

of classes and individuals of both sexes. (3) All children of both sexes from their birth to be brought up alike as regards maintenance, education and instruction. (4) No form of government to be recognized except a republic, etc. This programme was signed by eighty-five persons of both sexes.

After this the schism in the workmen party was complete. The anarchic fraction commenced to recruit itself from the worst members of society. In 1869 a last Congress met at Basle, Bakounine being the chief moving spirit. The following year this party practically began its work by fomenting strikes amongst workmen, founding violent journals, etc., ultimately bringing about the bloody scenes of the Commune in the streets of Paris in the early days of 1871.

After the Commune was put down in Paris, large accessions were made to the

REFUGEES IN SWITZERLAND.

where they were received out of pity, but without sympathy for their doctrines or their persons. Soon after great additions were made to their number from Russia, Germany and Austria, edicts having been issued in those countries against all Anarchists. German Socialist writings being previously spread amongst the workmen in German Switzerland, groups of workmen at Zurich, Basle and Berne embraced the views held by the refugees. Journals soon appeared in these towns, intended chiefly for Germany and Austria. The Russian Nihilists had their headquarters at Geneva, where were printing-presses supplying journals and literature of various kinds to be smuggled into Russia. Translations of these were made and scattered in every country where readers could be found.

THE SWISS AUTHORITIES

up to 1878 did not interfere with the proceedings of the Anarchists; but after the attempts of Hoedel and Nobiling upon the life of the German Emperor, and that of Juan Oliva upon the King of Spain, the press of the refugees became extremely aggressive—meetings of German, Italian and Spanish Anarchists took place in the cantons of Zurich, Geneva and Tessin, at which violent attacks were made upon social order, and murder was openly advocated. In consequence the office of a paper—*L'Avant-Garde*—at Chaux-de-Fonds, was closed, and the writer of the worst articles—Paul Brousses—was imprisoned, and afterward banished for ten years. In 1879 a German refugee—Gehlsch—the publisher of the Anarchist paper—the *Tagwacht*—at Zurich, was expelled; and soon after Alphonse Danesi, of Bologna, who had threatened King Humbert, if he executed Passanante, who had made an attempt on his life at Naples, and with him four other Italians.

The journal suppressed at Chaux-de-Fonds was succeeded by the *Revolte* at Geneva, the principal writer being Prince Krapotkin, who gloried in the assassination of Alexander II. in 1881. This led to his expulsion, when he went to Thonon, on the Savoy side of the lake, to be near Geneva, the Russian rendezvous (some particulars regarding the Prince and other refugees in Switzerland will be given in a letter to follow this). After his expulsion, the "International" was guided chiefly by Karl Marx, who transferred its seat to New York, where its partisans appear to push their views to extremities.

In 1882 Anarchism assumed a character of ferocity exceeding all in the past, and entered on a series of crimes of a revolting nature—a species of brigandage in fact—the victims of which were selected at hazard, best characterized by a few sentences from the

REVOLUTIONARY CATECHISM

of Bakounine. The revolutionist, according to him, "is a consecrated man—he has no personal interests, no opinions, no business, no preferences, no goods, not even a name. He is entirely absorbed by one exclusive interest, by a single thought—revolution. Not only in his words and his actions, but in his heart's core, he has broken forever with public order, with the entire civilized world, with its laws, usages, ethics and manners. He knows but one science—that of destruction. All sentiments of affection, love and gratitude must be stifled in his soul by the calm passion of revolutionary work. By day and by night he must have one only thought, and pursue one single purpose—implacable destruction. In accomplishing that work, coldly and incessantly, he must be ready to perish himself, and to slay with his own hands whoever inter-

feres with his designs. A revolutionist takes no place in society, he lives in it for the purpose, and in the belief, of its prompt and complete overthrow. He must not hesitate before the destruction of any institution, any property, any man. If the ties of relationship, of friendship, or of love restrain his arm, he is no revolutionist. Our object is destruction—terrible, complete, implacable, universal."

Anarchism of this type found its apostle in

JOHANN MOST,

of Augsburg, who commenced his career by exciting the workmen of Austria to rise against their masters. But the Austrian Government declared the new doctrines contrary to the fundamental basis of the State, and forbade the forming of societies upon the principles of the Socialist programme (1871). Most returned to Germany and was elected to the Reichstag. Later he became so violent in his harangues as to cause a law to be passed against the Socialists. He then fled from Germany, going first into Switzerland, and then to London, where he established the *Freiheit*, in which he preached murder and assassination, and was compelled to follow Karl Marx to New York, where, I suppose, he continues to preach without molestation.

ORGANIZATION OF ANARCHIST GROUPS.

The object of "Universal" or "Collective Anarchy" being to seize, by violent means, land, instruments of labour, capital—all expedients, the better to attain this object, are regarded as justifiable. Workmen having a common interest naturally combine for common ends. They form themselves into "groups," which become "federations," and then the great "Universal International Association," having revolution for its starting point, murder for its means and anarchy for its ideal. In each town there is a group of at least five persons, who may not be known to each other. Letters are addressed to them, *poste restante*, under false names and in a counterfeited hand. The members pay a contribution, which is forwarded to the principal group, who supply the means for action—journals, dynamite, etc. All this was elicited at the trial last year of Reinsdorff and his accomplices at Leipzig, for the attempt to kill the Emperor William and several other sovereigns, the day of the inauguration of the "Germania" on the Niederwald, on the Rhine. Reinsdorff was a printer, an intelligent man, whose definition of anarchy was "to rid man of all severe labour, to banish want, pain and misery from the world, to free man from every kind of obligation, to abolish all stupidities and superstitions—so to enlighten workmen as to make them believe only 'things positive,' and thus do away with all religion."

