

# FREEDOM

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## THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN 1887.

THE leading feature of the struggle for freedom during the past year has been the general attack all along the line of civilisation upon the free discussion of ideas. Countries where that right was generally supposed to be secured, like England and America, have suddenly found themselves involved in the defence of their ancient liberties and countries where the right of free speech has not yet been won, such as Germany and Russia, are being more rigorously gagged than ever.

Of course the new Socialist law in Germany, the new university regulations in Russia, the attacks of police and Pinkertons upon public meetings in America, the hanging the Chicago Anarchists, the persecution of newspapers, and suppression of meetings in Ireland, the assaults upon street processions and peaceable gatherings, and the murder or imprisonment of innocent spectators or demonstrators in London are one and all indications of fear. These outbursts of ferocity reveal the doubts of the ruling class of monopolists as to the safety of their monopoly of property and power; and show their determination to terrorise the masses into submission and poverty.

Their success is that of a man who tries to check the rising of water by pressing on its surface. If its volume is not sufficient to burst the obstacle, the water merely forces its way up beside or around the centre of pressure. The terrorism of Warren and the police magistrates, for instance, has driven the people for the moment from Trafalgar Square; but it has also destroyed much of their remaining superstitious respect for men in authority. The police reports of the last month show several noteworthy examples that honest workmen are beginning to feel as little scruple in resisting the violence of a policeman, even in the ordinary "discharge of his duty," or in showing contempt for the decision of a magistrate, as if these sacred representatives of law and order were ordinary mortals. Comrade Blackwell expresses a pretty general feeling when he writes (in *Justice*, December 31) with indignant sympathy of "our brothers in prison—the thousands whose names we do not know who are confined within the grim walls of an English bastille;" poor undefended men and women, "accused of a thousand and one offences against policeman and property," and consigned to a moral and physical torture out of all proportion to the suffering they have inflicted on others, even when they are not wholly innocent.

In fact the reactionary party, by making themselves morally contemptible, are taking good care that the Anarchist political and moral revolution, shall keep pace with the Socialist economic revolution. and the revolt against authority march hand in hand with the revolt against property.

This growth of Anarchist tendencies is very marked in many Socialist workmen's associations still calling themselves Democratic. They show an increasing impatience of the very mitigated authority exercised by their chosen leaders, and a determination to act as well as speak as if each man's conscience were for him the one rule of conduct. If they co-operate in any common action, it is because they approve of it, and not because it is the command of a leader or the desire of the majority. And they bitterly resent all attempts to enforce any discipline not entirely voluntary. Practical anarchism, no less real because it is often unconscious.

This Anarchist tendency appears throughout the Socialist movement. It is prominent not only in Spain and Italy, where large sections of the party are avowedly Anarchist, but in the general attitude of the workers towards the Social Democratic Associations of Paris and Belgium. Even the Congress of St. Gallen, despite its verbal repudiation of Anarchism, was in spirit and practice the most Anarchistic assembly yet held by German Socialists. The very men who passed the foolish resolution that the autonomy of the individual was opposed to Socialism, vigorously asserted their own entire claim to freedom of opinion and action against the ruling of the authorised representatives of the majority.

Impatience of control within the Socialist party, contempt for authority without, these promise well for the political side of the Revolution; but what of the economic?

Government persecutions during the past year—notably the murder at Chicago—have not only weakened respect for authority, but attracted and rivetted attention to the ideas they were intended to suppress.

The growth of Socialism amongst the masses can in no sense be measured by the number of workmen who pay a regular subscription to some organisation when nothing special is on hand. Who would gauge the strength of the Social Democratic Federation in London by the 600 members flung in its face by Mr. Champion, when it is a well-

known fact that on any burning popular question the Federation can collect tens of thousands of workers in the streets?

Socialism is in the air. It is the talk of workshop and club, ale-house and street-corner, throughout the civilised world. It is whispered in drawing-rooms and seriously discussed in professorial lectures and scientific assemblies. Every Sunday finds it the subject of hundreds of thousands of speeches and debates. Every government is occupied with suppressing its propaganda, on the one hand, and framing measures curtailing the monopoly of property to pacify the popular agitation, on the other. This year opens with a "Socialist" group in the French Chamber as well as in the German Reichstadt, and the germs of such a party in Italy and in England. The mass of the workers are utterly contemptuous of the old party cries, and everywhere the democracy is forcing its would-be representatives to take up the economic question.

Far more serious is the fact that in every workman's meeting the question discussed is not Is expropriation just or necessary? but How can we most effectually expropriate?

