

Freedom

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POLITICS AND THE PEOPLE.

The political struggle which is just ended has for the Anarchist but one moral—it proves that the ruling classes are right in regarding the political machine as their safest bulwark against the onward march of Socialism. "Onward march" did we say? Would it were possible even to distinguish a clear marking of time! All is confusion worse confounded where Socialism has—shall we not say?—succumbed to Parliamentary and electoral tactics; for after a perusal of the programmes of the Socialist candidates one may well ask where is the Socialism? It is both stupid and misleading to speak of old-age pensions, factory inspection, and better housing of the poor as Socialism. If this were so, we could name many fossilised upholders of the present system who could claim to be excellent Socialists, in so far as they pay their slaves "fair wages," work them under decent conditions, and make some provision for their old age. This alone would indicate to what mean and paltry compromises one is compelled to descend in order to attain the avowed object of furthering the cause of Socialism in Parliament! But worse remains, for even these miserable sops will not be gained by political methods in time to benefit the generation that has voted for them. And then a howl is raised over the apathy of the people who won't trouble to vote, or if they do vote, persistently vote for the "wrong man." After which that benign dispenser of political wisdom and master of cajolery, Lord Rosebery, rises to the occasion and addresses us on "The Duty of London," in which, after saying a great deal that he doesn't mean, he expresses a fear that he may be taken for a Socialist. But who would dream of asking this cute millionaire if he believed in the socialisation of wealth and the means of production? Yet this is the real basis of true Socialism, and neither the Roseberys, the Harcourts, nor the busybodies on the Borough Councils, who are prepared to tinker with the rotten edifice, will alter that fact.

But while Social Democracy has been wasting time, energy, and the people's patience in its hopeless electoral contests, the bitterest enemies of the people have been fostering the spirit of Imperialism, breeding international rivalries, plundering, annexing, exploiting with the help of this precious British Government which becomes such an excellent tool, such a willing instrument in the hands of the financiers.

Yes, truly the political machine is admirably adapted to the schemes and the interests of the governing classes, and for that very reason it is a delusion and a snare for the workers.

For the past fourteen or fifteen years Social Democrats have been striving to realise, through Parliamentary means, some of the points in their programme. Most of this time the teaching the people so much needed—the clear exposition of the economics of Socialism, with a firm adherence to the ideal of a free and fully-developed life which Socialism proclaims—has been so much neglected that it is largely owing to this that the present disastrous condition of the movement exists.

A glance at the political programme of the Social Democratic party in England will prove the complete failure of Parliamentary action to obtain for the people any of the "reforms" that are indicated as tending towards Socialism.

Take a few of the most prominent planks:—

An eight-hour day.

Raising the age of child labour to 16 years.

Free education with free maintenance for the children.

Repudiation of the National Debt.

Nationalisation of the land; and the

Organisation of labour in agriculture and industry under State or municipal control on co-operative principles; etc., etc.

Everybody knows, of course, that not only have none of these things been obtained, but they are not even within "measurable distance" of being obtained. What is the consequence? A policy of retreat has been sounded, and compromise and retrogression is the order of the day, and a large section of advanced

Democrats have found it necessary to form a National Democratic League, whose soul-inspiring programme is as follows:

- (a) Automatic registration with a three months' qualification.
- (b) Adult suffrage.
- (c) One man one vote.
- (d) Official expenses of elections to be defrayed from State funds.
- (e) Second ballot.
- (f) Payment of members.
- (g) Extinction of the hereditary principle in the Legislature.

And this is the best answer our Democratic friends can give to the acknowledged failure to obtain Social Democratic palliatives. This is the result of all the energy expended in Parliamentary and Municipal action during the past fifteen or more years. We know only too well how good and sincere comrades of the S.D.F. and I.L.P. have striven in the midst of their daily labours to help this forlorn hope, blindly believing that from the politician would come a certain though gradual amelioration of their enslaved conditions. Do they now realise how they have been playing the game of the ruling classes? How disappointment and apathy have eaten the heart out of the Socialist movement? How they have receded into the ranks of mere Radicalism? They may turn their faces against Anarchism, but what then will they do? After all, the enemy is strong, and by some means or other he must be fought and conquered. Is it wise to waste time? Surely not when the issues are so great and so momentous. More than ever we need a return to the advocacy of pure Socialist principles. How long will it be before Social Democrats realise the situation?

A BRIEF HISTORY OF "FREEDOM."

Fourteen years ago—that is to say, in October, 1886—the first number of *Freedom* appeared. It was started by C. M. Wilson and P. Kropotkin, the former acting as editor. It was a small double sheet, containing a "leader" on some current topic, notes on passing events, one or two short theoretical or literary articles, a poem sometimes, and a monthly chronicle of "The Struggle for Freedom" in the world. In this form the paper appeared for two years and a quarter.

In the autumn of 1887, the Anarchist movement in England, as elsewhere, received a noteworthy impetus from the storm of indignation raised amongst the workers by the infamous condemnation of the Chicago strike leaders, five of whom were, on the strength of their Anarchist opinions, hanged on a false charge of bomb-throwing. *Freedom* took a leading part in getting up the indignation meetings in London, working for that purpose with the Socialist League and Social Democratic Federation. In consequence, the paper was obliged, in deference to the strongly anti-Anarchist views of Mr. Bradlaugh, to remove from its original office on the premises of the Freethought Publishing Company, in Bouverie Street, where it had its headquarters through the kindness of Mrs. Besant. It found temporary office room with the good-hearted editor of the *Leaflet Newspaper*, T. Bolas, in Cursitor Street, until, in July 1888, T. Binning, at the Labor Union Printery, afterward The Labor Press, undertook its publication. From its first appearance until that date *Freedom* was set up at the Socialist League printing office, by the kind permission of William Morris.

During the first year of the paper's existence a small group of propagandists began gradually to gather about it, with the object of pushing its sale and spreading the ideas it represented. Early in 1888, they obtained the loan of the Socialist League Hall in Farringdon Street, for a series of public discussion meetings. The first took place on Feb. 16, and the meetings were continued monthly for the remainder of the year, with very useful results in developing and making known Anarchist ideas.

In the early part of 1889, C. M. Wilson leaving London for a time, J. Blackwell became joint editor, and the group, drawing its organisation closer, began to take active part in the management of the paper, which reappeared after two months' suspension in March 1889. The *International Chronicle* was now dropped and occasional articles from foreign correspondents substituted. A serial running on from month to month was also started, the first being "The Revolt of the English Workers in the XIX Century," by C. M. Wilson. The plan answered,

and the first serial was followed by Jean Grave's "Morrow of the Revolution" and several essays by P. Kropotkin and E. Malatesta, since republished as pamphlets.

In August 1889, a new type was bought and a single sheet supplement issued with the paper. In September a chronicle of the movement in London was begun. This was the germ of the regular reports and notices of the English Anarchist movement which since became a feature of *Freedom*, and the steady growth of the Anarchist ideas may be excellently studied by the increasing space devoted to the reports and notices of groups all over the country.

In April 1890, a fresh series of discussions was started by the Freedom Group, held in the Autonomie Hall by kind permission of the Club, and continued weekly until the close of May. In the summer of this year reports from provincial groups began to be sent regularly to *Freedom*. In November, the Freedom Group organised a large public meeting at South Place, as well as several smaller local gatherings, to commemorate the legal murder of the Chicago Anarchists. It proved a great success, and a public meeting on similar lines has been held each succeeding year. The Group also organised a special commemoration of the Paris Commune in the following March, instead of sending its speakers to the meeting organised by the Social Democrats. This also was very successful and was for several years successfully repeated.

In January 1891, *Freedom* again removed, and took up its quarters with the New Fellowship Press, Newington Green, where it had its own office and type under the management of W. Wess, but was published by the N. F. Press. In February the single sheet supplement was given up and the size of the paper permanently doubled. At the time, J. Blackwell resigned the co-editorship, leaving C. M. Wilson again alone as editor.

