

# Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

VOL. XXVIII.—No. 301.

MAY, 1914.

MONTHLY: ONE PENNY.

## NOTES.

### War and Waste.

The war against Mexico entered upon by the United States ought to be the last lesson the people need to convince them that the ruling classes, with the financiers at their head, hold the workers down by a system of sheer brigandage. Why has President Wilson been unable to steer clear of this catastrophe? Because financial interests are too powerful for him. As to the "honour of the flag," the Americans will find, as the Britishers have found, that the vilest humbug underlies the froth and fume of the jingo press and the jingo orators. Mr. Percy A. Martin, the geographer, has, in the *Fortnightly Review*, recently stated that "trainloads of United States manufactured arms and ammunition have been creeping towards the frontier, and the fact that much of this war material may yet be used against the country of its origin has in no way affected the volume or purpose of this trade." Of course not. Whoever knew the capitalist class to have any conscience where profit is concerned. Have we not had the same experience here? Were not the Boer guns and ammunition supplied by the English firms that were shouting loudest for the honour of the flag? In the war of 1846-48 North American firms were supplying the Mexicans with war material to shoot their own countrymen; and we read that on June 28, 1913, General Carranza sent a despatch to Washington complaining that arms and ammunition from the United States were being supplied to Huerta! So the game goes on. And the poor wage-slaves who pay in blood and money have not yet sufficiently realised all this to organise an international strike against war!

### What is Slavery?

At the meeting of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society on the 23rd ult., Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P., speaking of the Putumayo outrages, said that "the insatiable greed for wealth" was responsible for cruelties which, in his view, were as horrible as anything ever perpetrated in the worst periods of the Middle Ages. And he added, "we must reconstitute our ideas of slavery." We must, indeed. And while we are about it, it would be as well to "reconstitute" our ideas about liberty at the same time. For obviously, it would be nothing less than a tragedy for the workers to throw off the slavery of Capitalism to rush, let us say, into the slavery of Fabian bureaucracy. The frightful mess that Webbism would make of life under its system of a modified State Capitalism is a disaster one does not care to think of. No more poetry, no more romance, no more cakes and ale under the régime of these tight-lipped, superior nonentities. Just as their industrial organisation would make us obedient machinelike agglomerations of soulless units, so their marriage market would reduce us to the likeness of marionettes, whose strings would be pulled by Eugenic cranks. And to this the spectacle of the ineffable Bernard Shaw as Lord High Subsidiser to the fruitful women attached to the Infallible Fabian Breeding Stud, and the picture of the Social Revolution à la Webb, Shaw & Co. is well nigh complete. Isn't it time we all made up our minds what really is the difference between slavery and liberty?

### "Guilty!"

The Senghenydd report proves beyond all question the positive guilt of the mine management in the matter of this terrible disaster. Here are some of the causes for the appalling loss of life:—

- Failure to provide means for the immediate reversal of the air.
- Failure to measure the air in each ventilating district, at, or as near as practicable to, a point 100 yards back from the first working place at the working face which the air enters.
- Failure to record the measurements of the air current in a

book in the form prescribed, and omission of manager and under-manager to countersign.

Failure by persons on whom responsible duties are imposed with respect to the ventilation underground to record the reading of the barometer immediately before going into the mine and after coming out.

Failure to remove, as far as practicable, coal dust from the roof and sides.

To this shocking list of "failures," drawn up by Mr. R. A. S. Redmayne, Chief Inspector of Mines, we must add one more: the failure of "Government inspection" as a check on the mine-owners' callousness. And last, and saddest of all: the failure of the miners themselves to understand that, until the mines are owned by the community, and worked in the interest of all, their lives will always be sacrificed on the altar of Capitalism.