Within the ranks of Socialism there is a marked tendency to carry Socialist ideas to their logical conclusion in communism. We find even so convinced a Collectivist as Karl Marx's son-in-law, Lafargue (*Commonweal*, July 9 and 16), basing the first economic measures of the Revolution on the supply of needs; and many Social Democrats are carefully disclaiming the fallacy that it is possible to justly apportion wealth on the principle that each man is entitled to the exact fruits of his own labour.

Further, there is a growing tendency amongst Socialists to advocate a decentralised economic organisation. In fact, the federated communes, which provoked such fierce opposition when proposed by Bakounine and his friends in the old International, have now become the ideal of the mass of the party. In France it is an obvious fact that the first work of the Revolution will be to proclaim the commune in every large city. In Spain and Italy the movement has been decentralising from the beginning. In England the idea of local administration is ingrained in the very nature of the people, and is making its way more and more into the teachings even of *Justice*. The old idea of a centralised State Socialism is the hobby of middle-class Socialists. Amongst the workers in the active core of the movement, it is merely trotted out by certain opportunists as a stalking-horse to catch the timorous.

Side by side with the advance in ideas, the inclination of the people increases to rush on the smallest pretext to demonstrate in the streets. There have been more or less tumultuous street-gatherings during the past year in London, Glasgow, Norwich, Northampton, Bolton, in Wales, and in Ireland, in Belgium, in Portugal, in Austria, at Amsterdam, Paris, Moscow, Madrid, Valencia, Chicago, New York, and hundreds of other places.

The increase of such stormy gatherings marks the arrival of the period of action. Before the next new year it may well happen that we shall find ourselves amid the first crisis of a Social Revolution.

We print below reports that have been sent us of the popular movement during last year in Ireland and Italy. The other reports are held over until next month.

### IRELAND.

The past year in Ireland has been made memorable by the successful, though unarmed, resistance to the tyranny of landlords, backed as it was by the forces of the Crown. The landlords infuriated by the Plan of Campaign, which promised to prove a strong barrier between their claws and the peasantry, opened the year by a series of the cruelest evictions. Clanricarde's barbarities in January at Woodford, the sequel to business begun in August, 1886, were soon eclipsed by those at Glenbeigh. All England felt a thrill of horror at the firing of the peasant's little homes with petroleum, as a quicker *modus destruendi* and as more effectually "chucking out" on the snow-covered hills the aged, the dying, and the helpless children than the crowbar.

Long years of evictions had passed without waking even a temporary emotion in the English mind. Crowds of aged homeless peasants had silently filled work-houses and pauper's graves. Their sons and daughters had crossed the Atlantic to earn in American cities the gold which, through filial love, found its way to Ireland to swell the accursed tribute called rent, and no English voice was lifted to stay the work of devastation.

The workhouses are still crowded with the victims of evictions, the emigrants still cross the ocean, at the rate even of three thousand in one week; but a change has come, for the axe has been laid at the root of landlordism. The people have combined to save themselves from extermination, and are doing so, not only without the operation of Government but despite it.

The first popular victory was on Lord Dillon's estates, where, the strength of the combination being recognised, my lord's agent was directed to civilly offer the desired reduction in the rents, with a promise to re-instate all evicted tenants

and to pay all cost that had been incurred by them in self-defence. An example not lost on Lord Dillon's brother tyrants. At Gweedore the people, for the first time in the year, came into collision with the police; heads were broken on both sides, with the result that the evicted tenants were reinstated in their holdings. The country adopted as its creed that it was each man and woman's bounden duty to resist eviction to the utmost. This duty was carried out with astonishing vigour. The approach of an evicting party was rapidly heralded, and every preparation made for its reception. Roads were blocked by felling trees, and bridges broken down. Houses were fortified to hold out against attack for at least some hours; and water, gruel, and tar at boiling point dexterously ladled out by the inmates on the heads of the attacking party.

It would be impossible to enumerate all the gallant defences that took place, but it is edifying to recall a few. At Luggacurran during Lansdowne's evictions, Kilbride's house took a whole day to capture, and the outhouses the whole of the next. This eviction, it may be noted, threw sixty labourers out of work. In Monaghan, on the Shirly estate, Slevin drove back a gang of bailiffs single-handed by the simple application of boiling water, the police having finally to force an entrance for the limbs of the law. At Knocklong, two men with hay forks repulsed six police with fixed bayonets, and a man and woman kept thirty police at bay for ten minutes. And who can forget Colonel O'Callaghan's evictions at Bodyke, and the routing of police, military, and emergency men by the young girl, Maggie Hussey; or the heroic defence by the Byrne family of their home at Coolgreany? In all cases the heroes and heroines being at last overcome paid for their bravery by periods of imprisonment, one and all deeming it a glory to suffer in the national cause, from the old women of eighty to the little girls of twelve and fourteen.