In March 1891, an Anarchist Conference was held to consider the policy of English Anarchists with regard to the May Labor Demonstration. The Freedom Group organised a social gathering to bring the country and London delegates into touch the evening before the Conference, which was a great success and the first of many arranged for special purposes of this sort. The Conference decided that Anarchists might with great profit make use of the proposed demonstration, whenever held, as a means of propaganda; but that any demonstration organised by them should take place on *May First*, that being the day claimed by the workers as their holiday, specially to be devoted to the celebration of the solidarity of Labor and the voicing of its claims; a principle which has been upheld by Anarchists year after year. The first *May-Day* meetings had been held in 1890, Anarchists and Social Democrats informally taking part together in London, and the Hyde Park meeting had been very enthusiastic. The separate Anarchist meeting in 1891, on the First, was enthusiastic but small; the Social Democratic gathering, on May 3rd, large but dull, the demand for the legal eight hours failing to rouse much enthusiasm. During the summer much energetic propaganda was done by small meetings in the parks. In Regent's Park a regular peripatetic school of Anarchist philosophy was formed, the same audience assembling week after week, summer after summer, to discuss and dispute with F. Hyde and other comrades.

With 1892 began an era of repression on the one hand and revolt on the other, throughout the civilised world. In England, first came the Walsall Police Plot; exposed month by month, as it dragged out its shameful details before the Courts, by *Freedom*, which also opened a defence fund for the prisoners. Next followed the prosecution of the *Commonweal* for taking the same line in less measured English. Meanwhile, unemployed riots in Germany and the Ravachol affair in France were followed by great strikes in Australia, in the English shipping, weaving and coal trades, the Carnegie riots and violent police persecutions in America, colliers' riots in Belgium, riotous strikes in Bristol, Hull, Austria, Italy; then came the great English coal war, the Sicilian revolt; then the Barcelona, Vaillant, Bourdin, Henri, Carnot, Roman affairs, all, or almost all, met or provoked by the violence of governments: strikes put down by armed force, prosecutions for opinions and "tendencies," savage sentences; wholesale press prosecutions in Germany, anti-Anarchist laws in France, the trial of Grave and the Thirty; endless imprisonments and several barbarous executions in Italy and Spain, an era of violence and wholesale injustice. In England, during the same period, we had the Francois and Meunier extraditions, the Cantwell and Young and Cantwell and Quinn prosecutions and the attacks on Free Speech, notably in Hyde Park and at Manchester. During this troublous two years *Freedom* stood firmly on the side of the rebels and against the suppressors of rebellion in word and deed, even when the rebels used weapons which no humane person can approve in cold blood (See "Anarchism and Outrage," republished from *Freedom* for Dec. 1893: "Desperate men choose their own methods; if those methods are brutal and revolting, the crime lies mainly with the men who drive their fellows to desperation"). On the other hand, *Freedom* did not either advocate or applaud outrage; its own policy advocated a continuous and energetic endeavour on the part of the workers, organised in Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies and other voluntary associations, to obtain by direct action, such as refusing to act as wage-slaves, the control of the means of production; so that the producers and distributors may become their own employers, with the right to dispose of what they make.

In July 1892, an appeal, written by W. Wess and first published in *Freedom*, was issued as a leaflet by some Anarchist trade unionists, calling upon British trade societies to insist upon fair play for Anarchist Labor delegates at the Zurich Congress. The manifest unfairness with which all anti-parliamentarian delegates unpleasing to the Marxist

leaders were treated on that occasion called forth much indignation, and found expression in *Freedom* in a series of articles by W. Tcherkesov, an old Internationalist.

In January 1895, C. M. Wilson was obliged, by family reasons, to conclude her eight years and four months' editorship of *Freedom* and the paper was suspended for three months until new arrangements could be made. In May it reappeared under the editorship of A. Marsh and J. Turner and T. Cantwell, the two latter who had been for many years connected with *The Commonweal*, joining *Freedom* when their own paper fell through.

Since that time *Freedom* has continued to appear as regularly as circumstances would allow, although the reaction which has blighted so many advanced movements has not decreased the difficulties that always beset the publication of an Anarchist journal. But as the printing of the whole series of the *Freedom Pamphlets* is one of the fruitful results of the existence of the paper, and as these amount in the aggregate to over 80,000, it may surely be said that enough has been accomplished to warrant us in continuing our efforts and even in redoubling them. We hope this brief statement will induce comrades and sympathisers to take the same view and give us what help is in their power.

JUDGE MAGNAUD.

Mons. Paul Magnaud, presiding judge of the Court of Châteaui-Thierry (France), is not an ordinary magistrate. Unlike the great majority of his colleagues, he fails to understand, it would seem, that the mission of Justice is the defence of the Privileged against the Miserable, or that of the daily abuses committed by our capitalist society.

Upon the publication by Stock's Library of Paris of a volume containing the principal decisions of M. Magnaud and the considerations that led to these, the French and even a considerable section of the foreign press, have manifested a lively interest in the novel interpretation given to the sense of Justice by this audacious magistrate.

Some "conclusions" taken from this book, will enable the readers of *Freedom* to understand the tendency of many of these memorable decisions.

Upon the duty of magistrates President Magnaud thus expresses himself:

"In order to equitably appreciate the offence of the indigent, the judge should for an instant forget the prosperity he usually enjoys, in order to identify himself as closely as possible with the lamentable situation of the being abandoned by all....."

".....The solicitude of the judge in giving his interpretation of the law, should not be limited alone to the special case before him, but should extend also to the good and evil consequences his sentence may produce in wider spheres of interest....."

With regard to the duty of society towards the unfortunate:

".....Society, whose first duty is to come to the assistance of such of its members as are really unfortunate, is peculiarly ill-advised to require the application of a law framed by itself; had it duly conformed to its own duties it might have hindered the very act with which it now reproaches the accused....."

"Whereas: the accused looks upon a prison.....as one of those hospitable establishments of which society has omitted to have a sufficient number for the benefit of unhappy beings of his kind:

"Therefore, there should be no punishment for that from which there is no escape....."

Upon the right of existence we have:

"Seeing, that it is to be regretted when in a well organised society a member of such society, in particular the mother of a family, should be in need of bread from no fault of her own; when such a situation presents itself... the judge can and should humanely interpret the inflexible mandates of the law.

"Seeing that hunger is apt to take from every human being a portion of his free volition....."

"Seeing that probity and delicacy of perception are two virtues infinitely easier to practice when one lacks nothing than when one is deprived of everything....."

"Considering that he who is pressed by the inexorable necessities of existence and obtains a piece of bread with the view of nourishment is not guilty of the offence of begging....."

"Seeing that the right of existence is the inalienable patrimony of the human being....."

Further on we come to conclusions full of humanity and good sense on the position of thieves who recommence stealing the moment they quit prison in order to be again condemned and committed to the frightful refuge they have just lost, it being a fate preferable to that of absolute want of bread and shelter. Then, again, it is the wretched pilferers of food, the mendicity of beings dying with hunger, or the cowardly seducer who disappears, abandoning the girl-mother. In all these cases whether it is a question of condemnation or acquittal, the justice dispensed by Magnaud ever shows itself worthy of the name and something very different to what one usually sees.

I note that certain journals accuse this good judge of Anarchism. They recognise, then, that one cannot be just without being an Anarchist? The Paris correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* laments on this point that President Magnaud abandons those he is charged to defend in order to defend their enemies. We knew well that the magisterial mission is the defence of the Privileged. But this frank admission by the capitalist press is worth remembering. T. M.

THE PYRAMID OF TYRANNY.

By F. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS.

II. **THE POLICE.**—Besides the wiggid and ermined gentlemen of the courts of justice who do the delicate work, there are also persons for the dirty work, and this task is reserved for the police. And yet those who have got to do that job—which is so mean that generally the persons themselves are disgusted with it, and are ready to part with it as soon as they can get some other work for the same wages—those persons do not belong to the possessing, but to the working classes. They, having no property themselves, are to protect the property of others. They, belonging to the class who are robbed, maintain the robbers in possession! In professional zeal, in the hope of reward and advancement, they very often act impudently and mercilessly against their own brothers and class-fellows.

