

Freedom

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NOTES.

Emigration or Starvation.

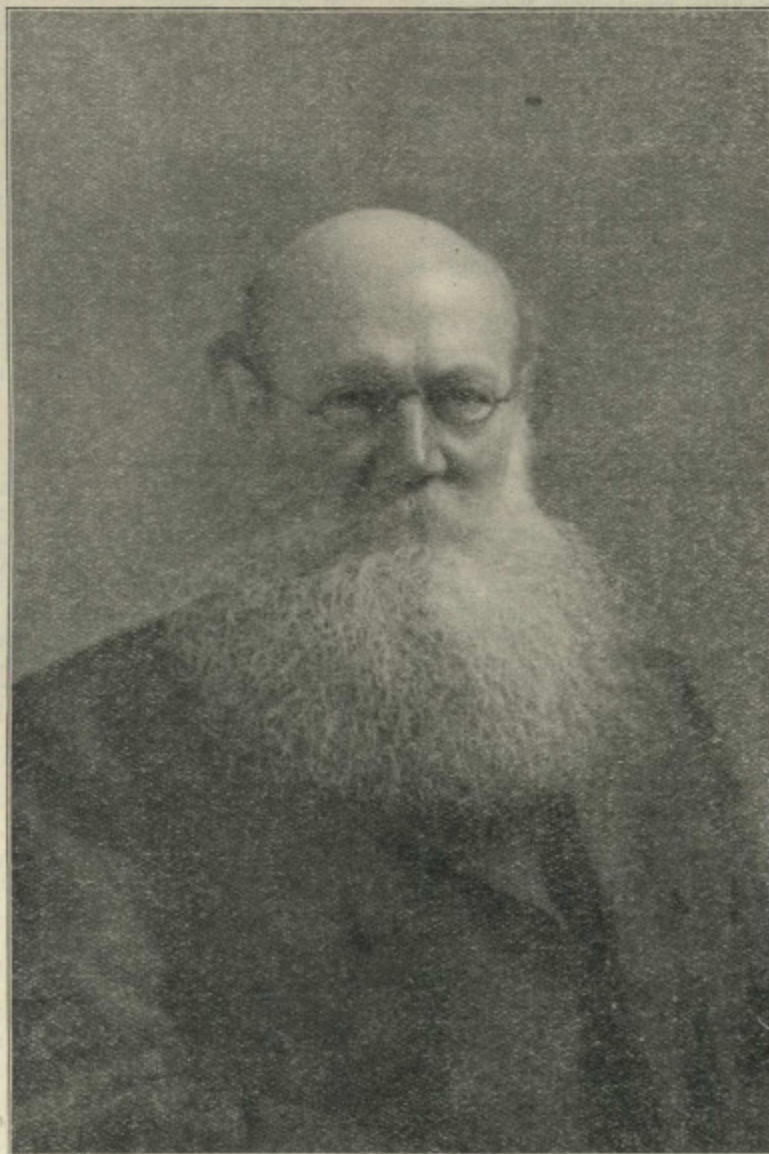
Last year an American banker who had studied economic conditions in Europe stated that Great Britain's foreign trade would not regain its previous volume, and that eight million of the inhabitants of the British Isles would have to emigrate to get nearer to the sources of their food supply. It really seems as though he spoke truly. There is no possible chance of our foreign trade improving to any great extent in the near future, even if trade is opened with Russia. The war has dealt a fatal blow at the capitalist system as it exists at present, and even if revolution does not sweep it away the process of reconstruction will bring starvation and misery to millions. The "great statesmen" and the "captains of industry" have made a desert where there should be abundance for all. Even now, if the people of this country had not such blind faith in their rulers, a catastrophe could be avoided. By taking the land and using it to the best advantage, sufficient food could be grown to feed everyone; but at the present time agricultural land is going out of cultivation owing to the fall in the price of wheat, and our dependence on foreign-grown food will be worse than ever. Millions of idle men and millions of idle acres—to bring them together the law of private property in land must be scrapped.

The German Indemnity.

The indemnity which the Allies are demanding from Germany is so palpably and monstrously absurd that one can see at once that they do not expect she can or will pay, and therefore the penalties for non-payment will be enforced. French capitalists find themselves faced with bankruptcy, like the rest of Europe, and hope to save themselves at the expense of German capitalists, by seizing the richest and most productive parts of the neighbouring territory. Lloyd George agrees on behalf of British capitalists, who have designs elsewhere for which they wish to have French consent. It is a devil's broth they are brewing. Wherever we look we can see explosive material being piled up by European statesmen, who have learnt nothing from the past six years of war, and who still imagine that the workers can be used as cannon fodder when it suits their purpose. There are many signs of awakening amongst the people, but the vast mass seem quite willing to leave their lives in the hands of the militarists, who play at war as others play at chess. How enthusiastically some of the young men went to the "war to end war"—how terrible the tragedy of their failure!

The New Inquisition.

The inquiry last year into the dockers' demand for an increase of wages was the beginning of a new inquisition for the workers. To prove that their wages were not sufficient to maintain their families in comfort, the dockers produced their household budgets giving details of the weekly expenditure, everything being exposed to the eyes of the employers, whose sympathies they hoped to arouse by this recital of their hardships. At the time of writing an inquiry is being held into the tramwaymen's demand for an increase of 12s. per week, and both sides argue interminably as to the cost of living, the amount to be allowed for free uniforms, how much other workers are paid, and whether a tramwayman is a labourer or a skilled worker. Again the weekly budgets are produced to work on the feelings of the hard-hearted representatives of the employers. At the finish of the inquiry the Ministry of Labour will decide either that the men's case has not been made out or that they are only entitled to an increase of a paltry shilling or two. To us the whole business is a disgusting and stupid farce. The Ministry of Labour's decision will not be influenced by weekly budgets or cost of living, but by the strength of the workers' Unions and the number of unemployed. The masters want to beat down wages, and the two million unemployed will be their most effective weapon. Unemployment and low wages will be the lot of the workers here for many months—unless they abolish the capitalist system. But that is too much to expect.



PETER KROPOTKIN.

Born December 9, 1842; died February 8, 1921.

Communist Unity.

On January 29 and 30 a Conference was held at Leeds with the object of uniting the various Communist organisations in one Communist Party. About 170 delegates were present, representing the Communist Party of Great Britain, the Communist Labour Party, the Communist Party and various Communist groups. The delegates agreed to the formation of a united Communist Party, which involves the dissolution of the organisations they represented. The formation of this party is in a line with the general tendency of State Socialists in Europe, who have adopted the name of Communist without accepting the ideas underlying the name. Communism is impossible without Anarchism, for it implies equality; but a "Communism" enforced by a Dictatorship is not Communism, as it means privileges for the governors and discipline for the governed. We have been told by Bolsheviki that "freedom is a bourgeois idea," and Lenin says, "All manner of talk about equal rights is nonsense." To abolish Capitalism will be worth much effort and sacrifice, but unless authority and inequality are also swept away it will be a barren victory.

OBJECTIONS TO ANARCHISM.

By GEORGE BARRETT.

(Continued from last month)

No. 3.

All change is slow by Evolution, and not sudden, as the Anarchists wish to make it by Revolution.