### The Penalty of Punishment.

The day is not far distant when the savage instinct which lurks behind all ideas of punishment will be replaced by the enlightened treatment of the "offender" by means which even now are well known to advanced thinkers on the subject of criminology. Every one understands that, with the abolition of private property, "crime" will be reduced to a mere fraction of its present volume; and further, the crimes of violence, nearly always due to what may be called "irritants" existing in the environment of the individual, require above all the removal of those causes, and the substitution of new life conditions, which can be adjusted to restore the moral balance. It is probably owing to these facts that the Criminal Justice Administration Bill has been received with "general approval" by all parties in the House. The fact is, our officials are so hopelessly behind what enlightened opinion regards as necessary in the matter of prison reform that to ensure no one under twenty-one years shall go to prison must seem to them a danger to the community. If the "dreadful Anarchists" were almost alone in condemning our whole system of prisons and punishments, that can hardly be said now, when pity for the victims of our vicious system has led many good people, among them the great Caruso, to sing and to play to them in their sad and hopeless lives behind the stone walls that crush human life as mercilessly as our capitalist system, to begin with, drives the unfortunates into the clutches of the law.

### Property in Women.

Mr. Plowden, the Marylebone magistrate, seems to be endowed somewhat with the new vision of things—at any rate, in so far as it applies to the woman question. This is what he said to a young man who had blackened the eyes of "his young lady," because she sometimes preferred the company of other young men. "You seem to think you have a kind of claim or right over her, but you have none whatever. Every bit of kindness she shows to you she shows because she chooses to, not because you have any claim upon her." He further advised the young man not to expect young women to "stick" to him, since he was only one among many. This is really encouraging as indicating the growth of wiser and freer ideas. The old barbarous notion, that a man has the right to possess a woman as his property, is rapidly disappearing; and soon, with the attempt to settle some fundamental economic problems, will come the final admission of the right of woman to full freedom in all her relations, and the imperative need for her to retain her personal independence in her relations with man. It has been truly said that the silliness of present-day courtship will be replaced by a comradeslike intimacy in social, artistic, and scientific work, which would do more to ensure a sincere understanding of character and inclination than all the conventionalities of modern "love-making" with its veneer of sugary-sweetness. The ideal of a freer life would surely be that courtship should be understood as a perpetual courtesy.

## The Modern State.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

### VI.

#### THE MONOPOLIES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

During the first half of the nineteenth century new monopolies began to be created on such a scale that the old ones soon became child's play in comparison with them.

To begin with, the money-makers devoted themselves to the railways and navigation companies subsidised by the State. Colossal fortunes began thus to be made, both in England and in France, by means of "concessions," a certain minimum of revenue being usually guaranteed by the State to each new railway company.

Then came the foundation of big mining and metal companies for supplying the railways with rails, iron and steel bridges, rolling stock, and coal—all of them realising fabulous revenues and making immense speculations on lands bought for this purpose.

Big companies for building iron ships, and still more so for obtaining iron, steel, and copper for war purposes, making guns, warships, and so on, followed suit. And then came the building of ironclads, the equipment of immense armies, the digging of the Suez and Panama canals, the so-called "development" of "undeveloped," backward countries, Transoceanic navigation with State subventions, and finally the wars—no end of wars, European and colonial. Millionaires were thus created by the score by the millions of half-starved workers, who were pitilessly shot as soon as they made the slightest attempt to resist the growing State-aided exploitation.

And then came the building of immense networks of railways in Russia, in the United States, in Mexico, in the South American Republics—all these enterprises becoming the source of colossal "concessions" and of a hitherto undreamed-of pillaging of whole nations. An unheard-of wealth was thus accumulated by means of real robberies accomplished under the protection of the Governments of the respective States—autocratic, constitutional, and republican.

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But that was not yet all. New sources of enrichment for the privileged ones were soon discovered. There was the commercial fleet to be subsidised by the State in view of coming wars; the subsidised lines of postal navigation; the submarine cables and the transcontinental telegraph lines; the piercing of chains of mountains; the embellishment of cities that was begun under Napoleon III.; and finally—dominating all that like the Eiffel Tower dominates the houses—the loans of the States, and State-aided banking.

All these new perfected instruments of robbery were now brought into the monopolies market and sold by the minions of the State. Hordes of millionaires and multi-millionaires were created.