The despotism of the police is law nowadays, and the bourgeoisie has declined so much that it is vain cling to the police. And the latter, well aware of this, is continually increasing its demands. The favorite, the hero of the bourgeoisie, is the helmeted policeman, upon whom it relies to restrain the people and support itself. The police is the sixth sound whose duty it is to catch the poor wretches who, in order to satisfy the hunger of their wives and children, are compelled to take something from the provisions produced by their labor—and that they have been robbed of previously.

For the same reason that the poor see in the police their enemies, the rich look upon them as their friends. A strong proof that it is a class institution, a result of the class state. How insolently do they act against the laborers! How they dare to ill-use them, knowing well enough that it will not be taken amiss—in *them!* And how they toady and cringe to the well-to-do!

Yet, the police have not much reason to be contented. For are not they, too, sent home with wretched wages? Are not they composed of proletarians, slaves, upon whom the same yoke has been laid as upon all the other laborers? Is not this the very reason why they are often mercenary, in such a way that (for a tip) they are willing, if not to commit a murder, at least to be blind to it when it is committed?

So the police is the accomplice of prostitution, as is proved by the revelations about the trade in girls and women, which is international under the high protection of the police.

So it is the constant support of the manufacturers in every strike; for, without any inquiry which of the two parties is right, the police always takes the side of the master instantly against the worker.

So it is the hope and comfort of the rich, who rely on it to protect their properties.

Always on the side of the possessors and against the laborers.

Who are the first to act against the worker, to find fault with him at the least effort to render his burden less oppressive?

The police, mounted and unmounted.

Who treat the workers to cudgel and subtle strokes whenever they attempt to throw off their yoke of bondage?

Again, the police, mounted and unmounted.

That they obey the orders of higher-placed persons, doesn't matter. If we are surprised on the road by a footpad, do we ask him in that case whether he does so of his own free will or by order of other people?

No, we do not.

There is no difference whatever to you between being beaten to death, kicked and ill-treated by order of other persons or by somebody's own free will.

Some people say: It is not the fault of these men, they are sent; they too are the result of the social disorder.

That's all very well; but if they are the result of the social disorder by thrashing us, we are so by not suffering them to thrash us.

Properly speaking, the murderer who murders by order of others is much more despicable; for he is a professional murderer, he sometimes does not even know why he is murdering, while the man who murders of his own accord at any rate has his reasons for doing so.

"But there are, also, respectable policemen," we often hear.

Nonsense! Among gangs of robbers there are also "respectable" people. Among the greatest robbers, we have Gould, Vanderbilt, Rothschild, etc. Are not these all "respectable" men who are admitted and fêted in all circles? To the victim it amounts to the same thing, whether he is slain by a "respectable" or any other ruffian.

In one of our great newspapers we read a short time ago: "Just as there is a spirit of popery and a bourgeois spirit, so there is a police spirit. . . . Every person who enters the police station to get a place there will be influenced by that spirit, even if he were quite free from it before." What is this police spirit? Its characteristic point is: HATRED AGAINST THE POOR. Indeed, the police has been established only to take care that the rich can sleep quietly. Its principal aim in social life is to protect the possessing classes and to prevent the non-possessors from taking anything from those who possess all. The police man must see his natural enemy in the poor man.

The poor man must be a criminal, at any rate he is one *in embryo* and is at all times liable to develop into one. It does not protect the poor man in earning his daily bread honestly. It watches him as a criminal in liberty, and takes him into custody as soon as he shows the least proof of weakness. Nor has the police the least interest in stamping out crime. The existence of criminals is the only excuse for its own existence. Instinctively it nurses crime—for the sake of self-preservation.

And yet, although the possessing classes spend more and more for

the police, it cannot possibly satisfy the increasing demands in the long run. Moreover, the highest bidder wins the prize; so that on the very day that the possessing classes are subdued, the whole police will go over to the new governing power. Not caring a bit who is its master, the police will cry with as much pleasure on one day: "Long live the king! Long live the emperor!" as on the next day: "The Republic for ever!" Fawners are always on the side of the triumphant party.

As the possessing classes are a power, allied internationally, we cannot be surprised at their having organised the police internationally in order to counteract in that way the laboring classes who are organising themselves internationally.

In the long run, the police will not be able, however, to oppose the worker; for the property of every possessor would want a policeman to protect it and that will not do. What a spectacle would the world then offer! Next to every poor fellow, pale with hunger, there would be a rich man, pale with fear, and between the two the policeman, armed to the teeth, ready to strike the former down on the very first suspected movement.

As a rule, the police and the judiciary go hand in hand, being both servants of the same master: Capitalism. And if the police goes too far and acts too stupidly, then it may be true that the judiciary deserts her partner to save appearances; as soon as the case is a critical one they will go together and they are not to be trusted. Though there are many complaints against the police and a great many persons urge the necessity of a reorganisation, it will be of no use. Just try to improve a prison, you will never be able to make a good prison; for *prison* and *good* are two ideas of which the one excludes the other. So it is with the police; you will never succeed in getting a good police; for that which in itself is bad can never become good, be it arranged as it may.

But capitalism uses every means to retain its power. Spying, inciting people against one another, sowing distrust amongst those who should combine to free themselves, dividing in order to rule—those are the means that are actually used from day to day. It despises the traitor, but avails itself of treachery; it despises the liar, but uses lies.

The police is therefore one of the violent means of power, used by the possessing classes to be the masters and to be able to keep up that position. By means of the sting of hunger it provides part of the working class with weapons in order to keep the other and greater part in obedience, which is the easier as this part is unarmed. If you ask: what is the power of the police, by which it is able to keep the masses under restraint? the answer must be, that it is not so much the stick and the sword as the certainty of being permitted to beat—nay, even to kill—while the workers know that for every blow applied to the sacred person of a policeman they will be committed to prison for weeks, months, nay for years. Secure in that impunity the police is strong against the unarmed masses.

III. **THE ARMY.**—The last stronghold of capitalism is the army, with its cannon and guns and its severe organisation. If you ask the governments (which are nothing but the agents of the possessors) what is the use of the armies, they will all tell you that they are necessary to defend the independence of the country against other nations. But this is not true. It only seems to be so. In reality, the armies are used against the workers in order to secure the power of the possessing classes.

Do we not see the army used whenever it is considered necessary to secure order(!) and peace(!)? A strike has scarcely broken out somewhere, before soldiers are sent there to be always on the side of the masters and to protect their lives and property against the workers. When taxes are to be squeezed out of the people, is it not by means of soldiers—who are ordered to assist the police in keeping the people down? When the people try to defend their rights by meetings and demonstrations in the streets, immediately the troops are ordered to be ready in the barracks to march against the people at the first signal.

In all displays of power by the governing classes, the army is made use of. What is a common saying with the bourgeoisie at the most trifling rebellion? "Send the soldiers up and let them shoot down the rebels without ceremony!"

Is not this also shrewdly arranged? Part of the people are compelled at a certain age to bid farewell to home and parents, work and friends, to be clothed in fool's dress with red or yellow ornaments, and to be taught the trade of slaughter.¹ By dividing them an effort is made to form a separate class which, when incited against the citizens, is willing to destroy them. It is called an honor to wear the soldier's coat; notions of rank are cultivated to incite soldiers and citizens against one another, in order to be the better able to use the former against the latter. And yet, who are our soldiers? Sons of workers, whose interests have not changed because they have temporarily been dressed in other clothes, but remain the same as those of their fellow workers in their working clothes or blouses.

So when soldiers are ordered to go to a strike, we see workers in uniform standing opposite to workers in civilian dress, and when the command to "Fire!" is given these soldier-workers are ordered to shoot their fathers and mothers, their brothers and sisters. They serve to cause a civil war at the pleasure of capitalism, which is sure of its power as long as it is able to practice the ancient doctrine of "Divide and rule" on the masses.

¹ In Holland, the same is in the other countries on the Continent of Europe, we have the Napoleonic conscription; only a very small number of soldiers are volunteers.