It is quite true that every great change is slowly prepared by a process of evolution almost imperceptible. Sometimes changes are carried right through from beginning to end by this slow process, but on the other hand it is quite clear that very often evolution leads slowly up to a climax, and then there is a sudden change in the condition of things. This is so obvious that it seems scarcely worth while to elaborate the point. Almost anywhere in Nature we can see the double process: the plant which slowly, very slowly, ripens its germs of new life, quite suddenly exposes these to new conditions, and when they enter these new conditions they slowly begin to change again. An almost laughably good example of this, amongst many others, is furnished by a little fungus called the *pilo bolus*. This, which very slowly and innocently ripens its spores like any other ordinary little plant, will, when the moment comes, suddenly shoot out a jet of water in which the spores are carried, and which it throws to a distance of sometimes as much as three feet, although the plant itself is very small. Now it is perfectly true that in this case the necessary pressure is slowly evolved; it has taken long for all the conditions to imperceptibly ripen, and as the pressure has increased the cell wall has been giving way. There comes a time, however, when that wall can stretch no further—and then it has suddenly burst asunder, and the new germs of life have been thrown violently into their new conditions, and according to these new conditions so do they develop.

So is it with the conditions of society. There is always amongst the people the spirit of freedom slowly developing, and tyranny is slowly receding or stepping back to make room for this development. But there comes a time when the governmental or tyrannical part has not enough elasticity to stretch so far as the pressure of Liberty, developing within, would make it. When this point is reached the pressure of the new development bursts the bonds that bind it, and a revolution takes place. In the actual case in point the change proposed is so radical that it would mean the entire extinction of the governmental element in society. It is certain, then, that it will not gently stretch itself to this point, especially as it shows us on every possible occasion that it is ready to use violence in its most brutal forms. For this reason most Anarchists believe that the change will be sudden, and therefore we use the term "revolution," recognising that it does not replace the term "evolution," but accompanies it.

No. 4.

It is necessary to organise in order to live, and to organise means Government; therefore Anarchism is impossible.

It is true that it is necessary to organise in order to live, and since we all wish to live we shall all of our own free will organise, and do not need the compulsion of government to make us do so. Organisation does not mean government. All through our ordinary daily work we are organising without government. If two of us lift a table from one side of the room to the other, we naturally take hold one at each end, and we need no Government to tell us that we must not over-balance it by both rushing to the same end; the reason why we agree silently, and organise ourselves to the correct positions, is because we both have a common purpose: we both wish to see the table moved. In more complex organisations the same thing takes place. So long as organisations are held together only by a common purpose they will automatically do their work smoothly. But when, in spite of conflicting interests, you have people held together in a common organisation, internal conflict results, and some outside force becomes necessary to preserve order; you have, in fact, governmental society. It is the Anarchist's purpose to so organise society that the conflict of interests will cease, and men will co-operate and work together simply because they have interests in common. In such a society the organisations or institutions which they will form will be exactly in accordance with their needs; in fact, it will be a representative society.

Free organisation is more fully discussed in answer to Questions 5 and 23.

No. 5.

How would you regulate the traffic?

We should not regulate it. It would be left to those whose business it was to concern themselves in the matter. It would pay those who used the roads (and therefore had, in the main, interests in common in the matter) to come together and discuss and make agreements as to the rules of the road. Such rules in fact which at present exist have been established by custom and not by law, though the law may sometimes take it on itself to enforce them.

This question we see very practically answered to-day by the great motor clubs, which are entered voluntarily, and which study the interest of this portion of the traffic. At dangerous or busy corners a sentry is stationed who with a wave of the hand signals if the coast is clear, or if it is necessary to go slowly. First-aid boxes and repair shops are established all along the road, and arrangements are made for conveying home motorists whose cars are broken down.

A very different section of road users, the carters, have found an equally practical answer to the question. There are, even to-day, all kinds of understandings and agreements amongst these men as to which goes first, and as to the position they shall each take up in the yards and buildings where they work. Amongst the cabmen and taxi-drivers the same written and unwritten agreements exist, which are as rigidly maintained by free understandings as they would be by the penalties of law.

Suppose now the influence of government were withdrawn from our drivers. Does anyone believe that the result would be chaos? Is it not infinitely more likely that the free agreements at present existing would extend to cover the whole necessary field? And those few useful duties now undertaken by the Government in the matter: would they not be much more effectively carried out by free organisation among the drivers?

This question has been much more fully answered by Kropotkin in "The Conquest of Bread." In this he shows how on the canals in Holland the traffic (so vital to the life of that nation) is controlled by free agreements, to the perfect satisfaction of all concerned. The railways of Europe, he points out, also, are brought into co-operation with one another and thus welded into one system, not by a centralised administration, but by agreements and counter-agreements between the various companies.

If free agreement is able to do so much even now, in a system of competition and government, how much more could it do when competition disappears, and when we trust to our own organisation instead of to that of a paternal government.

No. 6.

If a man will not vote for the Revolution, how can you Anarchists expect him to come out and fight for it?

This question is very often asked, and that is the only excuse for answering it. For my part, I find it generally enough to suggest to the questioner that though I find it very difficult to imagine myself voting for him, I do not find it half so unlikely that I might shoot him.

Really the objection entirely begs the question. Our argument is that to vote for a labour leader to have a seat in Parliament is *not* to vote for the Revolution. And it is because the people instinctively know that they will not get Liberty by such means that the parliamentarians are unable to awaken any enthusiasm.

No. 7.

If you abolish competition you abolish the incentive to work.

One of the strangest things about society to-day is that whilst we show a wonderful power to produce abundant wealth and luxury, we fail to bring forth the simplest necessities. Everyone, no matter what his political, religious or social opinions may be, will agree in this. It is too obvious to be disputed. On the one hand there are children without boots; on the other hand are the boot-makers crying out that they cannot sell their stock. On the one hand there are people starving or living upon unwholesome food, and on the other hand provision merchants complain of bad trade. Here are homeless men and women sleeping on the pavements and wandering nightly through our great cities, and here again are the property-owners complaining that no one will come and live in their houses. And in all these cases production is held up because there is no demand. Is not this an intolerable

state of affairs? What now shall we say about the incentive to work? Is it not obvious that the present incentive is wrong and mischievous up to the point of starvation and ruination. That which induces us to produce silks and diamonds and dreadnoughts and toy pomeranians, whilst bread and boots and houses are needed, is wholly and absolutely wrong.

To-day the scramble is to compete for the greatest profits. If there is more profit to be made in satisfying my lady's passing whim than there is in feeding hungry children, then competition brings us in feverish haste to supply the former, whilst cold charity or the poor law can supply the latter, or leave it unsupplied, just as it feels disposed. That is how it works out. This is the reason: the producer and the consumer are the two essentials; a constant flow of wealth passes from one to the other, but between them stands the profit-maker and his competition system, and he is able to divert that stream into what channel best pleases him. Sweep him away and the producer and the consumer are brought into direct relationship with one another. When he and his competitive system are gone there will still remain the only useful incentive to work, and that will be the needs of the people. The need for the common necessities and the highest luxuries of life will be not only fundamentally, as it is to-day, but the direct motive power behind all production and distribution. It is obvious, I think, that this is the ideal to be aimed at, for it is only in such circumstances that production and distribution will be carried on for its legitimate purpose—to satisfy the needs of the people; and for no other reason.