By the end of July all Ireland was proclaimed under the eighty-seventh Coercion Act; but notwithstanding the Government placards and its £150,000 worth of soldiers, police, and other officials, the people have kept pegging away. They hold their mass-meetings, attend those of the suppressed National League, continue to boycott land-grabbers, and to keep derelict evicted farms where they fail to take repossession. Their leaders are in prison as common criminals. They cheerfully go to prison themselves, knowing that there are those without ready to close up the ranks and continue the fight; and there are not wanting even those who give their lives. 1887 has added to the list of martyrs the names of O'Hanlon, bayoneted by the police at Youghal; Linnehan, shot as a Moonlighter by the police near Tralee whilst knocking for admission at the house of his employer; O'Riordan, Casey, and Shinnock, butchered at Mitchelstown; Kinsella, shot by an emergency man at Coolgreany; Larkin, done to death in Kilkenny Jail,—for whose deaths not one man has been brought to justice. Their names would form a suitable reverse for a medal struck to commemorate the Jubilee in Ireland, the obverse being a child defying a bench of magistrates, or the stealing of the Tullamore prisoners' clothes.

#### ITALY.

The year has passed quietly off, leaving behind, however, many a cause of uneasiness and trouble for the future. The agrarian agitation, which in years past burst out openly in the northern provinces, this year crept under the surface in the southern; especially in Calabria, where the discontent of the peasants was signalled by frequent field and barn fires, one lasting for three days. Strikes have increased in number and gravity. The masons' strike at Milan deserves to be mentioned for the revolutionary spirit in which it was conducted. The strikers chose for their abode a public building (the *Arena*), where they waited for the provisions sent in (no doubt out of fear of the worst) by the town merchants. An unusually large number of strikes have taken place in the capital itself, where the economic development which has gone on at a rapid pace all over the country has taken a more centralised form and has been strained by political influences. The year indeed closes with an almost general industrial and financial crisis; more acute at Rome, where the contractors of public and private works have been refused accommodation at the banks and are failing one after the other. Meanwhile Socialism has grown in the capital, and has taken such firm root in the minds of the workmen that they were able recently to quash an attempted demonstration promoted in their name by the contractors themselves to ask relief from the Government.

One cause of the financial crisis to which we have alluded has been the military expedition on the Red Sea coast, which has again impaired the balance of the Treasury and called forth new taxes in an extremely overtaxed country. But the same causes which have prompted English capitalists to go on preying upon the world, actuate now their Italian comrades, who also dream of a colonial empire as a field for their exploits. The expedition against Abyssinia was inaugurated by a massacre of 600 poor conscripts at Dogali, but is to be continued by so-called volunteers—i.e., soldiers who, weary of the life they lead in the barracks and with no prospect of a better future before them, consent to become the oppressors of an unknown and to them inoffensive nation, for the premium of 600 francs offered to them in case they return home safe! An incident happened recently at Rome which shows what the sentiment of the people in regard to this expedition is: in a few moments a large crowd gathered simply to hoot a sergeant volunteer for Africa!

Whilst these events have been taking place, our comrades have not been idle in propagating the principles of Anarchism amongst the masses. In every corner of the country, even in small towns, Anarchist groups have been formed and papers published, numbering more than twenty at a time. One of these deserves to be mentioned as a country paper, *Paupertas* of Piedmonte D'alife, a small village in the Southern Apennines. Two or three more have appeared in Calabria and Sicily, where the movement was till now rather slack. Of course the most of these papers have been seized and suppressed (even the report of the Chicago trial, published as a pamphlet at Turin, has been captured at the binders). But other papers are going to take the vacant places, and we announce for the 1st January a new Anarchist organ at Venice, *The 1889*. Seizures of papers brought, of course, with them arrests and condemnations; and a new batch of persecuted comrades is now in formation, which will soon outnumber those which a recent partial amnesty has brought back to Italy from exile. On the occasion of the Chicago execution many arrests took place in different localities; but even those arrested at Leghorn, where two bombs exploded at the Prefect's office, have been restored to liberty. An Anarchist, however, was assaulted and stabbed by Republicans at Tesi, the reason being that the Republicans, who are a decaying party in Italy because of the steady progress of Socialism, cannot bear in patience the fate which awaits them.

The performances of the few parliamentary Socialists have been not very successful, the electoral campaign for the deliverance of Cipriani having thoroughly failed, and only the impossibility of working with the Republicans, even at the elections, having been glaringly illustrated. The meeting of the parliamentarians at Ravenna has had no result; nor has the Congress of the Working Men's Party, reconstructed during the year, at Pavia had, as far we know, any practical effect.