But let this be well understood: the usual excuse, that in this way numbers of "useful" enterprises were brought into existence, is mere humbug. Because, for each million pounds usefully spent in these enterprises the company promoters saddled the nation with three, five, and sometimes ten millions added to the public debt. Let us only recall the Panama swindle, during which out of each ten million francs paid by the shareholders only one million went for the real work of piercing the Panama isthmus. "Nearly all our railways and other undertakings were overloaded in the same way," Henry George wrote in "Progress and Poverty." "Where one dollar had been really spent, obligations or shares for two, three, five, and even up to ten dollars were issued; and it was on these fictitious sums that both interest and dividends had to be paid."

But if it were only that! The worst is, that once these big companies had been formed, their power over human agglomerations became such that it could only be compared with the power exercised in the mediæval age by feudal barons, who levied a tribute upon every one who passed on the high road in the vicinity of their castles. And while millionaires were thus created by the State, millions and millions flowed into the pockets of the functionaries in the Ministries.

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The pillage which has been and is still going on everywhere with the aid of the State is simply appalling. All the best land on the shores of the Great Lakes of Canada and in its big cities is now in the hands of the Canadian Pacific Railway. A strip of land five miles wide on each side of the C.P.R. was given by the Canadian Federal Parliament to the capitalists who undertook to build the C.P.R., in addition to all the profits they would draw from the railway. But when the line entered the less productive dry plateaus, an equivalent of this strip ten miles wide was given to the company in the fertile parts of Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan—in those provinces whereto settlers were attracted, and where the land was soon going to attain a

high value. In all these provinces, where the new settlers received free 160 acres, land was also given to the company in blocks of one square mile, placed, like the black squares on a chessboard, amid the one-mile squares allotted free to the new settlers. The result is that now, when the "white" squares have been occupied by settlers, roads made, and so on, the value of the C.P.R. "black" squares reaches hundreds of millions of dollars. As to the capital that the company was supposed to have spent on the railway, there is no need to say that it was swollen, "watered" in the usual way.

And everywhere it is the same. So much so that now it is almost impossible to name—especially in the United States and the Colonies—one single big industrial fortune which has not been made in consequence, or with the aid, of a monopoly constituted by the State.

Nearly the same is true of Europe. Thus, the immense fortune of the Rothschilds owes its origin entirely to the loans made from the founder of this family by kings anxious to fight either other kings or their own subjects. The equally colossal fortune of the Dukes of Westminster is entirely due to the fact that their ancestors got from the English kings the lands upon which a great part of London is now built; and this fortune is maintained solely because Parliament, contrary to justice, does not want to raise the question of the acts of highway robbery accomplished by the lords in appropriating for themselves the lands of the British nation.

As to the immense fortunes of the American multi-millionaires—the Astors, the Vanderbilts, the Rockefellers, the Carnegies, and so on—as well as those of the big oil, steel, railway, and even matches trusts, they all have their origin in monopolies established by the State.

In a word, if somebody made a list of the fortunes that were grabbed by the rich of to-day with the aid of privileges and monopolies; if somebody made a list of the wealth of which the people have been despoiled, with the aid of the Governments—parliamentary, royal, or republican—working men would be amazed, and revolt. The figures of these robberies are so immense that people who live on their meagre wages would hardly be able to realise them.

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By the side of these colossal legal robberies, the fortunes that are ascribed by the economists to the moral virtues of the capitalists are a mere trifle. When the economists tell us that at the origin of Capital the worker would find the pence and shillings carefully put aside, at the cost of hard privation, by the masters of the factories—these economists are either ignoramuses who repeat parrotlike the fables they were taught at the University, or they consciously tell what they themselves know to be lies.

The appropriation of national wealth, by means of "interesting" in the appropriation the rulers of the day—this is the true source of the immense fortunes made every year, down to the present time, by the landowners and the bourgeois.

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What we say does not apply only to "young countries," like the American Republics. It fully applies to the old nations and States, like France and Great Britain. Let us only remember the Panama scandals, the South African companies and the Boer War, the adventures of Russia in Manchuria and Persia, the Morocco, Egypt, and Tripoli adventures, and so on.