No. 8.

Socialism or Social Democracy must come first; then we may get Anarchism. First, then, work for Social Democracy.

This is one of those oft-repeated statements which apparently have no argument or meaning behind them. The modern Socialist, or at least the Social Democrats, have steadily worked for centralisation, and complete and perfect organisation and control by those in authority above the people. The Anarchist, on the other hand, believes in the abolition of that central power, and expects the free society to grow into existence from below, starting with those organisations and free agreements among the people themselves. It is difficult to see how, by making a central power control everything, we can be making a step towards the abolition of that power.

No. 9.

Under Anarchism the country would be invaded by a foreign enemy.

At present the country is held by that which we consider to be an enemy—the landlord and capitalist class. If we are able to free ourselves from this, which is well established and at home on the land, surely we should be able to make shift against a foreign invading force of men, who are fighting, not for their own country, but for their weekly wage.

It must be remembered, too, that Anarchism is an international movement, and if we do establish a revolution in this country, in other countries the people would have become at least sufficiently rebellious for their master class to consider it advisable to keep their armies at home.

No. 10.

We are all dependent upon one another, and cannot live isolated lives. Absolute freedom, therefore, is impossible.

Enough has been said already to show that we do not believe people would live isolated lives in a free society. To get the full meaning out of life we must co-operate, and to co-operate we must make agreements with our fellow-men. But to suppose that such agreements mean a limitation of freedom is surely an absurdity; on the contrary, they are the exercise of our freedom.

If we are going to invent a dogma that to make agreements is to damage freedom, then at once freedom becomes tyrannical, for it forbids men to take the most ordinary everyday pleasures. For example, I cannot go for a walk with my friend because it is against the principle of Liberty that I should agree to be at a certain place at a certain time to meet him. I cannot in the least extend my own power beyond myself, because to do so I must co-operate with someone else, and co-operation implies an agreement, and that is against Liberty. It will be seen at once that this argument is absurd. I do not limit my liberty, but simply exercise it, when I agree with my friend to go for a walk.

If, on the other hand, I decide from my superior knowledge that it is good for my friend to take exercise, and therefore I attempt to compel him to go for a walk, then I begin to limit freedom. This is the difference between free agreement and government.

(To be continued next month.)

OUR ARTICLES ON BOLSHEVISM IN PRACTICE.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR SIR,—Please do not send FREEDOM, as I do not intend to subscribe any longer. My reason for this is FREEDOM's uncalled-for attacks on Russia, whilst she is fighting for the life of her workers. The article on "Bolshevism's Failure" in the January issue is the last straw.

The writer says: "It shows that Man has reached the point at which he may, if he chooses, be master of his environment." Does the writer refuse to pay his taxes? Does he refuse to exchange capitalist money for the capitalists' bread and clothes? Has he "got the riders off his back," "freed his hands from the shackles"? If he had he would be dead.

"Lenin sits in the Kremlin." The capitalists translate this remark thus: Lenin sits in state as the Tsar did, clothed in better cloth than the workers, fed on luxuries, assuming tyrannical powers, appropriating vast sums for his personal use. Lenin may sit in the Kremlin, but he did not have it built for himself with the sweat and tears of the worker; he gains no better food or privileges than the man in the street. It was Lenin who made it possible for thousands of hungry children to be fed daily in the Tsar's palaces.

Why should not Trotsky go to the opera house, and if the people acclaim him, why not, *so long as he is their friend?*

"W. C. O." says the Allies "showed little or no inclination to interfere [in 1917], and did so only after Lenin and his followers had proclaimed a holy crusade, to be waged with fire and sword, against the capitalist countries of all the world." Of course, the Allies did not interfere when Kerensky said he would impose a worse militarism than had been deposed if the people would not fight for the Allies. It is a matter of history that the Allies took up arms against Russia before she armed in order to defend herself. Lenin has never made war on anyone. The reason Lenin stood and Kerensky fell is because Lenin was the first man to start reconstruction and to try to give the workers bread.

"Let the Russian worker fight his own battles." Quite so, if your nation is not attacking the Russian worker. "For ends we do not comprehend." Even if the methods do not suit "W. C. O.," it is plain to all that Communism is the end; and the fact that Lenin is attacked by the Allies, and that Kerensky was not, proves that even the capitalist comprehends the ends of the Bolshevists.

"W. C. O." does not put an alternative as to what the Bolshevists might have done in place of what they have done. What constructive plans did the Anarchists try to put into operation in Russia when the Revolution occurred, or would they have preferred to support the Tsar's régime, as Kropotkin did, in an Imperialist war on the German proletariat?—I am, yours truly,
CLARA GILBERT COLE.

[We are unrepentant. We still maintain that the Dictatorship of the Communist Party in Russia, like all dictatorships, has not brought and will not bring freedom to the workers; that the Dictatorship will not "wither away," as Engels said; but that the workers can only achieve freedom by the overthrow of all forms of government. The Bolshevik Government, like all other organisms, will seek to maintain itself at all costs; and compulsory military service and compulsory labour are means to that end. During the war, Mrs. Cole showed great courage and perseverance in the fight against conscription, and on that account we regret our differences with her; but to Anarchists conscription is tyranny, whether it is enforced by a capitalist government or by a Socialist government. For many years we have pointed out that a "revolutionary government" is a contradiction in terms, and that such a government would stifle a revolution. So far as personal freedom goes this has happened in Russia, as it is bound to happen under any government. At the ninth Congress of the Russian Communist Party in Russia it was stated that "a considerable part of the workers," in search of better food, voluntarily leave their places of employment or change from place to place"; to combat this they asked the Soviet government to undertake "a firm, systematic, and insistent struggle" against these desertions, and advocated "internment in concentration camps." Is this the Revolution Mrs. Cole fights for? To us it is the antithesis of freedom. With regard to the charge that we are attacking Russia whilst she is fighting for her life, we are but combatting the fairy tales published here by the Moscow-subsidised Communist press.
—ED. FREEDOM]

WANTED—£100!

The following sums have been received during the past month. We are still in need of cash and hope comrades will do their best:—
Previously acknowledged £37 7s. 5d. F. Berret 6s. 5d., C. Pindar 5s., J. Buchie £1 1s. 6d., J. C. 1s., Anon. 1s. 6d., Anon. 6d., H. Soslofsky 6d., A. G. 3d., Ellis 3d., A. P. 6d., G. Winch 1s., L. D. Abbott 5s., G. Davison £5, A. Corum 2s., E. R. 10s., F. Goulding 2s., H. W. Journet 2s. 6d., West London Communist Group, 4s. 9d., H. G. Russell 3s., J. S. 1s., R. Peddie 2s., H. W. 1s., A. M. 1s., A. Sanders 3s., W. A. Smith 1s., B. Plattin 3s., E. C. Ballard 5s., C. E. Miller 2s., A. D. Moore 4s., N. Sall 2s. 6d., P. Incampo 17s. 4d., W. C. O. 5s., L. G. W. 5s., L. Bioulet 2s. 3d., R. S. Feldman 5s. 3d. Total, £48 10s. 2d.