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Will Dr. Creaghe kindly communicate his address at Buenos Aires to Victor Calles, care of this office.

NOTES.

PROPAGANDA INDEED!

How does the following from the *Clarion* of November 10th strike our readers?

Socialism is propagated by the wind. Some of the seed falleth in stony place⁸ and behold it taketh root and flourisheth like a money lender. Here is an extract from a soldier in the 1st Yorkshire Regiment:

"By the way, it may interest you—I am sure it would Nunquam—to know that just before we entered Johannesburg I with some others went looting and got into a house in Germiston and there found a pile of *Clarions* and *Merrie England*, which seemed to have been well but carefully used. I did intend keeping them but could not carry them, so made fires with them; but I kept *Merrie England*, which has been well used and discussed by reservists ever since. I tell you we are electioneering here out in the wilds of South Africa. I think the book has made a good impression on some of the men. Their heads are not muddled with drink just now, so they can understand things."—[Italics ours.]

Man is like the weather, he is prophesied and behold he won't. He goeth about looting and is converted to Socialism.

We do not know what sort of Socialism "The Whatnot," who is responsible for the above, professes, but we should imagine he belongs to the school that "Nunquam" adorns. The coolness with which this Reservist talks of the looting and the drunkenness makes one shudder to think what his idea of a Socialist society would be like. Again, we look in vain for one word of condemnation or indignation from "The Whatnot" at the atrocious work the man is engaged in. Yet the situation is simply diabolical, for it comes to this, that we are destroying the home of an inoffensive, liberty-loving comrade in the Transvaal who was a reader of the *Clarion* and an admirer of "Merrie England"! And who shall say what years of hard toil had made that home, and what ideals of a better future for humanity had begun to permeate it! And all this turned to ashes by the hands of English soldiers who are discussing "Merrie England"! Merrie England indeed! There will be a terrible awakening and a heavy penance to be paid before England will ever be "Merrie" again.

MAKING HISTORY.

The landing of Kruger at Marseilles will be an important event in history. The vermin of the English Press have heaped every insult possible and impossible on the head of this old man, who, whatever his faults may be, stands out as a heroic figure beside the pitiful pigmies of the English Government. The true proportion of things will now begin to come home to the English people. Kruger has given his message, and we know he speaks the truth. Every man, woman, and child in the Transvaal, he tells us, will die sooner than surrender. Is there not enough virility in the English nation to stop this war on women and children? Is there not enough manhood amongst the advanced parties and the intellectuals to commence the campaign at once, and arouse the nation to a sense of the terrible depths of infamy into which we are being dragged by the fiends who are responsible for this war? We, as English people, protest with all our power against this unspeakable outrage on our common humanity, and are willing to give all the help we possibly can to save ourselves from a dishonour from which we can never arise to be as we were before.

NOT A BOURGEOIS VIEW OF HUMAN NATURE.

We quote the following from the *Daily Telegraph* of Oct. 23:

In the course of an article on how to shop economically in Paris, Miss Marie Belloc tells the story of the celebrated Bon Marché. It was the life-work of a woman, the justly-famous Madame Boucicault, and it was literally the first

emporium of the kind ever seen. Madame Boucicault was a woman possessed of a great heart as well as of a great brain, and her business owed not a little of its monetary success to the fact that it was conducted by her on really co-operative principles. Each of her shopmen and shopwomen, as well, of course, as all those concerned with the purely clerical side of the business, was admitted by her to a share in the profits.

Not content with doing this, she further established in connection with her employes homes of rest, holiday homes, a hospital, and an annuity fund, and at her death it was found that she had divided her vast fortune among her workers, the sum left in each case being carefully graduated according to the time the legatee had been in the service of the Bon Marché. The beneficent and kindly spirit of Madame Boucicault seems even now to exercise a good influence on those employed in the huge shop, and the passing visitor is treated with exceptionally kind consideration, no attempt being made to compel a purchase, while with unwearied good nature both the shopmen and shopwomen will show everything that is to be seen, betraying no disappointment if the practical result is for the moment nil.

We do not give this as an example of Socialism, and, needless to say, it is something quite distinct from Anarchist Communist conceptions of organisation; but it has the immense importance demonstrating the advantages of encouraging in social and industrial life feelings of fraternal solidarity. It is a complete answer to those wiseacres who profess to know human nature so much better than "dreamy" Anarchists, and are constantly lamenting that we shall all go to the dogs without the birch in the school, the "cat" in the prison and the capitalist at the head of productive and distributive organisations as a kind of heaven-sent blessing to the workers who, by holding over their heads the Damocles' sword of starvation, prevents them from becoming the fat, idle, lazy fellows they would surely be if the capitalist was n't there to rob them.

THE REASON WHY.

They laugh best who laugh last. At the time of the suppression of the Anarchist Congress in Paris, Jaurès and his henchmen, as also a section of the French press, amused themselves with gibes at the expense of the promoters of the congress, which they stated had never been proclaimed by police or government: the Anarchists had simply knuckled under to the frown of a police superintendent. On November 8th, Deputy Clovis Hugues interpellated the Chamber in the interests of fair play and justice. "Why had the International Workingmen's Congress been forbidden to assemble? He was not an Anarchist himself, but he was for giving them the liberty to which all were entitled. What harm could their congress have done?" He reminded Waldeck-Rousseau of the time when he needed and was glad of the support of Anarchists. He failed to understand why the government should not object to their co-operation one day and stamp upon them the next. The Minister's reply settled the question as regarded the suppression of the congress by the government. "The Government had acted legally and regularly in forbidding the assembling of the Workingmen's Congress, as the Anarchist programme would have been developed at it. He could easily raise the indignation of the members before him by showing the language that had been held—not at this congress, for fortunately they had been able to prevent it—but at similar reunions. He did not much like acting as he had done; but he and his colleagues had applied the law, such as it stood, under such circumstances that had they acted otherwise the government would have ill understood its duty to France and elsewhere. . . . As for himself, nothing would have induced him to risk the slightest moral complicity in the discourses that would have taken place; therefore the law was applied." This ended the incident so far as the Chamber was concerned. We do not think it has ended it so far as the Anarchists are concerned. If the Anarchists of other nations follow the spirited example of the Spanish federation now forming and the result becomes an International Union there may be merry times in store for the Ministers who stamp upon us today. Meanwhile we hope our French comrades will supply M. Waldeck-Rousseau with a presentation copy of the Reports when printed in volume form. The perusal may soothe his moral susceptibilities. As for the "Anarchist programme," we pity the member of any government who thinks that a kick will kill it; at least this particular kick has set the ball rolling.

"THOU SHALT NOT KILL"

BY LEO TOLSTOY.

When Kings are tried and executed like Charles I., Louis XVI., Maximilian of Mexico, or killed in a palace conspiracy like Peter III., Paul, and all kinds of Sultans, Shahs, and Khans, the event is generally passed over in silence. But when one of them is killed without a trial, and not by a palace conspiracy, like Henry IV., Alexander II., Carnot, the Empress of Austria, the Shah of Persia, and just now King Humbert, then such murder causes great surprise and indignation among Kings and Emperors, and those attached to them, as if these persons

were the great enemies of murder, as if they never profited by murder, never took part in it, and never gave orders to commit it. And yet the kindest of these murdered Kings, such as Alexander II. or Humbert, were guilty of the murder of tens of thousands of persons killed on the battlefield, not to mention those executed at home, while hundreds of thousands, even millions of people have been killed, hanged, beaten to death, or shot by the more cruel Kings and Emperors.

The doctrine of Christ annuls the law: "An eye for an eye; a tooth for a tooth;" but men have always followed, and still follow this law to the most terrifying length. They do not even confine themselves to the principle: "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth;" but order the murder of thousands of persons without any previous provocation, as e. g. takes place when war is declared; these men therefore have no right whatever to be indignant when this law is applied to themselves and in a proportion so small that to a hundred thousand or perhaps even a million persons killed by order or with the approval of kings and emperors, there is scarcely one king or one emperor slain.