The Anarchists, on their side, have had no congress, and indeed they have worked separately, almost each group by itself, although there undoubtedly has been a generally-spread feeling in favour of common action. But this feeling, expressed in many articles and pamphlets, has not been acted upon. The reason may be that the time we have just reviewed was a time of elaboration of principles, of preparation and self-education for the Italian workmen, and this work is essentially individual. Either we deceive ourselves, or the near future will be devoted to action—to action in its many forms, individual and collective—and then perhaps a mode will be found by which our comrades in Italy may find and help each other without incurring the dangers and vices of centralised organisations or submitting to individual or corporate leadership.

#### NOTES.

The generous co-operation of several comrades enables us to present our readers this month with portraits of the Chicago martyrs. They are drawn by an artist member of our group from the best likenesses (none of them very satisfactory) that we have been able to obtain from America. We trust the picture will excuse our tardy appearance, for the delay has been caused by our artist's illness.

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We heartily congratulate our American comrades on their boldness and devotion in reviving Parson's paper, the *Alarm*, in the very midst of last November's bloodshed and panic. A young emigrant who was passing through during that horrible week, writes, "Chicago is in an awful state. Rows and fighting all over the city." And we hear from a comrade at the scene of action that the result of the capitalistic terrorism has been to convince the gentlest-hearted Anarchists of the absolute necessity of standing prepared to repel violence by force. The police will find it no child's play to break up another workmen's meeting in Chicago.

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The Social Democrats seem to have outgrown their ancient State Socialist programme. In fact there is so little difference of opinion between the majority of collectivists in the Socialist League and the Social Democratic Federation, that it is extremely likely that this year will see them unite for common revolutionary action. They will form the Centre of the English Socialist party, shading into Anarchist-Communism on the left and parliamentary Socialism by inches on the right. The movement has been initiated by the practical amalgamation of the Northern Socialist Federation with the S. D. F.

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Comrade Annie Besant, in conjunction with Mr. Stead, of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, is forming an organisation, in connection with the Law and Liberty League, of a type somewhat new in English public life. It is to consist of circles of 240 members, each circle being composed of an inner circle of 20 members, and each of the 20 acting with 12 men. One of the 20 acts as Local Centre, and is in touch with headquarters. The objects of the Vigilance Circles are to keep a watch upon the conduct of the police in their conduct both to private individuals and at public meetings; "to note, investigate, and report any case of injustice to or oppression of the poor, so that legal aid may be rendered if possible, and in all cases public opinion may be appealed to; to take part in local elections, aiding any candidate who is in favour of free speech and has done service to the poor," and opposing all species of coercionists. The organisation is also to contain Iron-side Circles, whose members are to follow central directions as to attending meetings, boycotting, drilling, etc., and "be willing to face imprisonment, or personal injury."

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This organisation reminds us of that of the followers of Banqui, now so influential in the Paris revolutionary movement. Though we do not believe in the policy of calling in Satan to cast out Satan, of destroying authority by the exercise of authority, we are inclined to think that the new association promises to do far more good than harm, for it will help to knock down much more than it can build up.

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We publish in another column a letter from a correspondent who has much and long experience of London School Board work, pointing out the shameful class tyranny of that much-vaunted, *semi-Socialistic* measure the Educational Act. We cannot share our contributor's hope that this or any form of legal oppression ("Socialistic" or other) will be effectually put an end to by the mere passive resistance of the workers. There is no such thing as a truly free education for the children of wage-slaves.

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Our comrade Kropotkin lectured last month on the moral influence of prisons, to large audiences at Walsall, Birmingham, and Paris.

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The latter meeting was held for the benefit of a new paper which is shortly to be published by the combined Parisian Anarchist groups. The movement in the French capital is distinctly gaining strength, and the fresh groups formed are composed of earnest and energetic young men, who by their eager spirit of criticism and enquiry, their hatred of authority and devotion to the cause recall the Nihilists and early Revolutionists of Russia.

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The Wilson-Grevy scandals have made the French Government a by-word and, more fatal still, a laughing-stock. Not only so. The Presidential crisis revived the ancient hatred between the people of Paris and the reactionaries of Versailles. The election of Carnot was a compromise extorted by the threatening attitude of the workers, who if the hated Orleanist Ferry had been sent to the Elysée, would most certainly have retorted by proclaiming the Commune. It was a trial of strength that promises well for the people.