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Death of Peter Kropotkin.

On February 8, at Dmitrov, about forty miles from Moscow, our old comrade Peter Kropotkin crossed the Great Frontier where passports are unnecessary. He had been ill for some weeks, suffering from pneumonia; almost from the beginning its dangerous nature was realised, and in spite of the best medical attention, he passed away.

Peter Kropotkin was born at Moscow on December 9, 1842, and passed the first fifteen years of his life in that city. His father was one of the old feudal nobility, and moved in the most aristocratic circles. At the age of eight, at a ball given in honour of the Tsar, Kropotkin attracted the notice of the autocrat, who put his name down as a candidate for the corps of pages, which he entered at the age of fifteen. This took him to St. Petersburg, where he first began his serious studies. History, law, mathematics, military science, and the natural sciences were the principal subjects; but the last-named attracted him most of all, and it was then that he laid the basis of that knowledge of the subject which he turned to such splendid use later on.

In 1862, having passed all his examinations, he had the privilege of choosing the regiment he wished to join. Having no love for military service in the Guards, with its endless round of parades and other useless ceremonies, he chose the Cossacks of the Amur, which would give him the opportunity he sought of continuing his studies in natural science. The next five years he spent in Siberia and Manchuria, exploring territory previously untrod by Europeans, and making many notable geographical discoveries. In 1867 he returned from Siberia, left the army, and entered the university at St. Petersburg, study and scientific work absorbing all his time during the next five years.

Kropotkin made his first journey to Western Europe in 1872, and having read much in Russia of the International Workingmen's Association, on his arrival in Zurich he joined one of the local sections of that organisation. His friends amongst the Russian students provided him with large numbers of books and newspapers which he spent days and nights in reading, and, as he says, "received a deep impression which nothing will efface. . . . The more I read the more I saw that there was before me a new world, unknown to me, and totally unknown to the learned makers of sociological theories—a world that I could know only by living in the Workingmen's Association and by meeting the workers in their everyday life." He immediately threw himself into the life of the movement, attending the meetings and studying the workers who supported the cause with their few pence, often at great sacrifice to themselves. He saw how eager they were to gain instruction, and how little they were helped by those who had education and leisure. "Few and rare were those who came to assist without the intention of making political capital out of this very helplessness of the people! . . . Where are those who will come to serve the masses—not to utilise them for their own ambitions?" This suspicion of politicians was strengthened by the trickery of one of the leaders who wished to be elected to Parliament. As a result, he determined to join the other section of the International at Geneva, which was known as the Bakunists. The Russian who gave him an introduction to a member of that section said: "Well, you won't return to us; you will remain with them." He had guessed right. Kropotkin threw in his lot with the Bakunist or Anarchist section of the International, and soon became one of its most devoted and energetic propagandists.

Kropotkin spent several days amongst the watchmakers in the Jura Federation, which was the centre of opposition to the general council of the Association, dominated by Marx and

Engels, who, at a secret conference held in 1871, had decided to direct the forces of the Association towards electoral agitation. The watchmakers were the champions of no-government and federalist ideas, and discussed these subjects with great independence. "The theoretical aspects of Anarchism, as they were then beginning to be expressed in the Jura Federation, especially by Bakunin; the criticisms of State Socialism—the fear of an economic despotism, far more dangerous than the merely political despotism—which I heard formulated there; and the revolutionary character of the agitation, appealed strongly to my mind. . . . When I came away from the mountains, after a week's stay with the watchmakers, my views upon Socialism were settled. I was an Anarchist."

In this frame of mind he returned to Russia and decided to throw in his lot with the workers. He joined the Tchaykovsky Circle, a group of men and women devoted to revolutionary propaganda. For two years he worked with them, distributing literature and delivering lectures to working men in St. Petersburg. But the secret police heard of these lectures, and a weaver who had attended was bribed to betray Kropotkin, who was arrested in the spring of 1874 and imprisoned in the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul. Two years he remained there and then was transferred to the military hospital on account of his bad health. By arrangement with comrades outside he effected a marvellous escape from the hospital in broad daylight, and after some adventures reached England. His subsequent work is described in detail by "M. N." on another page, so it will suffice to say that from that year onward he threw himself heart and soul into the Anarchist movement, and his books and pamphlets have been published in most modern languages.

In October, 1886, he joined with Mrs. C. M. Wilson in starting FREEDOM, and the files of our journal contain most of his Anarchist writings. Until the war burst in 1914 the connection was unbroken; but fundamental differences with us on the war caused him to cease contributing after that year. His support of the Allies was a hard blow to most of the comrades here and abroad. In our opinion his judgment was warped by his hatred of the disciplinary spirit of Germany on the one hand, and on the other by his over-valuation of the revolutionary spirit of France, caused by his studies of the great French Revolution. The latter country has since proved to be one of the most reactionary in Europe.

When the Russian Revolution took place he returned to Russia after an absence of forty years. As an Anarchist he was profoundly disappointed by the rise of the present Dictatorship of the Communist Party; and his letter on the subject appeared in FREEDOM some months ago. The Revolution, for which he had worked so many years, and which he hoped would bring liberty to all, has brought instead the Dictatorship of a comparatively small body of Marxian dogmatists. His health was not of the best, and this disappointment did not improve it. An application for a passport to leave Russia for Switzerland was refused by the Soviet Government, but they offered him certain privileges in the way of extra food, which he declined, preferring to remain on an equal footing with other citizens. Now the end has come and brought relief to him after a life which has been full to the brim of struggle for equality and well-being for all.

The outstanding feature of Kropotkin's social teachings may be summed up in a very few words—the vital importance of human solidarity, and his insistence that in the struggle for equality for all we truly realise our own personality. The following extract from "Anarchist Morality," the finest of all his pamphlets, gives us the real meaning of Anarchism to him.

"By proclaiming ourselves Anarchists, we proclaim beforehand that we disavow any way of treating others in which we should not like them to treat us; that we will no longer tolerate the inequality that has allowed some amongst us to use their strength, their cunning, or their ability after a fashion in which it would annoy us to have such qualities used against ourselves. Equality in all things, the synonym of equity, this is Anarchism in very deed. . . . It is not only against the abstract trinity of Law, Religion, and Authority that we declare war. By becoming Anarchists, we declare war against all this wave of deceit, cunning, exploitation, depravity, vice—in a word, inequality—which they have poured into all our hearts. We declare war against their way of acting, against their way of thinking. The governed, the deceived, the exploited, the prostitute wound above all else our sense of equality. It is in the name of equality that we are determined to have no more prostituted, exploited, deceived and governed men and women."

PETER KROPOTKIN AT WORK.