Kings and emperors should not be indignant when such murders as those of Alexander II. or Humbert occur; but should, on the contrary, be surprised that such murders are so rare, considering the continual and universal example of committing murder they themselves set the people.

The people en masse are so well hypnotised that they see what passes before their eyes without understanding its signification. They see how much care is taken by kings, emperors, and presidents for the discipline of the troops; they watch the reviews, manoeuvres, and parades which are organised by the former, and about which they boast to each other; they run to see their brothers clad in braided and motley costumes, the costumes of clowns, transform themselves at the sound of trumpet and drum into machines executing a simultaneous movement at the command of a single man and they do not understand what it means. And yet the meaning of these manoeuvres is very clear: they are nothing but preparation for murder.

It is to lull men to sleep in order to make them instruments for murder. And those who do it, who direct these preparations, who are proud of it, are kings, emperors and presidents. And is it these who, entirely occupying themselves with murder, making a speciality of it, always wearing military uniforms and murderous swords at their sides, are shocked and indignant when it is one of themselves who falls?

If the regicides commit murder under the influence of their feeling of indignation evoked by witnessing the sufferings of the enslaved people, for which sufferings they hold Alexander II., Carnot, or Humbert responsible, or by the personal feeling of desire for revenge, however immoral such person's conduct may be, still it is comprehensible; but how can an organised body of Anarchists* by whom, as it is now reported, Bresci was sent out, and by whom another emperor was threatened, how can it, quietly considering means of improvement of the condition of the people, find nothing better to do than to murder people, the killing of whom is as useful as cutting off one of the Hydra's heads?

The kings and emperors have long since established among themselves an organisation analogous to the mechanism of those guns where one shell as soon as fired is replaced by another. The king is dead; long live the king! Why, then, kill him?

It is only to a superficial observer that the murder of these men can seem a means of salvation from the oppression and wars which carry off human lives.

It is sufficient to bring to remembrance that these oppressions and wars take place independently of these men who are at the head of the government—Nicholas or Alexander, Frederick or William, Napoleon or Louis, Palmerston or Gladstone, McKinley or some other—to understand that it is not such or such persons who cause oppression and war from which the people suffer.

The misery of the people is not caused by individuals, but by an order of society by which they are bound together in a way that puts them in the power of a few, or more often one man: a man so depraved by his unnatural position of having the fate and lives of millions of people in his power that he is always in an unhealthy state, and suffering more or less from a mania of self-aggrandisement, which is not noticed in him only because of his exceptional position.

Even without speaking of the fact that from their very childhood until their death these men are surrounded by the most foolish luxury and a constant atmosphere of lies and flattery; their whole education, all the instruction which they receive, is reduced to this single subject: to study past murders, the best means of the present time to murder and the best way to prepare for future murder. From their childhood they are taught murder under every possible form; they always wear instruments for murder—swords and sabres—they dress in different uniforms, have reviews, parades, manoeuvres, pay each other visits, present each other with decorations and regiments, and not only do not find a single man to call these things by their real name, to tell them that it is criminal and shameful to occupy themselves with preparations for murder, but on the contrary they see only enthusiasm on all sides. Crowds of people are always running in the streets every time they go out, at each of their reviews, greeting them with enthusiasm; and it seems to them that it is the whole people which is expressing its approval.

Therefore, it is not necessary to kill Alexanders and Nicholases, Williams and Humberts, but only to leave off supporting the social condition of which they are the product. It is the selfishness and stupefied state of the people who sell their freedom and their honor for

insignificant material advantages, which supports the present state of society.

The persons who have a low place on the social ladder, brutalised as they are by a patriotic and pseudo-religious education, and incited on the other hand by their personal interest, cede their liberty and human dignity to those who are placed higher than themselves and who offer to them material advantages in exchange. Those who are placed on a somewhat higher step, find themselves in the same situation: under the influence of their brutishness and especially in view of the material profits, they cede their liberty and dignity in the same way to the others. It is the same with those who hold a still higher place, and so it continues to the highest places—until we come to the persons or person at the top of the ladder. He has nothing more to acquire, is only influenced by one single motive: ambition and love of power; he is mostly so demoralised and brutalised by his power of life and death over others and the flattery and the vaporing with which he is surrounded that, while incessantly doing evil, he is convinced of achieving the welfare of humanity.

It is the nations themselves who, sacrificing their dignity to material profits, produce these men incapable of acting otherwise than they do; and the people get angry when these men commit stupid and bad acts. To kill them is the same as first to spoil a child and afterwards to beat it.

In order to have no more oppression, no more unnecessary wars, in order that nobody should think of becoming indignant at those who seem responsible and of killing them, but little seems to be needed. It will be sufficient that men understand the things as they are and call them by their real name, that they know the army to be an instrument of murder, and that the act of mustering and directing it—as is done by kings, emperors and presidents with so much self-confidence—is a preparation to murder.

It will be sufficient that every king, every emperor or president, understands that his post in which he is charged to command the troops is not an important and honorable post, as the flatterers want to make him believe; but that it is low and degrading. It will be sufficient that every honest man understands that the payment of taxes used for the maintenance and arming of soldiers—and, especially, personal military service—are not indifferent acts, but at once wicked and shameful; because he who commits them, not only permits murder, but himself participates in it. Then the power of kings, emperors and presidents, a power which arouses our indignation and for which they are sometimes killed, will die out of itself.

If men do not yet act in this manner, it is only because of the hypnotic influence governments for self-preservation so diligently exercise on them. Therefore, we can contribute towards stopping people killing kings and each other, not by murder, murders only strengthen this hypnotic state, but by awakening from it.

This is what I have attempted to do in this short article.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Looking back on the year that is about to end, my impression is that the progress of Anarchism, on the whole, has been a normal one; whilst reaction, on the contrary, is growing in an abnormal degree, absorbing as it were what only a few years ago we all believed were definitely won for humanity and freedom. It is best to admit that the infamous events which form the main part of this year's history did not—with the exception of Bresci's act—produce actions or even impetuously expressed feelings of protest, either from Anarchists or the exploited masses in general to any appreciable extent. They were treated more or less as ordinary events, the subject of a few speeches or articles or leaflets and there the matter ended.

Only a year or two ago we saw almost all whom we consider as friends of freedom take an energetic, often passionate part in the struggle against militarism and clericalism in connection with the Dreyfus case in France. This year, the infinitely greater and viler crimes and horrors in the South African Republics and in China find us almost meek and void of spirit; the streets, which the Paris workers effectively protected for themselves against the Nationalist and Clerical mob, belong to "maficking" brutes now. Many certainly did their best to resist this current of callous brutality; but the immense reserve forces that would have been necessary, the latent strength, the instinctive revolt upon which one fancies a good cause can count—where have they been? Where are spontaneous generosity, outbursts of indignation that sweep away the perpetrators of infamous acts? The time for all this seems gone; we simply read of these horrors, make our little comments on them, and that is all.

Parliamentarism, by the way, must seem more superfluous now than it ever was. Governments have quite adopted the practice of taking their most important and irremediable steps when Parliament is *not* assembled. For example: British government forcing the Transvaal to war and the German government, in the summer of 1900, entering upon the Chinese war. They know that they have only to enter upon a war to be quite assured of their majority in any case, and of the electors too, as the last general election amply proved. And they may well laugh at the so called progressive parties on parliamentary lines, who oppose to this collapse of parliamentarism and triumph of absolutism nothing but a proposal of tinkering a little with the political machinery (as the late Democratic Convention in London did).

* Tolstoy, living in Russia where news penetrates only with difficulty, evidently believed the bourgeoisie press which attributed the individual act of Bresci to an organisation or plot of Anarchists.

The world seems now divided into two classes of nations: the governing and exploiting nations of the North (British, Americans, Germans, Russians); and the many smaller and exploited nations of the rest of the globe. The proletariat of the Northern nations remains, as yet, solidary with the capitalists of their own countries against humanity and freedom, and no hope comes from this side. We have to look to the small nations in their struggle for independence as the only upholders of freedom and human dignity in present society. Their cause is not lost; being an infinite minority ourselves, we have full belief in the power of conscious minorities to overcome the hardest obstacles. I could France in the above list because it seems to waver between both groups of nations; whilst still ambitious to belong to the exploiting nations she may in reality be too weak to remain in their ranks; if she throws in her lot some day with the exploited nations, this would be an incalculable help, and the struggle against despotism which was taken up a hundred years ago in the wars of the French Revolution would repeat itself with new and brighter hopes of success.