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It is a fashion amongst Italians to give their children representative names. So many little girls have lately been called Anarchia that a Leghorn paper devotes a leader to the subject! Of course when the little Anarchias reach years of discretion they may change a name calculated "to freeze the blood of the panic-stricken hearer" to good old appellations like the *Italia* or *Costituzione*, so common amongst respectable people after 1860. "But in the meanwhile all will learn what that horrid name means—confusion worse confounded, and many things beside."

## SOME FACTS ABOUT COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF "FREEDOM."

WE say that in England now we have compulsory education. This is not true. What is true is that the State assumes the right to insist upon the education of the children of the poor. With the children of the rich it never meddles. The streets in all the poorer districts, and in the poor districts only, are all scheduled and allotted to School Board visitors. The law declares that all children between the ages of six and thirteen shall attend some certified school, but the School Board makes no effort to put it into operation about the monied classes. No scheduling is done in Park Lane or Belgrave Square, and no School Board officer is to be found going his rounds in any of the wealthy streets and gardens of South Kensington. It is a law for the poor man, and the poor man only.

When it is found in poor districts that any children are not attending school or are attending it irregularly, the parents receive a notice warning them that they are disobeying the law, and if this notice is disregarded, they receive another summoning them to appear before a small committee held at the school, and composed of a few private people, (generally school managers) and it is the business of this committee to decide whether or no the parent shall be summoned before a magistrate to answer for his conduct or allowed to go with a reprimand. Where many cases have to be heard the parent may be kept waiting for his turn nearly an hour. If he fails to attend this meeting, a summons to the police court will most probably reach him. Supposing this committee to be possessed of the best intentions, it is not possible for them to avoid great injustice and inequality in their judgments. It is absolutely impossible for them to become acquainted with the real merits and wants of each case (even supposing they were morally justified in enforcing their judgments, which they are not), and in one district the committee will be all for licence, in another all for severity. But in the last year a still greater oppression has arisen. It was found to be very difficult to collect the children's school money, and a scheme has been adopted which involves a new series of annoyances and petty tyrannies to those to whom it is applied. This new method of enforcing payment is as follows: if the child does not bring the fee to school on Monday morning the teacher, if he or she think proper, may (after a warning has been sent to the parent) refuse to admit the child. The parent has the alternative of applying to another small committee of private persons for the school fees to be remitted for a short term, and this may or may not be done. But if this committee decide that the parent must pay, the teacher may send back or "exclude" the child, and then, grossly unjust and monstrous though it may seem, the parent may be summoned before the magistrate for *not having sent his child to school*, although it has been sent, and refused admittance by the teacher because it has not got the school pence, which very likely its father had not got to give it.

For this last monstrous tyranny working people have a remedy in their own hands. Let a number of working men combine to refuse to pay the school fees, and let them give their reasons, not to the School Board officials or representatives, but to the magistrates. The magistrates are as a rule no friends to the exactions of the Board, and their hands would be strengthened by a determined orderly resistance to them among the workers.

A WORKER FOR EDUCATION.

## REASON - WORSHIP.

WE have seen in our last two papers that Christian theology and pessimist philosophy are agreed in condemning the nature of man as essentially evil, and therefore its spontaneous impulses as necessarily bad. But the two systems, united by this dismal belief in common, belong by their methods of arriving at it, and the remedies they propose, to widely different periods of human development.

The whole theory of the theologians rests upon the authority of fancied supernatural revelations and the supposed arbitrary interference of creatures of the imagination in the processes of nature. The divine grace to which the devout look for the bettering of man's life is a pure abstraction, standing for uncomprehended human impulses. In fact, when superstitious people begin to discuss the action of grace, you can only say, like Dorothea of Will Ladislav's sketch, that its relation to nature is quite hidden from you.

The philosophy of pessimism, on the contrary, is built upon the experiences of human consciousness, and pessimists look to human reason for the only possible improvement in the lot of mankind. So far as their remedy is concerned, they are but true children of the old age of reason-worship. They belong to the close of a period during which this one isolated faculty of reason was a very Cain to its brethren; and usurping exclusive command of men's reverence, stalked through the world of ideas, bearing upon its forehead the brand, "I am god and king and law."

The isolation of reason from the remainder of human faculties, and its exaltation into a supreme object of reverence, is an exaggeration of much the same nature as that excessive reverence for the function of reproduction which has led some semi-barbarous communities, ancient and modern, into such disgusting absurdities. Our mental development is lop-sided and irregular, like the growth of a puppy, which looks at one time all head and at another all paws; and yet after all neither head nor paws are too big when the rest of the animal has grown in proportion.

From causes which it would here delay us too long to discuss, the vital energy of Europeans began, about four hundred years ago, to be turned more and more into the channel of thought, of brain effort. A direction which it has kept down to the present day.