Kropotkin's personality and ideas were to such an extent before comrades and the public at large, until 1914 at least, that little remains to be said at this hour of his death, when one feels disinclined to compile hosts of facts and figures, to dissect ideas, or to record small traits and anecdotes. Again, that evolution, let loose in 1914 and since being spelled with an R of ever-growing proportions, is still so unsettled that we can hardly calculate the different forces at work and foresee their final course; so, with many factors still hidden, at least to our observation, we cannot rightly judge at this moment what influence Kropotkin's life-work and ideas had, and maintain, on all that happened and on the much greater bulk of all that is preparing. Authority, which he fought all his life, seems to be victorious everywhere, from Imperialism to Bolshevism; and yet, to most thinking people, these are hollow victories, the last and most hideous manifestations of Authority, digging its own grave by creating at last an immense desire for real freedom and good fellowship, and leading inevitably up to the time when all the seeds scattered by Kropotkin and so many other Anarchists will bear fruit. When in some countries the present system was discredited and broke down, it was probably inevitable that large parties and masses, eager for power and materially dissatisfied and hungry, should first grasp the reins of power and adopt rough authoritarian measures. Freedom's turn comes next, and the question as to what extent coming events will be more directly inspired by freedom than those since 1917 have been, is the great problem before us. We are in the very midst of this development, and a more definite estimate of Kropotkin's work and its lasting influence must be postponed.

It is sufficient to say that during his life of activity, from the 'sixties until 1914, he did whatever man could do, and that few lives are so teeming with continuous work, work for science and the elaboration of ideas, work for propaganda and the spreading of ideas, all this accompanied by hard work for a modest livelihood for himself and family. It is in this respect, as a hard-working man of rare and immense activity, that I will consider Kropotkin just now.

He would not have been averse to a life a little more easy, but circumstances chained him to his work for between fifty and sixty years, and, once at work, he worked away with great intensity. I believe that his ideas were formed by a slow process of gathering materials and observations with scientific ardour, and then basing conclusions upon them. Once these conclusions were formed, be it in the 'sixties or thirty years later, they got hold of him to an incredible degree, and seemed unalterable throughout his life. Henceforth he would be untiring to seek confirmation of these ideas, but he would never seem to be inclined or to find time to re-examine them and to revise their foundation. To me, at least, this rigid adherence to all he had ever observed, be it in the early 'sixties, and which his memory retained wonderfully, appeared somewhat strange, and leading to isolation in face of the ever-progressing advance of science. I should have wished to see his ideas thrown into the crucible of general scientific discussion to a much greater degree than they were, modified by criticism, augmented by the research of many others, and then they might be before us now in a more expanded, less personal form. But I recognise that many reasons prevented this, and fixed Kropotkin, if I may say so, on the borderline between scientist and prophet. Scientists are plentiful and prophets also, but men nourished by true science and transforming it by themselves and spreading it like prophets are very scarce, and Kropotkin's position was in some respects unique.

The brilliant progress of natural science after Darwin's great work was published in the late 'fifties, and the immense undeveloped resources of Russia and Siberia, which Kropotkin learnt to appreciate by his travels, stimulated his interest for natural science, and he became an active worker upon this immense field, which even in autocratic Russia was relatively undisturbed. But here his natural unselfishness interfered, and when he saw the downtrodden state of the people, to whom the natural riches and mineral wealth of Russia, and all the researches of Darwin, Huxley, and Spencer meant absolutely nothing, he threw up the scientific career and cast in his lot with those who prepared the Russian Revolution.

Thus, after his travels and studies of the 'sixties and much manual work, so to speak, in this domain, translations and the

like, to earn a living, he applied the same intensity of work to revolutionary purposes, the organisation of secret propagandist travels, meetings, lectures and printing, and to secret lectures of his own in the guise of a working man. His interest was always a thorough one, he went to the bottom of things and did the real work, small or large, as required, from a revolutionary lecture to drawing up a plan for the reorganisation of the movement all over Russia.

He first travelled abroad in 1871-72, and unfailingly found his way to the small Anarchist sections of the International in the Swiss Jura, which fascinated him, and which he always remembered and loved. After a period of increased activity in Russia, his arrest, imprisonment and escape, and a lingering time in London, then barren of revolutionists, he returned to the Swiss Jura, and then, from the latter part of 1876 onward, for some years he becomes the very soul of the Anarchist International.

That movement was then declining as far as outside organisation went, the forms of international federation, however unpretending and elastic they were since the reorganisation at St. Imier in September, 1872, being considered superfluous altogether by the local propagandists. Still some of the earlier propagandists, those initiated in Bakunin's intimate circle, called the "Alliance," kept together, corresponded or met; and Kropotkin soon became one of them, the most fervid and active of the time, always encouraging those whom years of propaganda in a period of general reaction had somewhat tired. I happen to know, by communications from James Guillaume, quantities of internationalist letters then addressed to Kropotkin and showing his relations, efforts, and the state of the movement, as seen from the innermost in the countries where the Anarchist International or sections of it still existed, Italy excepted, where the movement was always so strong and in good care that his help was least needed. These letters, for example, illustrate the Spanish movement of that period—when the International had to be an underground organisation for years—and circumstances even led to a journey by Kropotkin to Spain, to arrange some internationalist matters, a journey which impressed him greatly with the revolutionary earnestness of the Spanish workers. Or he would compile, for certain German Anarchist workers in Switzerland, the first German Anarchist programme ever circulated, and, with P. Brousse, of Montpellier, give great help to the first German Anarchist paper, then published at Berne, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, which, like numbers of other Anarchist publications of the time, he had the excellent idea to send to the British Museum, where this phase of the movement can be studied with exceptional facility. At another time, again, he would edit the *Jurassian Bulletin* (in French), in James Guillaume's absence. There he wrote on the Russo-Turkish war and struck that note of Slavonic nationalism which always inspired him since his military youth, or earlier, if possible, and which, when it burst out again during the Russo-Japanese and the Balkan Allies' wars and in 1914, surprised none of those who knew the unalterable character of his impressions and conclusions, if they were ever so old.

This internationalist activity led him to Belgium, the Congresses held at Verviers and at Ghent, whence he had to depart to Paris, where the earliest foundations of present-day Anarchism were then laid. He made his way back to Switzerland, where the *Révolté* was founded, early in 1879; and this paper, to which Kropotkin from the first gave his fullest attention and immense care, became rapidly the international organ of ascending Anarchism, whilst in France flourishing movements sprung up, mainly in Paris and the Rhone district, at Lyons, etc. These were the years of Kropotkin's greatest activity, when besides editing the *Révolté* and writing that connected series of articles which was later edited by Reclus as "Words of a Rebel," he extended his personal activity and relations to the south-west of France, the Lyons region, and at the same time found congenial scientific work in helping Elisée Reclus, at Clarens, on the lake of Geneva, with the enormous annual volumes of his geography, besides enjoying the closest comradeship of this man of the broadest culture and the finest Anarchist ideas.

A time will come when some keen reasoner and psychologist will compare the Anarchism of Kropotkin and that of Reclus, who closely co-operated, who were intimate friends,

and yet who seem, to me at least, to possess great differences as well as remarkable affinities. To me Kropotkin's Anarchism seems harder, less tolerant, more disposed to be practical; that of Reclus seems to be wider, wonderfully tolerant, uncompromising as well, based on a more humanitarian basis. There is room for both and more, and if Kropotkin's Anarchism is more of his time and parts of it may vanish with himself, that of Reclus seems more lasting to me; the time to recognise it fully has not yet arrived, but is sure to come.