The fact is, that the great Capital and the State are two parallel growths which never could have existed without each other, and for that reason must be combatted together. The State would never have grown and acquired the power it has now—not even the power it had under the Roman emperors, or the Pharaohs of Egypt, the Assyrian kings, and so on—had it not favoured the growth of capital, agricultural and industrial, and the exploiting—to begin with—of wild tribes and shepherds, of peasants later on, and of industrial working men in our own times.

It was by protecting with its whip, its sword, and its clergy those who grabbed the land and brought free men into slavery or serfdom, that Capitalism was developed; and it was by forcing those who owned nothing to work for the landlords, the owners of the mines, the company promoters, and the industrial employers, that gradually was developed that formidable organisation, the present State. If Capitalism could never have reached its present development without the aid of the State, the State in its turn could never have been the power it is now were it not for the support it always gave to Capitalism and the exploiting of Labour.

That is why, when some people say that Capitalism dates from the fifteenth or sixteenth century, they affirm something which is not true. Such an affirmation may aid people in understanding the parallel development of the modern State and Capitalism. But Capitalism existed already wherever there existed an individual possession of the land, and, later on, the possibility of cultivating the soil by the hired labour of the expropriated peasants. Even now we can see the beginnings of Capitalism with the shepherd Mongols and Buryats, who are

only just emerging from the tribal phase. It is sufficient, indeed, that the tribal phase (during which nothing can be sold within the tribe) should come to an end, and that commerce should become individual, for Capitalism to make its appearance. And as soon as the State is evolved, or enforces its power from without, and establishes its taxes and functionaries, Proletariat and Capitalism are born, and they begin their evolution. It is expressly for the purpose of delivering the Kabyles, the Moors, the Arabs, the Egyptian fellaheen, the Hottentots, the Somalis, and so on to European capitalists and to local exploiters, that the European States make conquests in Africa and Asia. And in these newly conquered countries we may see how State and Capital are intimately connected, how the one produces the other, and how they evolve on parallel lines.

(To be continued.)

## A PRIMER OF ANARCHISM.

### II.—THE STATE.

I said, at the start, that all my words were to be short, that all those who read what I write may know what I mean. To that end I must pick out the main terms that I use and say just what I mean by them. Now, take the word "State." What do we mean by the State? I will be plain as well as short, and say the State is but a thought! It is no more than a thought that we think—not a man, nor a lot of men, nor yet a thing, but just a thought; and yet this thought rules our lives for the most part, makes slaves of all those who work, and makes rich most of those who do not work. Let me prove what I say. First of all I will ask you who think that the State is a man, a lot of men, or a thing: "Can you point it out to me so that I may see it and know it? Where is it, and what is it? Can you do this?" No; and you know that no one can do it. Still, you may say it is true that they who try to put the State in front of us as a man, a lot of men, or thing, will fail all the time; but we know that the State is a force, which all who try to thwart will soon find out! Well, so far so bad. But what is the source of this force? How did it first come to rule us? Well, first of all, men were in a wild state and had to hunt and fish to get things to eat. To do this, of course, they had to use the land, but in those days there was land for all. No one had yet thought to fence in large tracts of land and put up a board to warn folks to "Keep off the grass!" Still, some parts of the land were of more use than the rest, and when the mass of men grew more and more they at last came to blows and fought for these choice spots. In each crowd of men who fought there would be one who had more strength and skill than the rest. This man they would look up to as their chief, by whose aid they could beat their foes, and take from them their tracts of land. In time they would thus get more land than they could use. Did they then let their foes who had lost the fight use this land? Oh! no; at least not for their own use. They made slaves of them and set them to till the land for the good of those who had got the best of them.