This increased mental energy expressed itself in a widespread spirit of questioning curiosity. Its fruit was the acquirement of knowledge beyond men's wildest dreams. On the one hand there were the strange vast lands discovered by adventurous seamen, who dared the unknown and seemingly limitless ocean with no guide but the magnetic needle. On the other, there were the no less marvellous and bewildering discoveries of the astronomers, which turned the old ideas of heaven and earth literally upside down and inside out.

Now that we have known for so long that the world is a globe in rapid motion, that it moves round the sun, and that the sun itself is but one star of a vast universe, we can scarcely realise the moral earthquake occasioned by these discoveries in the minds of our ancestors, who believed, on the authority of the Church and the Bible, that the world was flat, stationary, and the centre of the heavens, which were fitted over it like a basin.

That mere men, by just observing and thinking, had found out facts that used to seem utterly beyond the scope of human intellect, shook every customary belief to its foundation. The then recent invention of printing spread the new theories far and wide. And the violent attempts of the priesthood and their allies the temporal rulers to suppress these revolutionary ideas served but to attract universal attention and interest, to throw doubt upon the whole dogmatic teaching of Christianity, and to render its morality odious.

As discovery succeeded discovery, and people began to gain the idea that all processes of nature on the earth, as well as in the heavens, take place in an inevitable and definite order, and that this order can be understood by men, the doubt of supernatural revelation as the source of knowledge deepened. Descartes struck the key-note of his time when, two hundred and fifty years ago, he introduced his system of philosophy by the axiom: The only thing that cannot be doubted is doubt itself—and, he continues, the thought that doubts.

Absolute scepticism, in fact, is a human impossibility; and in this first flush of the victories of reason, its dazzling triumph bound the floating fragments of men's faith to the faculty of thought. Its capacity was deemed boundless; its guidance the one source of virtue and happiness. It was the "divine" element in man; in fact what the theologians had called his soul.

True, this idea was by no means new. It had even been taught by the logic-chopping schoolmen who during the Middle Ages misrepresented Greek philosophy. The one intellectual pursuit of those dark times was study of the reasoning powers and display of skill in argument, generally about such interesting abstractions as the number of angels that could dance on the point of a needle. But the supposed divinity of reason exercised little influence upon men's view of life until the occurrence of one of those silent transferences of energy, which leave old conceptions apparently untouched, whilst sucking their life away and stranding them high and dry, to pour a fresh current of vital force into some idea previously dormant. Thus amidst the noisy religious reforms and disputations, which filled the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with their clamour, the true centre of men's adoring regard silently and unconsciously shifted from the god without to the god within, from the deity of tradition to their own reason.

The earlier high priests of reason-worship, the cautious Bacon and timid Descartes, adopted towards theology the tactics which Mr. Morris recommends Socialists to practice towards Parliament. They left Catholic and Protestant to their own devices, and formulated their own several systems of Natural Philosophy outside and apart from all questions of religion. But, notwithstanding the philosophers' professions of loyalty to the Church (in England or of Rome as the case might be), the instinct of self-preservation warned the theologians to regard them as deadly foes; and as for the philosophers themselves they could not long resist the temptation to arraign the God of the theologians before the bar of human reason, and finally to admit his very claim to existence only in virtue of the intelligence he had exhibited in the construction of the universe. This patronising attitude they maintained as long as they concerned themselves about his personal existence at all.

The Continent school of philosophy, which originated with the French Descartes, and was expanded by the Dutch Jew Spinoza, and the long succession of German thinkers, amongst the earliest of whom were Leibnitz and Wolf, comprised the most confident and audacious devotees of reason-worship. They set themselves to no meaner task than the explanation of the origin and true nature of all things, by arguing outward and onward from the reason of man as the one knowable and axiomatic fact.

The English school of experimental philosophy originated by Bacon, could not boast so tremendous an ambition. But their regard for the thinking faculty in man was scarcely less profound and exclusive. Hobbes, for example, held Society to have been constructed by reason, man being naturally an unsocial creature, but driven by necessity to curb his ferocious passions by so much intelligence as was required to associate with others under the rule of an autocrat. And the thinkers who have followed Hobbes in considering individual self-interest as the basis of human conduct, persistently appeal to reason as the one awakening and subduing agent which might incline men to a wider view of happiness than the gratification of the narrowest selfishness. Deists, and even Churchmen of the Broad section, accepted reason as the test of truth and the guide of conduct. In fact, before the close of the last century, reason had become the fetish of the class then

rising to supreme power throughout Europe. During the revolution the Goddess of Reason was publicly worshipped by the people of Paris upon the altar of Notre Dame!