In 1881 Kropotkin participated in the London International Revolutionary Congress, which was a welcome pretext to the Swiss authorities to make his residence in Geneva and Clarens impossible, just as some time later the vigorous growth of the movement in the Lyons region was used by the French authorities to imprison and try the principal propagandists, Kropotkin also, at Lyons (1883), which led to their imprisonment at Clairvaux from then to the beginning of 1886, when an amnesty liberated them all, also Louise Michel and others. After a short time at Paris, where he would not have been allowed to stay, he came to England and settled in Harrow.

He had passed some lengthy and rather tedious periods in London since 1876, when the Socialist movement amounted to nothing, or was just beginning, as in 1881. Unfortunately the years 1884 and 1885, when the anti-parliamentarian part of the Social Democratic Federation (comprising full-grown Anarchists like Joseph Lane and Sam Mainwaring, authoritarian revolutionists like Andreas Scheu, William Morris and his friends, and, curiously enough, from personal reasons rather, certain Marxists, the Avelings, Bax, etc.), seceded and founded the Socialist League in October, 1884—these years were unknown to Kropotkin, and when he came to London in 1886 he must have seen these events through the eyes of his early personal friend, H. M. Hyndman, and those of some English Anarchists outside the Socialist League, who were also of Social Democratic origin; besides the *apparent* influence of the Marxists, Marx's daughter, upon the Socialist League—as an eye-witness of these matters since the end of 1885 I think I can say, rightly, *apparent*—may have deterred the Jurassian internationalist, who had all the struggle of Marx against Bakunin at his fingers' ends.

It is regrettable that he seems to have made no closer examination of the real situation, and decided upon having nothing to do with the Socialist League, and founded an independent group, which began by using H. Seymour's *Anarchist*, an outspoken Individualist Anarchist paper, as their organ, a scheme of co-operation which collapsed within a few months. After this there was no paper until, in October, 1886, *FREEDOM* began to be published.

The Socialist League at that time contained the flower of English revolutionary Socialism, mainly the popular revolutionists with strong Anarchist leanings, who had restarted the English movement about 1880—one of them, Joseph Lane, wrote the first English Anarchist pamphlet, "An Anti-statist Communist Manifesto," issued in 1887—and some very good people who felt attracted by William Morris's thoroughgoing Socialism of that period. If Kropotkin had joined them at that time he would have had the most friendly reception and the fullest opportunities for Anarchist propaganda; many comrades who were then at their best could have been won. Instead of this they were apt to get the impression that Kropotkin and, still more, the recent converts to Anarchism coming from the S.D.F. cared little for them, and so they went their own way, some finding by themselves the road to Anarchism, some, however, losing themselves in doubt and uncertainty. I have always felt that a splendid opportunity was lost here.

However, we must be satisfied with what Kropotkin chose himself to do, and he never stinted his help to the small group which got to be called the Freedom Group and their paper. His articles for many years were not signed, and none but those who did the immediate editing, like Mrs. C. M. Wilson and our late comrade A. Marsh, or the compositors of the paper, knew what immense care Kropotkin gave to it; having seen some of his letters to A. Marsh, covering a small period only, I can testify to it. A similar help he gave for many years to the *Révolte*, of Paris, which succeeded the Geneva paper; here Jean Grave is still alive to tell of it.

The earliest volumes of *FREEDOM* contain, as he well remembered, an entire book by him, complete, or nearly complete, namely, a series of articles (unsigned) which follow a given plan, as those preceding, forming "The Words of a Rebel," and those following, "The Conquest of Bread," also

did. This work would range between both books, and is adapted to English social and political institutions. Thus a very popular introduction to Anarchism may yet be unearthed from the old file of this paper.

Fortunately the late editor of the *Nineteenth Century*, Mr. Knowles, gave him free scope to write articles on Russia, on Anarchism ("The Scientific Basis of Anarchy," February, 1887; "The Coming Anarchy," August, 1887); and further room to work out in detail the economic basis of his ideas; hence: "The Breakdown of our Industrial System" (April, 1888), "The Coming Reign of Plenty," "The Industrial Village of the Future," "Brain Work and Manual Work," and "The Small Industries of Britain" (August, 1900), articles which formed the book, "Fields, Factories, and Workshops," issued in 1901. He also published the "Mutual Aid" series (September, 1890, to June, 1896), followed by articles like "The Theory of Evolution and Mutual Aid" (January, 1910), "The Direct Action of Environment on Plants" (July, 1910), "The Response of Animals to their Environment," and "Inheritance of Acquired Characters" (March, 1912). Meanwhile he had begun an ethical series: "The Ethical Needs of the Present Day" (August, 1904), "The Morality of Nature" (March, 1905), which was then, I think, discontinued, as the coming Russian revolutionary change of 1905 absorbed his time and effort. His ethical studies continued, but the growing strain upon his time and diminished health interrupted their serial publication, and he is said to have been working at this work on Ethics at Dmitriev up to the last. The *Nineteenth Century* articles—I omit others on Finland or French Prisons or the French Revolution, etc.—gave him greater work than anything he wrote, especially the articles called "Recent Science" (about seventeen long articles from 1892 to 1901, dealing with scientific progress in all domains and requiring the most painstaking preparation).

Besides this he used to lecture, touring in the provinces and in Scotland, mostly dealing with Russian subjects; and he spoke for more than twenty years at all the Commune and Chicago Martyrs meetings, and in later years always sent letters.

The Freedom Group came to understand their isolation and in 1888 lectures began to be given, of which I remember some by Kropotkin at the Socialist League offices in Farringdon Road. But even then no further co-operation ensued, and it was not until the Commonweal Group had been broken up by persecutions in 1894, and *FREEDOM* also was voluntarily interrupted for some months in 1894-95, that the rest of the Commonweal Group and the Freedom Group amalgamated and *FREEDOM* was resuscitated in May, 1895, to be published without a break from that time until to-day.

Somehow none of these events, the stirring times of the early 'nineties, brought Kropotkin into a contact with the English movement so close as that which existed—as I heard from descriptions—between himself and the movement in the Jura townships and at Geneva. The literary work for his living (auxiliary geographical work, etc.), and his health, impaired by prison life, also the many calls on his literary help, correspondence, etc., required a certain retirement, besides periods of strained library work; and he always dwelt at a considerable distance from the centre, at Harrow, Acton, Bromley (Kent), Muswell Hill, and finally, when his health demanded it, at Brighton, and only passed an odd week or so in London now and then for library researches. As he gave all his time to work, study, correspondence, and visitors, he could not possibly have done more; and if his contact with the London movement had been more frequent other parts of his work which appeal to a larger public must have been curtailed.

He had so very many things in hand which led to studies, which, like all serious studies, never come to an end. Thus he watched the whole range of organic life for proofs of mutual aid as against the struggle for life, and was seldom so delighted as when, at last, he discovered an account of some social tigers. To this he added by and by the burden of ethical research, where so much literature antagonistic to his ideas still required to be examined preliminarily.

Then his American journey produced the invitation of the *Atlantic Monthly* to write his "Memoirs," a task the first part of which revived all his early Russian memories and, in general, led him back to ever so many recollections of which he did not speak in the "Memoirs." Knowing my historical and bibliographical interest—which he always very kindly seconded—he told me in those years many additions to the "Memoirs" which I took care to record. This revival of his youth also led

to those American lectures on Russian literature, the subject of another book in 1905.