THE DOCTRINES OF SOCIALISM

are founded on the false dream that the State should secure universal happiness by distributing riches in a uniform manner to every individual, and to see that that uniformity be not destroyed by the greater activity of some, or the guilty negligence of others. In this way the individual ceases to be responsible for his actions. He is but an individual, no longer a person, and therefore without personal responsibility. Since the State cannot realize these demands, it becomes, in the eyes of those who hold these views, the author of every evil. Then war to the State, war on social order, war on those who possess, war on those who labour.

Those who hold such doctrines, and seek to carry them out practically, are, of course, simply vulgar criminals, bandits who seek to repair by robbery and murder what they call the injustice of fortune. Anarchy of this character must die under the universal reprobation which its monstrous deeds draw down upon it.

No doubt the State should take steps to remedy all social evils which tend to foster this singular epidemic. All countries have evils more or less of this character—some, such as Russia, have gigantic evils. Think of the mighty despotic forces of its Government, its enormous taxation, the great suffering of the people, its secret trials, terrible sentences, barbarous punishments, no freedom of discussion, no voting, no hope. A third of Russia is directly or indirectly supported by the Government and Church. A varying number hates both—more than half give no thought to anything, so it is said.

But improvements, to be durable, must be gradual in the case of individuals, of families and of communities, and every measure tending to this should be

welcomed and encouraged. Popular education is good, but to be really beneficial, it must be such an education as will not only enlighten the intellects of the young, but fortify the individual conscience, strengthen personal responsibility, awaken religious sentiment—in a word, an education founded on the principles of divine revelation. When the doctrines of Christianity shall have leavened the literature of every land and the laws of every State, as we believe they shall one day do, there will be no longer Anarchists, no longer Socialists, no longer Nihilists, for

Blessings abound where'er Christ reigns;
The prisoner leaps to lose his chains;
The weary find eternal rest;
And all the sons of want are blest.

Switzerland, Dec., 1885.

T. H.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND SOCIAL AND COMMERCIAL ADVANCE—MANCHURIA.

BY PROFESSOR CALDERWOOD.

(Concluded.)

Under the head of "Protestant Missions," the consul gives statistics familiar to our readers: "Protestant Missions have only been recently established in Manchuria. The missionaries now here are as follows: Irish United Presbyterian Mission—Two missionaries resident at the port of Newchwang, one of whom only arrived here last summer. Scotch United Presbyterian Mission—Two missionaries resident at the port of Newchwang, and three (one a medical missionary, and one a lady missionary, belonging to the Zenana Mission,) at Moukden. Bible Society—One colporteur. The work done by Protestants in Manchuria has, *inter alia* been the translation into Chinese and Korean of portions of the Scriptures and religious books, dissemination of some myriads of Christian books, and maintaining schools for the young. At the port of Newchwang there are daily Bible classes and daily preaching. Among the audience in summer are junkmen from various parts of the coast; and in winter, carters from the north of Kirin and south of Heh-lung Kiang. During 1883 the medical missionary treated 3,519 natives, and a small tract was placed in the hands of each" (p. 185). Quotations are also given from letters written by Rev. John Ross and Rev. James Webster, of our United Presbyterian Mission. As to results, the consul makes the following statement: "The results of the labours of the Protestant missionaries are not so patent to superficial observation as those of their Romish *confreres*, to whom they are not a whit inferior in zeal and self-abnegation. Many causes have contributed to this, such as the fewer number of missionaries, the shorter time they have been in the field, the different ideas they hold as to baptism, and their consequent refusal to baptize many applicants for that rite, their endeavour 'to have none of your rice Christians,' *i.e.*, not to admit Chinese as members of the Church who seem to be influenced by temporal motives, and the higher standard of conduct they exact from their converts. If one only counted the heads of the converts made by the Protestant missionaries, one would form an inadequate idea of the result of their labours. Owing to their work, the authorities and people in this consular district are better acquainted with the Christian narrative and doctrines than people at home are with the Buddhist; and the general attitude of the Chinese who have read Christian books is one of respectful interest. Again, much of the seed sown by the Protestant missionaries is reaped by the Romish. One of the latter here lately remarked (not without 'malice' in its French sense), 'he found the catechumens of Mr. —, whom he received into the Church (of Rome), remarkably well instructed in Christian doctrine'" (p. 186). On the demands of our missionaries for a high moral life, our consul remarks: "I am inclined to think that some of the British missionaries in Manchuria are too sanguine in this respect; they demand from their converts English conduct—conduct which, I believe, has only been produced by many generations of Christianity. They forget that our whole system is permeated with rules of equity introduced during four centuries 'by sacerdotal keepers of the King's conscience, and perfected during four more by Christian legislators'; that a still higher tone rules in our society because it is permeated with principles of Christian casuistry, introduced at first through the confessional, and maintained by a series of preachers and ethical writers. The debt English society owes to the casuists is often