That same century, however, saw the first serious blows struck at the new superstition. The universal scoffer, Voltaire, had had some doubts about "a little god within each man's brain." David Hume boldly declared that men's faculties would not allow them to ascertain the real nature of the first cause of things, and the mode of its connection with the effects they perceive; and Kant, incited by Hume's scepticism, set himself to discover what are the limits of human reason.

Meanwhile, the scientific experimenters, upon whom the philosophers looked with some scorn, as men immersed in a fog of mere detail, were slowly, brick by brick, building up the edifice of conscious experience, classifying observation after observation, adding day by day to the store of knowledge; by their patient industry making ready that wonderful new conception of nature, which has revolutionised the thought of the nineteenth century, and is slowly sapping the vital strength of reason-worship.

The first idea of natural philosophers had been that nature was a mechanism, a sort of huge machine that ground on changeless through the ages, invented and set agoing by the outside agency of divine intelligence. The new idea that has gradually arisen from the observations and experiments of science, and has been shaped for us by Darwin and Wallace, Comte and Spencer, represents nature as an unfolding of forces from within, a ceaseless progression and evolution, where "the great world spins for ever down the endless grooves of change"; and where man is simply one of the countless developments of creative energy, and the faculty of thought one of the results of the complex brain and nerve development of the higher animals.

With this new view of the universe and of existence has grown an increasing doubt of the rightful supremacy of reason as the autocrat of human life and the determining factor of human conduct.

But before we turn to the conviction which is beginning to replace reason-worship, let us devote our next paper to the effects it has produced upon the conduct and social relations amongst which we are living to-day.

## NEWS FROM CHICAGO.

WE have received the following from an active member of the International Working Men's Society, who was a trusted friend of our murdered comrade Parsons:

When I reflect that six weeks have passed since the Stranglers of Chicago accomplished their hellish work upon our leaders, I see how remiss I have been in not writing sooner, though I presume you know most of the details. Still, a brief account of recent events may not be uninteresting. For weeks before their heroic deaths the prisoners were assailed by "friends" to induce them to sign an appeal for "mercy." But they, singularly enough, seemed to regard their lives as not the prime object of consideration. They had stood for principle; they were charged with being Anarchists; they gloried in the term, and proudly asserted the name; they desired that the cause which they represented should be considered first. How was this wish treated by their defenders?

The story of the eventful Haymarket night need not be again told. Enough that eight men stood in the dock to answer to the charge of murder of a policeman, of one who came with drawn club to disperse a peaceable meeting. His burglarious attempt was resisted by an unknown hand. Eight labour leaders were selected for trial; a Defence Committee was organised; they accepted the task. But from the very first they quaked at the idea of the terrible accusation of sympathy with "Anarchy." So from the start principle was sacrificed; they believed saving the prisoners' lives to be the only object to be considered. The State laid down the line in which to work; they placidly accepted the conditions; they apologised for their clients; the legal thimble-riggers hired to defend them refused to permit discussion of principles, though principle was on trial. The eventful last days arrived. The Defence Committee—so-called—laid siege to the jail, armed with—what do you think? Petitions for mercy? Prayers and entreaties, however, failed to humiliate them. Five of the seven condemned remained true to their colours.

But if they had like curs begged for mercy, what then? They would probably have died anyway—or at the most been sent to prison for life to meditate on the reward received for cowardice. The Defence Committee failed because they from the first adopted a cowardly policy—morally they were accessories to the murder committed by the State.

The day arrived. Excitement prevailed lest some overt act might be attempted. The entire police force was out armed with Winchester rifles to secure the peaceful strangling of a few labour leaders. They died as they had lived—Anarchists. They said over and over again, let our sacrifice be accomplished; let no rash act jeopardise the great cause for which we die; let their act of vengeance be accomplished, but keep up the propaganda. The monument they desired was the continued interest in the principles they had advocated. Their heroic attitude before the executioner, their superb demeanour, the world knows. Yet malice ceased not upon their deaths. The funeral—and a grand one it was—was held, and the police wisely forebore to interfere. They knew that stern, determined men were there who were resolved that no Haymarket assault would be again tamely permitted. More, they realise that hereafter such assaults will receive a different

welcome: that the era of a single bomb is of the past. Meetings of sympathy have been forbidden. Socialistic singing societies are prohibited from singing the "Marsellaise," speakers are watched by detectives, but the press still remains, though shackled. In the *Alarm*, the old voice of protest is again heard, resurrected at the request of Parsons by Comrade Lum.