Meanwhile the Russian Revolution of 1905 was preparing, and this led him to resume his studies on the French Revolution of 1789 to 1794, a subject which he had in his mind when he first came to Paris, in 1877, devoting then what time he could to historical research. The studies of a Russian historian and F. Rocquain's book on the forerunners of the Revolution guided these researches, and "The Spirit of Revolt," 1882 (in the *Révolte*), is their first outcome, the *Nineteenth Century* article of 1889 another one; articles in the *Temps Nouveaux* are a subsequent enlargement, until at last—to the editor's dismay, owing to the continual additions and corrections—the big French book of 749 pages (1909) gave the final results.

This re-examination of the French Revolution in its minute details, the contemporary Russian Revolution of 1905 and its sequel during the years following—the most cruel features of these years Kropotkin exposed in "The Terror in Russia" (July, 1909)—the renewed contact with Russia by the early recollections mentioned, and by a great number of Russian visitors since about 1905, also by co-operation with a Russian Anarchist group (issuing a small Russian paper in London, 1906-07); a certain social contact also with Russian politicians, journalists, artists of various shades of opinion, all telling him about Russia—all this worked together to shape Kropotkin's mentality during the years preceding the war. The Japanese War had rekindled his political feelings; his journeys to France (Brittany and Paris), to Southern Switzerland (Locarno), and the Italian Riviera (Rapallo)—imperiously required by his health—brought him in contact with different *milieus*, and a sort of interest in political gossip arose, which old personal friends like H. M. Hyndman certainly did not quell, and which astonished those who believed, when they first met him, that they would be face to face with an anti-militarist, anti-patriotic internationalist. The opposite was almost the case. At least the defence of France, the defence of Russia, were more and more of paramount interest to him; and when Elisée Reclus was dead, when Tolstoy died, and he alone of the world-wide known libertarian humanitarians remained, he did not raise his voice in the years of general war preparations and of actual wars, ever since 1911, in Tripoli and in the Balkans. Malatesta spoke out about the "Tripolitan brigandage" of 1911; Kropotkin was silent when the Balkan War broke out in 1912, and he drove me from one corner of the room to the other by a rhetorical bayonet charge when he saw that I was not exalting over the victories of the Balkan Allies. But enough of this, which since 1914 is a matter of general knowledge. To me it is merely the manifestation of a feeling which had not left him for a single moment since his youth, childhood, or infancy, and which he never concealed when opportunities arose, as in 1876, 1904, 1912, and from 1914 onward.

To complete the rough list of his principal objects of study, there was intensive agriculture, permitting decentralisation and local self-dependence. From Jersey and Mr. Rowntree's efforts of home colonisation his interest ranged to Canada, where he travelled with the British Association, to French gardening, and so on.

When he wrote "Modern Science and Anarchism" and an enlarged French edition (1913), also the article on "Anarchism" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (supplement), he was led to examine the early Anarchist writers, and was greatly struck with many unsuspected advanced ideas he found there; also Fourier greatly interested him. He was only sorry on all such occasions that his time was so much taken up, and so indeed it was to an ever increasing degree, with the revision of translations, correspondence, and visitors. His working power was seriously diminished, and when he overstepped the medical restrictions he was sure to overwork himself, to be laid up for weeks, and to be forbidden all work. During the last few years before 1914 he felt very much the necessity of always working to keep his home going, and he would have dearly enjoyed some real rest, which for him would have meant the reading and even the collecting of books (for he was a book lover, too, and enjoyed to get hold of scarce revolutionary editions), artistic pleasures, and listening to interesting news, with some peeps behind the curtains of politics among them. But such leisure he was never to enjoy; some cares impaired working power, and very precarious health never gave him a respite. Yet he was cheerful and gay and loved to joke and to laugh, but he was also the next moment dreadfully hard and earnest, and, above all, he was unalterable in his adherence to

the different strings of ideas which he had formulated. But why insist upon these weaknesses which, after all, no doubt had their advantages as well, and contributed to the composition of the unique personality he was.

His attitude in 1914 did not surprise me; he *could* not have acted otherwise; and those who knew him well could have foretold every word he would say. Without wishing to introduce any debatable subject I think I may be allowed to say that in my opinion, and that of well-informed German comrades (also G. Landauer, the victim of Munich in 1919), he was considerably deficient in information about Germany, from Socialism to politics and the national character in general. His sources were rather second-hand or spurious, and he would not have based a scientific opinion upon them; indeed, when he wrote on science, he consulted and acknowledged German sources with interest and accuracy.

I can thus feel and understand his life from 1914 to 1917, also his immense delight at the Russian Revolution of March, 1917, and the hope with which he returned to Russia in Kerensky's time. Some months later, however, his life must have become a tragedy, and must have been this to the very end. Tolstoy spoke up to the Tsar in 1908: "I can no longer be silent; I must speak"—Kropotkin's voice to Lenin was not heard, or only in a few letters printed abroad; but he may have thought that all his friends would interpret his silence, like that of Spies when he met his death at Chicago in 1887: "There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you are strangling to-day"—the silence of Kropotkin covers a tragedy before which to us his weaker sides disappear, and his cheerful, indefatigable work for freedom, science, and humanity alone remains.

M. N.

COMRADE KROPOTKIN.

I knew Peter Kropotkin off and on for more than twenty-five years, and at times I saw him frequently and intimately, especially after my long visits to Russia during the terrible years from 1905 to 1907. It was whilst he was at work upon his book called "The Terror in Russia" that I was with him most, for he asked my assistance in the difficult labour of preparing it. You cannot know people well until you have worked with them. Goethe has a fine saying, "Work makes the comrade," and I have never worked with anyone of a nobler and more lovable nature than Kropotkin. He had the fine simplicity and humility that often go with genius, always open to suggestion, always eager to welcome correction. His one object was to get things right, as became a man of scientific mind.

And then his vitality, it was inexhaustible. He never appeared slack or languid or indifferent. Everything that he did was to him of the highest importance, at all events for the moment. He bubbled over with life and energy, his mind always going full-gallop, often too fast and ranging too far for a steady-paced Englishman like myself. His seriousness was almost overwhelming, and he never bothered himself or me with small talk or trivial interests. That, I think, is the blessed Russian way.

He had his hatreds, and for the sake of his ideal he would not have discountenanced violence. But his generosity was boundless as the sea, and he would have cherished the Tsar's dog, though it had bit him, or even the Tsar himself, if either were cold and hungry, just as he would any son of man in distress.

But after all it was his inextinguishable hopefulness that most endeared him to me. In life's darkest days he never despaired of humanity. He never lost heart, but was always clutching deep into life and eagerly pressing forward to the future. Sometimes he was mistaken. He was mistaken about the war, which he believed would end militarism and further his ideal of freedom apart from the State. The war has extended militarism to countries comparatively free from it before, and has set that "cold-hearted monster, the State," upon a higher and firmer pedestal for the oppression of us all. Yet I can well believe that during those last three years in his own country his indomitable spirit remained serenely hopeful in the midst of storms, which threatened all that he had lived for. That hopefulness, that generosity, that vital zeal in the pursuit of the noblest aims are the testament bequeathed to us by so glorious a life.