But were asked: What have these considerations to do with Anarchist propaganda? I should say that one really feels little inclined to dwell on the small domestic details of our movement when all this goes on around us. It seems like running forward on a ship which goes full steam backwards. Abstention from politics never meant giving up all interest in the general situation and confining ourselves to propagating a certain doctrine; but it means the destruction of politics and consequently the study and the employment of the means to do so, and this requires full recognition and taking sides in all problems of the day. The extent of reaction during the last thirty years only now begins to be realised. P. Kropotkin's recent articles: *La Conspiration anarchiste* and *Elaboracion unica* (*Temps Nouveaux*, June 30, September 1), are comprehensive descriptions of this fearful state of things. Now we see how right and far-sighted Bakounine was when, at the outbreak of the Franco-German war in 1870, he made enormous efforts to rouse the workers to a decisive attack against existing States before it was too late, before military despotism and State power immensely strengthened made it almost impossible—which is the present situation. And when these attacks against the State, such as the Paris Commune and other revolts from 1870 to 1874, had definitely failed, he again insisted during his last years on firm resistance to the new invasion of Belgium, but this also failed. So, today, we see the State, Religion and Capitalism excited to fresh greed by African gold and Chinese markets, as triumphant as ever before. Of course it gives us pleasure to avert our eyes from this and to look at the efforts of our comrades in various countries, to which subject I am now proceeding.

The French movement is spreading to a greater variety of circles than the English movement at present. Anarchists make themselves heard among trade unionists, co-operators, in the spheres of education, science and art.

The Congress of the federated Trades Councils of France (Paris, Sept. 5—8), repudiated adherence to political Socialist organisations. As a practical means to combat the demoralising influence of militarism it suggested the establishment of informal and friendly relations between the local trade unionists and the young conscripts forced to enter the army. The French Trade Union Congress (Paris, Sept. 10—14), comprising about 20 Anarchists among 300 delegates, confirmed this military resolution, and resolved on the motion of E. Pouget to give greater attention to the unskilled and agricultural workers; boycotting and *go-canny* were accepted as means of defense, and the General Strike was declared the only effective means of definite action. Comparing these congresses with the absolutely idle quarrellings for and against M. Millerand which occupied nearly all the time of the political Socialists' Congress held afterwards, we feel relieved. We also saw a number of enthusiastic strikes going on and spreading: the dockers' strikes at Havre, Marseilles, Rouen, Dunkirk, etc. These strikes spread rapidly, other trades joined them, and they are all forerunners of the General Strike which will probably never be a result of preconcerted action but will just arise under favorable circumstances out of one of the many local strikes.

Spain proceeds on similar lines. The masens' society of Madrid convened a congress of workers' societies (Madrid, Oct. 13—15) which inaugurated the National Federation of Spain, beginning with about 52,000 members; central office at Gerona (for further details see November *Freedom* and *La Revista Blanca* supplement, Oct. 20). This organisation is anti-political and anti-authoritarian altogether.

On these movements in France and the real situation of the French workers a recent book by Fernand and Maurice Pelloutier (*La Vie Ouvrière en France*, Paris, Schleicher, 5 fr.) is most instructive. From other spheres of action I note *L'Education libertaire*, the new organ of the libertarian school movement; F. Damela Nieuwenhuis' lecture of the same title (Paris, *Temps Nouveaux*), and Gabriel Giroud's book, *Concepts: éducation intégrale—co-éducation des sexes* (Paris, Schleicher, xv, 395 pp.), a history of Paul Robin's efforts for free education. The Paris public crowded for a long time to see *La Chèvre*, a play by L. Descaves and M. Donnay on the development of an Anarchist colony; an excellent article, *Les colonies anarchistes* (*Temps Nouveaux*, July 7), records E. Reclus' impressions on that occasion. A new Belgian review, *L'Effort collectif* (Brussels), is a link added to the union between modern art and literature and Anarchism, a union that has become permanent in us as in France; and Belgium are concerned. I notice an article by Jacques Mesnil, dealing with the Lombroso-superstitious *Mesnil*, *Rev. d'Ét. Soc.*, No. 120. Or Max Stirner's individualist book of the

early forties, two French translations appeared this year. Christian Cornelissen wrote *En marche vers la Société Nouvelle* (Paris, Stock, 321 pp.; Principles, Tendencies and Tactics of the Class Struggle, is the sub-title). The Socialist Students published many pamphlets, mostly Congress reports, and a reprint of Bakounine's *Élaborateurs*, of 1869; *Temps Nouveaux* a pamphlet on strikes, by P. Delesalle, several series of songs, *Les Chants du Peuple*, and the continuation of their series of large engravings.

The *Vive Peinaud* is no longer published; but the *Temps Nouveaux* and S. Faure's *Libertaire* are, also Hamon's monthly review, *L'Humanité Nouvelle*. The supplement to the *Temps Nouveaux*, Nos. 23—32, contain the fullest reprint of the congress reports that is likely to be published.

In Belgium and Holland, like in France and Spain, strong trade unions begin to free themselves from the politicians. At Liege, the movement to liberate Moineau, an Anarchist innocently imprisoned since 1893, draws together all revolutionary elements. The *Bataille*, of Namur, represents the broader current, as *De Vrij Socialist*, Amsterdam, does in Holland. *De sociale* has been restarted there and its publisher, Storrings, printed for the last two years an Anarchist pamphlet per month, mostly translations, a useful task that has been seldom carried out for such a length of time. The party of *Recht voor Allen*, that wanted to go between Social Democracy and Free Communism, has now collapsed; whilst Anarchists and Free Communists who recently held a conference at Zwolle are getting on well.

The Italian movement was in good progress in the first part of the year; *L'Avvenire Sociale* (Messina), *L'Agitazione* (Ancona), *Combattimento* (Genova), *Il Pensiero Libertario* (Pisa), *Il Risveglio* (Florence) and other papers appeared then; Cosare Butacchi, who passed 22 years in prison, had finally been liberated by popular agitation, and the abolition of the *domicilio coatto* (transportation of unconvicted Anarchist and other prisoners to island) was demanded all over Italy. Bressi's act of July 29 led to violent persecutions for a time, all papers save the *Agitazione* were suppressed and that usually appears with half its pages blank, the contents being struck out by the censor. Public opinion to such an extent approved of Bressi's act that many hundreds of "apologists" for regicide were put in prison for one or the other remark on the subject. As this could only happen in those cases where some scoundrel was present who gave information to the police, one may safely assume that scores of thousands and more made identical remarks. This may also be the opinion of the Italian government; in any case they found it wise to grant an amnesty in November, which, by liberating all prisoners under one year and reducing sentences over one year by six months, sets most of these "apologists" and many other political prisoners free. The movement will soon be set on foot again and it will benefit by the experience won of the cowardice and want of backbone shown by the Republican and Socialist parties during the days following Umberto's death. That was the supreme moment to distinguish between true men and false.

The Italians in Switzerland have their own paper now, *Il Risveglio* (Geneva, published also in French as *Le Réveil*), edited by Swiss citizens: these cannot be expelled, and an attempt to try them for the publication of the *Annuaire Socialista Anarchico*, of Berne, ignominiously failed. In London *Cause et Effet*, 1898—1900, was issued in September, a single number which may be the fore runner of a regular paper; in view of the press lies I mention that it contains an article signed by Malatesta on Bressi's act: *La tragedia di Monza*. On the same subject A. Cipriani issued a French pamphlet, *Regicide* (preface by J. Allemane).