At the date of writing Comrade Parsons' book is just from the press, and will undoubtedly have a large sale. He only began it in his later gaol-life, and regretted that he had not more time to devote to its preparation; knowing that his days were numbered, he hurriedly sketched out his thoughts, regretting that he had not earlier began the task. He desired to leave it as the sole legacy he could offer, beyond his untarnished honour, to his wife and little ones. Mrs. Parsons, as I presume you have read, was seized on that fatal morning for the terrible crime of endeavouring to bid her husband a last farewell, bundled into a patrol wagon, and jostled to a station-house, confined with her children in a cell, stripped to the skin, and searched for fear that outraged nature might have prompted her to bring a bomb on her person for use among the Christian thieves who were superintending the butchery of her husband. Poor woman! At that moment she was too distracted with grief to be guilty of such evidence of sense. But I must close, and, with Engel's last words, "Hurrah for Anarchy!"

Chicago, December 23rd, 1887.

## LAW AND ORDER IN IRELAND.

### XII.—THOROUGH.

In the long list of bad men the name of Thomas Wentworth, Lord Strafford, stands out in black distinctness. It has been said even by non-partisans that as Ireland's Lord Deputy, Strafford conferred inestimable benefits upon the country. Let us examine some of the articles of his administration, which from his remorseless energy has been designated "Thorough."

He is said to have "endeavoured to secure a just administration of the law to the mass of the people." This saying is capable of two interpretations, but of one only when it is remembered that at this period there were no laws in force for the protection of the masses, although there were a good many for their wholesale depression and extermination. Again, he was "tolerant towards recusants," which simply means that he suspended punishments in consideration of heavy and ruinous fines.

It is true he laid the foundation of Ireland's linen manufactory, but then he utterly crushed her woollen trade, and no sane man would hesitate to choose between the values of flax and wool.

He supplied the English treasury from the plunder of Connaught. He raised the Irish revenue to £60,000 over all expenditure, by what means can easily be guessed. He had in readiness for transport an army of 9,000 Irishmen to aid Charles in crushing the Scotch and English rebels, and would have done so no doubt had not Charles in his pigheaded conceit and thirst for blood given battle without him, and was defeated into the treaty of Ripon.

And then, after all, this good and faithful servant tasted the joy of his lord under the headsman's axe in 1641.

Before concluding, it may be edifying to note that under Strafford the art of packing juries was brought to the highest perfection. When the Plantation gang went into Connaught to prove the king's right to the entire province, Strafford wrote home to say that the juries to try the claims were carefully composed of "persons of such means as might answer the king a round fine in the Castle Chamber in case they should prevaricate." A Galway sheriff ventured once to put in the jury-box twelve men who gave a verdict against his Majesty. The sheriff was promptly fined £1,000 for returning "so insufficient a packed jury." The jurors were summoned before the Castle Chamber, fined £4,000 a-piece, their estates confiscated, and they themselves imprisoned until the fines were paid. In the Commons Journals, we find that the usual modes of treating jurors who gave verdicts according to their conscience, i.e., against the claims of the king, were as follows:

"They were sometimes pilloried with loss of ears, and bored through the tongue, and sometimes marked in the forehead with a hot iron, and other infamous punishments."

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

### SOME ITALIAN PAMPHLETS.

Many Italian pamphlets on Anarchy have been issued lately. One at Turin by the editors of the *Gazzetta Operaia*, another at Florence by those of the *Fiaccola Rossa*. Our Barcelona comrades have published a short summary of the Chicago trial 'Proces de los Anarquistas de Chicago' (Barcelona, 123 Rambla de la Catalunya). The *Gazzetta Operaia* had undertaken to publish the trial in *extenso*; but the pamphlet was seized at the binders before publication, at a loss of more than 2,500 francs for our comrades, who, in consequence of this and of the fines reported by the manager of the paper, have been obliged to suspend its publication. These Anarchist papers and pamphlets are not the work of erudite men, and although some may lack the suppleness of style which is acquired by the habit of writing, all testify to the firm grasp which Anarchism has obtained upon the Italian workmen. Other pamphlets received:

'Victims and Prejudices,' by P. Pensa (p. 62, n. 4 biblioteca 'Humanitas') criticises in a descriptive way the organisation of the family, expatiating upon the treatment of women and children, prostitution, infanticide, suicide, etc. It would be too much to say that the argument is at all exhaustive.

'La Vendetta Sociale,' by P. Valera (p. 22, Milan), contains an indignant description of our own (English) punitive system. The corporal punishment in vogue in our prisons, the brutal treatment awarded to convicts and, above all, the spirit which pervades our criminal legislation, more than justify, in our opinion, both the title of the pamphlet and the angry tone assumed towards our "civilised" country by the author.

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All communications to be addressed to The Editor, FREEDOM Office, 34 Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, E.C.

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