant Terrible" and his Father. By F. H. Spalding. 1d.

AN ANARCHIST ON ANARCHY. By Eustace Resley. 1d.

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT. Price 1d.

EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION. By Eustace Resley. Price 1d.

A TALK ABOUT ANARCHIST COMMUNISM Between Two Workers. By Enrico Malatesta. Price 1d.

IN DEFENCE OF EMMAM GOLDMAN AND THE RIGHT OF EXPROPRIATION. By Voltairine de Cleyre. 1d.

THE WHY I AMS: Why I am a Socialist and an Atheist, by Conrad Nerviger; Why I am a Social Democrat, by G. B. Shaw; Why I am an Individualist Anarchist, by J. Armfield. 1d.

LIBERTY LYRICS. By L. S. Bevington. 1d.

ANARCHY AT THE BAR. By D. Nicol. 1d.

THE WASSALL ANARCHISTS. By D. Nicol. Price 1d.

CHICAGO MARTYRS: Their Speeches in Court. With an appendix by J. F. Altiero, Governor of Illinois. 1d.

ANARCHISM AND OUTRAGE. Price One Halfpenny.