In America the Italians publish *La Questione Sociale* (Paterson), *L'Avvenire* (Yonohgany, Pa.), *La Protesta Umana* (San Francisco; suspended), *La Voce del Esclavo* (Italian and Spanish, Tampa, Fla.); moreover papers in the Argentine Republic (*L'Avvenire*), Brazil (*Il Diritto*, Curitiba) etc. Spanish and Portuguese America in general are rich in Anarchist papers and pamphlets, chiefly in Spanish: *La Protesta humana*, *Tribuna Libertaria*, etc., even a paper in Santiago, Chile, *El Verdad*; *El Nuevo Ideal*, Habana, etc.; and Portuguese *O Protesto*, Rio de Janeiro.

The Cubans had another experience of American liberty this spring when Malatesta's meetings were prohibited in Havana.

(To be concluded.)

Very Scientific—But Plagiarism.

(Continued from No. 139.)

As this article was originally written for French readers, to whom *Considérant*, as a Socialist author, is better known than to the English, it may be wise to give here only the most striking quotations and mention the pages where the reader who wants to compare the others can find them.

III.

Political and social power of the bourgeoisie.

Marx and Engels (page 2) — "...Corner stone of the great monarchies in general, the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of Modern Industry and of the world market, conquered for itself in the modern representative State exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.

Victor Considérant (page 10).—Who seizes all positions, all strategic lines, every basis of operations for commerce and industry? Who invades everything, who becomes master of everything, if it is not high speculation and the large capitals?

V. C. (page 12)—Would you know how far this fatal feudality is already rooted in the ground and prevailing in the political and social movement? [Quoting from finance, war and diplomacy, *V. Considérant* concludes:] Is it not evident after these examples, that it is not the king, not the ministers, not the nation who govern, but already the industrial and financial feudality?

M. & E., page 8.—*V. C.*, pages 10 and 11.
M. & E., page 11.—*V. C.*, page 26.

IV.—*Conquest of the Market.*

M. & E., page 10.—*V. C.*, page 22.
M. & E., page 10.—*V. C.*, pages 22-3.

V.—*Concentration of Labor and Capital.*

In the first part of the article we already compared Marx and Engels with *V. Considérant* in the following pages:

M. & E.: 8. *V. C.*, 9, 10, 11.

Here we give only one striking quotation, which shows clearly where Marx took his law of concentration of capital, which concludes the first volume of his book, *Das Kapital*:

M. & E. (page 8)—.....The place of the industrial middle class was taken by industrial millionaires.

V. C. (pages 10-11)—Capital invades everywhere, the power of the large capitals is incessantly growing; they attract and absorb, in all branches, the smaller fortunes. Society is rapidly advancing to the formation of an aristocracy as oppressive as vile; which already begins to oppress and crush us, which lies heavy on the people and which breaks, subdues and enslaves the middle classes themselves every day.

.....This is a social phenomenon which characterises modern civilisation. It follows step by step the course of the commercial and industrial system with its invasion of machines. This incessantly pumps the national wealth into the reservoirs of the new aristocracy, where it is concentrated and creates legions of famished paupers and proletarians. In Great Britain we see, in the highest degree, this phenomenon of the concentration of capital in the hands of a few aristocrats. France and Belgium, the two countries which follow Great Britain closest in this false industrial development, are also the countries where the new feudality is spreading most rapidly.

VI.—*Class Struggle and Economic Crises.*

Class struggle, economic crises; the greatest discoveries of Marx and Engels as the Social Democrats tell us. Let us see what their Koran says on the subject:

M. & E. (page 11)—For many a decade past, the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and its rule.

[Against this passage I could quote many very brilliant statements of *V. Considérant*. Let us take some of the shortest:]

V. C. (pages 17-19), page 18. This idea (of revolutionary Communism) which the influence of the rapid development of the Proletariat, of pauperism and the new feudality has brought to light in the midst of a society still permeated by the revolutionary spirit, spreads among the workers.....No property! no proprietors! no exploitation of man by man! no heritage.....the earth for all!

We omit the translation of the following corresponding passages:

<i>M. & E.</i> , p. 11.— <i>V. C.</i> , p. 15.	<i>M. & E.</i> , p. 11.— <i>V. C.</i> , p. 23.
<i>M. & E.</i> , p. 12.— <i>V. C.</i> , p. 19.	<i>M. & E.</i> , p. 12.— <i>V. C.</i> , p. 8.
<i>M. & E.</i> , p. 12.— <i>V. C.</i> , p. 8.	<i>M. & E.</i> , p. 12.— <i>V. C.</i> , p. 23.
<i>M. & E.</i> , p. 12.— <i>V. C.</i> , p. 9.	<i>M. & E.</i> , p. 13.— <i>V. C.</i> , p. 9.
<i>M. & E.</i> , p. 13.— <i>V. C.</i> , p. 8-9.	<i>M. & E.</i> , p. 13.— <i>V. C.</i> , p. 10.
<i>M. & E.</i> , p. 14.— <i>V. C.</i> , p. 20.	<i>M. & E.</i> , p. 14.— <i>V. C.</i> , p. 32.
<i>M. & E.</i> , p. 16.— <i>V. C.</i> , p. 20-24.	<i>M. & E.</i> , p. 16.— <i>V. C.</i> , p. 8.
<i>M. & E.</i> , p. 16.— <i>V. C.</i> , p. 13.	

Just two more quotations:

M. & E. (pages 20-21)—What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces above all, are its own grave-diggers.

V. C. (pages 20-21)—The large capitals concentrating in aristocratic families and multiplying their power by the system of great shareholding societies, become more and more prevalent. At last the development of this prevalence.....must necessarily provoke, sooner or later, a revolutionary struggle on social ground. And if a revolution is made, the conquered are driven away and the conquerors take all. Just what the bourgeoisie has done to the old nobility and the clergy.

V. C. (page 26)—The industrial feudality constitutes itself. The proletariat is the modern serfdom. A similar condition, contrary to all rights of humanity, to all contemporary social spirit could not have developed itself without provoking new revolutions, revolutions no longer political but social and directed against property itself, with the cry: "To live working or to die fighting; the earth for the workers!"

M. & E., p. 18.—*V. C.*, p. 45. *M. & E.*, p. 22.—*V. C.*, p. 45.

In his preface to the English edition of the *Communist Manifesto* Engels says that only the theoretical or first chapter of their *Manifesto* still preserves its value; we can openly declare after having read these 39 passages which correspond so strangely with *Victor Considérant's* manifesto, that in this case the only glory which Marx and Engels can

claim is the glory of being faithful pupils who repeated in their mother tongue what they had learned from a master.

It is impossible that Marx was unacquainted with the existence of this manifesto of the eminent Fourierist. The manifesto of *Victor Considérant*, published in 1843, had its second edition in 1847, just after the famous trial of the Fourierist paper, *La Démocratie Pacifique*. This trial made a very great sensation in the world and especially among the Socialists of that period. This second edition was in special demand because it contained a full account of the trial. To suppose that Marx, who in his manifesto speaks of Fourierism and Fourierists—only calumniating them, it is true—was unacquainted with the trial and the *Manifesto*, would be just as illogical as to believe that a writer who participated in the Dreyfus affair knew nothing of Zola and his trial. Even more than this: Marx, being a young metaphysician, arrived in France without any notion of Socialism or of the labor question. Germany, before the revolution of 1848, was partly plunged in purely political Radicalism (Young Germany), partly in the fatal and reactionary metaphysics of Hegel. Marx and Engels have drawn their social education, their knowledge of the economic and social conditions of the working class from authors like *Considérant*, Louis Blanc, Buret, Thompson, Grey and others, who were either Fourierists, Owenists or Saint-Simonists.

I defy whoever it may be to deny that Marx knew the works of *Victor Considérant*, and especially his *Manifesto*. And neither should it be said that Marx, in this case, would quote from a Socialist author who has, in common with him, such a number of historical, economic and social ideas; because this could be said only by one who knows nothing about the literary proceedings of Marx. Has Marx ever mentioned that the term *surplus* has been defined by Simon de Sismondi? Never; yet he knows his works. Or, that William Thompson, whom he quoted against Proudhon, based all his inquiries (1824-1829) on the same surplus? Again, no. The same with Adam Smith, from whom he has taken the whole theory of value, changing the word *quantity* into *quantum*, etc.; he quotes from him only a secondary passage in order to combat him. But has he recognised him as the creator of this fundamental theory of Socialist vindications? No, never. And, then, how he mutilated the best passages of Stuart Mill; rendering him ridiculous as a bourgeois whose works a good Socialist must not touch, and from whom he nevertheless drew his theory of the tendency of profits to a minimum.