HENRY W. NEVINSON.

To Correspondents.

G. ALLEN.—We regret that your letter could not be inserted, owing to lack of space.

A. B. H. AND OTHERS.—Thanks for papers and cuttings. We have never taken any notice of remarks by that self-advertising individual, and see no reason to do so now.

A Letter from Holland to English Anti-Militarists.

DEAR COMRADES,—I see there is a great discussion in FREEDOM about Bolshevism and Anarchism, and perhaps you will allow me to say a practical word in your paper. In my opinion, the chief question is this: What is our Anarchist duty with regard to the Russian Revolution and with regard to the proletarian revolution at large? It is a matter of course that we cannot be in accord with the militarism in New Russia, and we have to look for the causes of this militarism. I find that in the first days of the Russian Revolution there was no militarism at all. Some time later there was a Red Army, but nobody was obliged to take service in it. Later on, however, there was conscription; and there is no doubt about it, we as Anarchists are against that.

From this point of view two tasks follow for us Anarchists outside Russia. Firstly, we have to do everything we can to promote the circumstances under which a development of the Russian Revolution in a free direction is possible. Secondly, we have to make certain that in a West European revolution militarism is impossible. To achieve these aims we have to undermine militarism as much as we can. For, besides the principle of authority in Bolshevik Socialism, it is the militarism of West European capitalists that has brought New Russia to militarism. And it is the soul of militarism in the European people that is a danger in itself to the proletarian revolution. We cannot give the Anarchists and Free Communists in Russia a better opportunity to develop the Revolution in the direction of freedom than by undermining militarism, which belongs to Capitalism but not to Communism.

In Holland, since 1904, when there was an Anti-Militarist Congress, we have had an International Anti-Militarist Union, which made very strong propaganda for the idea of our comrade Domela Nieuwenhuis, who died last year, that Labour should answer every declaration of war by a general strike and a general refusal of military service. Since 1917 we have been trying to get international relations with our comrades in other countries, and we are preparing a great International Congress to be held in March, 1921, at The Hague. We have already had an international preparatory conference with comrades of Belgium, Germany, and Denmark. Two members of the conference went to France to speak with the French comrades, the secretary of the I.A.M.U. in France being in prison, a victim of radical anti-militarist propaganda after the war. In Denmark and Belgium there are also sections of the I.A.M.U., and in other countries, such as Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, among others, our comrades are trying to form them.

Knowing this, I think you will feel it your duty to help to form a section in England also. We have already spoken with and written to comrades of the No-Conscription Fellowship. I have sent the editor of FREEDOM a press report of our August preparatory conference and also our declaration of principles and task.

You can understand, comrades, that our international work is not very easy. It is rather expensive, and nearly the whole cost is paid by Dutch comrades. In fact, we have spent about £600 on this work. Besides my suggestion to form a section in England, I ask you to help us financially. You can do that by becoming members of our Congress, for which you have to pay the average wage of four hours' work (or a larger amount if you please). For England we have fixed this at 6s. Unions and other organisations pay £1 4s. The address of our treasurer is H. C. Eckhard, Hooge Laarderweg 203, Hilversum, Holland.

With revolutionary greetings,

ALBERT DE JONG,

Sec. Sec. of the Int. Anti-Mil. Office.

The Hague.

INTERNATIONAL ANTI-MILITARY CONGRESS.

MARCH 26-31, VOLKSGEBOUW, THE HAGUE, HOLLAND.

PUBLIC DEMONSTRATIONS, MARCH 26, 27, AND 28.

Speakers: Nicolai, Fenner Brockway, Roland Holst, Grossman, Hanot, Rucker, Bjorklund, Stocker, Birukoff, Huchet, Reyndorp, De Jong.

Anti-militarism in connection with biology, morality, the class-struggle, Communism, Labour, women's and youth's movements, education, Christianity, free-thought, and practice.

Second part of the Congress: Organising, informal, March 29, 30, 31.—Principles, task, organisation, propaganda, and finance of international anti-militarism.

COMRADES,—Up till now the Dutch revolutionary proletariat has paid some 14,000 guilders for the organisation of international anti-militarism. It can scarcely do more at present. Yet 6,000 guilders more are wanted for the Congress in March. We call you to the rescue. We expect you to do this in the cause of real international human understanding.

In the name of the International Antimilitary Bureau,
Heerenweg 14, Utrecht, Holland. Jos. GIESEN, Secretary.

Please send your money for membership of the Congress (individuals, 6s; organisations, £1 4s.) to the Treasurer, H. C. Eckhard, Hooge Laarderweg 203, Hilversum, Holland.

East London Anarchist Conference.

The Conference called by the "Workers' Friend" Group took place on January 15 at the Working Lads' Institute, 279 Whitechapel Road, E. Comrade Lenoble opened the Conference and declared its purpose. Our comrade Dr. Salkind delivered the opening speech, thanking the "Workers' Friend" Group for taking the initiative and calling the Conference.

Owing to the lengthy debates, only two points were dealt with: organisation and agitation, and the "Workers' Friend." The latter was dealt with from the financial point of view; the editorial side being very much criticised. Regarding organisation and agitation, it was agreed to form a propaganda group, whose object should be to form fresh groups and strengthen existing ones by propaganda among comrades who do not yet belong to any group, and also among fresh elements in London and the provinces. This group is allowed three months' time for its activities, after which a conference is to be called, which shall receive a report of the work done. This group was formed straightway.

It being late and having two more important points to discuss, it was decided to adjourn the Conference to a later date, which will be announced. E. M.

CASH RECEIVED (not otherwise acknowledged).

(December 10 to February 12.)

"FREEDOM" SUBSCRIPTIONS.—W. S. van V., L. Sarnoff, W. Hart, V. Garcia, A. Smith (Ayr), J. N. Norton, A. Hazeland, R. Moore, E. C. Round, R. S. Feldman, J. A. Osborne (2), J. R. Armstrong, D. M. B., C. Pindar, J. Buchie, F. C. Lee, L. Bioulet, L. D. Abbott, G. D. (2), J. S. O., A. Organ, H. A. Johnson, A. Bishop, E. Cranham, H. L. J. Jones, A. W. Oxford, W. M. S., H. J. Stuart, G. Wagstaff, T. Ciulla, L. Caesar, N. Saill, P. Hertford, J. Binnie, H. Samuels, W. M. S., A. Ross, E. Bairstow, M. H. U., T. Foxall, E. D. Hunt, W. Falconer, L. Aubert, W. G. P., J. Sellar, W. H. Thresh, T. S. (2).

NOTICES.

EAST LONDON.—An Anarchist Group is being formed in East London. Comrades wishing to co-operate are requested to write to E. L. A. G., care of Freedom Press, 127 Ossulston Street, N.W.1.

MODERN SUNDAY SCHOOL.—This school has been restarted by the Free Educational Group, who will be glad to hear from teachers and others willing to assist. Letters to the group should be addressed care of Freedom Press.

LONDON.—FREEDOM can be obtained from our comrade ESTHER ARCHER, Secondhand Bookshop, 68 Red Lion Street, Holborn, W.C.1.

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KROPOTKIN MEMORIAL MEETING

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Full particulars will be announced in the *Daily Herald*.

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