But this is not all.

Why have neither Marx nor his inseparable collaborator, Engels, ever mentioned Louis Blanc, from whom they have copied their doctrine of the rôle of the State in the Communist society? And for what reason does Engels, in his "History of the Development of Scientific Socialism," say not a single word about all the Socialist literature from 1825-32 till 1867—the year of the publication of "Capital"? From this one might conclude that after Saint-Simon, Fourier and R. Owen, European humanity did not occupy itself with the social question, and that neither Socialist agitation before the revolution of Feb. 24, 1848, nor this revolution itself, nor the bloody days of June 1848, had taken place.

I invite you, honest people of all parties, to study attentively the work of these Hegelian twins, and you will see yourselves that the more they borrowed from some Socialist author the less they speak of him.

Especially I appeal to you French and English Socialists, on whom these pretended scientists—whose names you know—endeavour to impose translations of ideas collected from French and English thinkers. You will find still greater unfairness than this simple plagiarism of the work of *V. Considérant*.

Emboldened by success in their first plagiarism they began to appropriate economic and social laws and theories which are given as axioms in text books. Who will believe, for example, that the law of wages, this famous law of the minimum, known a century since, could have been claimed by Engels as a discovery made by him? And yet the fact exists.

In an annotation of a German translation of the pamphlet "Misery of Philosophy" 1885, Engels says on pages 26-7 word for word as follows: "The law of the minimum wages necessary for the existence of the producers and for the continuation of their race has been stated and proved by MR in *Unriese zu einer Kritik der Nationalökonomie*, Paris, 1844." These incredible lines are to be found in the footnotes of that text in which Marx in conformity with political economy treats this law as the law of wages of Ricardo. Because it is he who developed in the beginning of the century the formulae of the French economist, Turgot, which Lavalaye, in his schoolbook of economics (*Manuel d'économie politique*), reproduces in the following terms: "It must be, and so it is in reality, that the wages of the workers in all branches are limited to what is necessary for their living."

How could Engels attribute it to himself? By ignorance, or intentionally? It is evident he knew that in political economy this law is recognised as the law of Ricardo; this is quite clear from the same text of Marx. Lassalle also treats it as the "iron law of the economists."

Is it necessary to continue with the list of the appropriations of these founders of Social Democracy, whose "good faith" is glorified by the ignorant? If "Yes," I can quote some more proofs of their "good faith"; for example, their oft-repeated, infamous calumny; that the great revolutionist, Bakounine, was a spy of the Tsar. But let us end here, I hope that the honest people will understand easily why their contemporaries, the men of 1848 who knew the sources of their science,

the value of their "good faith" had such a deep contempt for them. Such was this contempt that even the glorifying biographer of Engels is obliged to speak of it: "The democracy avoided them," says he; it held them in contempt, we add.

And I should not be astonished if the democratic workers of the present will ratify the opinion of the men of 1848.

The Chicago Commemoration.

A meeting in commemoration of the 13th anniversary of the death of the Chicago anarchists was held on Nov. 13th in the Club and Institute, Holborn. The proceedings were opened by H. M. Kelly, and the list of speakers included comrades Kropotkin, L. Michel, Shepherd, Needes, Malatesta, Marmol, Tcherkesov, Baron and Wess, all of whom drew their moral from that never-forgotten story of official and bourgeois terror, which in America, as elsewhere, always culminates in some act of pure vengeance and barbarity under the cloak of Justice. Louise Michel (who had only arrived that morning from Paris) said that the seed of liberty when watered by the blood of martyrs such as those of Chicago, Montjuich and Milan, never perished, but sprang into new life and vigor. At the present moment amid universal oppression and suppression the light of liberty was everywhere slowly strengthening, awakening every sluggish in thought or action as it touched his eyes. France wields a sword of power, but it is double-edged, while striking down on one side she is herself struck; she put her bureaucratic foot down on the Revolutionary Workingmen's Congress, but the determination of those workingmen to win individual liberty had only gathered force. Wars had become a mere excuse for the enrichment of the few, for hierarchies of financiers and merchants; men's eyes were becoming open to this fact and it would bear fruit. Everywhere the popular conscience was awakening. There was no need for Anarchists to make plots—enough plots were being made the world over by those in power. Thus Louise; and all the speeches were delivered in the same earnest strain—an appeal to remember those who had suffered and "gone before", to vigorously walk in their steps, to resist to the end with the same purposeful courage and determination the dead had shown. The hall was filled by a strangely attentive and earnest audience. Even the Daily Graphic caricaturist who with his pencil was busy in our midst for the edification of his paper of the 15th, could find no fiercer term for the speakers than that they were quiet and fluent, as they "exhorted the men and maidens, the mothers and babies, packed together in the cigarette smoke, to live and die as Anarchists." As to that, did he know, little exhortation is needed. Was it through irony or by a mere oversight that the portraits of the new Cabinet, the nation's plotters, faced those of the Anarchists? It is interesting to note that the man at the head of affairs has two nephews and two sons, and the chief wire-puller one son, in possession of some of the most lucrative offices of the Ministry or Government. But of course this is not plotting—this is Patriotism. For what are Politics? The art of getting a place. What is a patriot? A candidate for that place. But, "never mind!" as that poor, brave soul, La Maheude, says in *Germinal*, "a day will come when these things will be repaid."

A SPLENDID DREAM.

One night, after the three visitors had gone, Pierre, who had remained with Guillaume, saw him grow very gloomy as he slowly walked to and fro. He, in his turn, had doubtless felt that all was crumbling. And though his brother alone was there to hear him he went on speaking. He expressed all his horror of the Collectivist State as imagined by Mège, a Dictator-State re-establishing ancient servitude on yet closer lines. The error of all the Socialist sects was their arbitrary organisation of labor, which enslaved the individual for the profit of the community. And, forced to conciliate the two great currents, the rights of society and the rights of the individual, Guillaume had ended by placing his whole faith in Free Communism, an Anarchical state in which he dreamt of seeing the individual freed, moving and developing without restraint, for the benefit both of himself and of all others. Was not this, said he, the one truly scientific theory, unities creating worlds, atoms producing life by force of attraction, free and ardent love? All oppressive minorities would disappear; and the faculties and energies of one and all would by free play arrive at harmony amidst the equilibrium—which changed according to needs—of the active forces of advancing humanity. In this wise he pictured a nation, knowing no State tutelage, without a master, almost without laws, a happy nation, each citizen of which, completely developed by the exercise of liberty, would, of his own free will, come to an understanding with his neighbours with regard to the thousand necessities of life. And thence would spring society, free association, hundreds of associations which would regulate social life; though at the same time they would remain variable, in fact often opposed and hostile to one another. For progress is but the fruit of conflict and struggle; the world has only been created by the battle of opposing forces. And that was all; there would be no more oppressors, no more rich, no more poor; the domain of the earth with its natural treasures and implements of labor would be restored to the people, its legitimate owners, who would know how to enjoy it rightfully and sensibly when nothing would impede their expansion. Then only would the law of love make its action felt; then would human solidarity, which, among mankind, is the living form of universal attraction, acquire all

its power, bringing men closer and closer together, and uniting them in one sole family. A splendid dream it was—the noble and pure dream of absolute freedom—free man in free society.

And thither a savant's superior mind was fated to come after passing on the road the various Socialist sects which one and all bore the stigma of tyranny.

And, assuredly, as thus indulged, the Anarchist idea is the loftiest, the proudest of all ideas. And how delightful to yield to the hope of harmony in life—life, which, restored to the full exercise of its natural powers, would of itself create happiness.—From *Paris*, by E. Zola.

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