Here was the germ of the State thought: those who lost the fight were made slaves; those who won the fight took the land from them; and those who had most strength and skill in war were made chiefs. Of course, the will of the chief was law, for then men lived in a state of war, and it was up to the chiefs to lead them in the way to win their fights. Now this thought that the will of the chief was law had some sense in it in those days. The chief would prove his might to those he led, by his strength and skill in war; and they would look on his might as right, since it gave them the chance to beat their foes and to make slaves of them. So the chief was held in awe by all those whom he led, and his will was law.

Thus, Law has its base in the thought that Might is Right. If one has the might to do as he will, then he will do it, and say of his deeds: "This is right; it is all right—for me. *You and they* do not count but in so far as you or they can match me in might. When that comes to pass I will—make terms with you and they." Thus the chiefs of old had to act when they were met by men whose strength and skill was as great as their own. They had to come to terms with them; and these terms were, as a rule, that they should share the right to rule all those who had been slaves to one chief. Thus the State took some sort of shape in the minds of men.

I have not time to trace this thought of the State on its path through time down to our day. All that has been put down with long words in big books by great men, and none of us can tell just what they mean. We have to pay large sums, through the State, to more great men who wear wigs and gowns, to tell us what is right and what is wrong. And they tell us that right is what the State lets us do and say, and wrong is what the State will not let us do and say. That is clear, is it not? Clear as mud!

But how does this thought of the State get to be a force, and make slaves of all who work? Why, we give way to it: that is all! We think in a line with this thought, and do just what it tells us. We have been taught to do this by those who want to make us slaves and to get rich out of our toil. We are such fools!—I must say it—that we think it right to give up the best part of our work and wealth to all who speak in its name; and when we have done all this we feel proud to have paid what is due from us to the State. And yet all that has been done is that some men (not the State, for we have seen that the

State is but a thought) have got a lot of things out of us, which we have had to work hard for; and this, in the form of cash, makes them rich, and they live a life of wealth and ease, while we have to toil and sweat, and lots of us starve and die, all through the fact that this thought of the State takes hold of our minds, and we act in a line with it, and do all we are told by those who speak in its name.

So far is it a fact that the State is but a thought, that the part of it which, in a sense, can be said to be real—that is, the force of arms, which is the sole strength of the State, "first, last and all the time"—is the man in blue and the man in red: the man with the club and the man with the sword and gun, whose job it is to lock up or knock down, shoot, stab, or hang all those who want to be free from the State and the class that lives on those who toil. Now the man with the club and the man with the gun, who are, in the end, the sole props of the State, and whose job it is to see that the rich are free to rob the poor, are, strange to say, both sons of the poor! As a rule, want of food, clothes, and a home has made these men what they are: tools of the rich thieves who live on the poor slaves. And while these tools of the rich thieves spend the best years of their lives to keep up this state of things by brute force, in their old age most of them are thrown back to the class from whence they sprang—to starve and die.

Such are the facts of that part of the State which we of the poor class know of but too well. And yet who shall say that here in this main prop, that of brute force, the State is aught but a thought; the thought that makes the sons of the poor fight their own class to help the rich in their thefts? May we not say that some day this thought will no more live in the minds of the sons of the poor, and that no one will then be found to do this foul work for the rich class. At least, this is our hope: the hope of all who wish to see the end of the rule of brute force. And as we hope, so let us work, each in his or her own way, to bring forth the day when want and woe shall no more rear their gaunt forms in our midst.

WILLIAM J. ROBINS.

## BOOK NOTES.

*Labour in Irish History.* By James Connolly. 1s. net. Dublin: Maunsell and Co.

This cheap edition of Mr. Connolly's book comes at an opportune moment. At a time when politicians are drilling the people of the North of Ireland to fight for the "right" to live under the English flag, it is well to inquire into what that flag has stood for. The author shows us how the politicians used the downtrodden Irish workers as pawns in the struggle for power. When the Land League became alive to the real cause of the poverty of the workers, the Irish middle class abandoned the land fight and focussed the whole interest of Ireland upon the Parliamentary struggle. The Irish labourers have been shot, imprisoned, evicted from their homes, and driven from their native land while politicians intrigued and fought for their own interest.

We are pleased to see that Mr. Connolly devotes special chapters to William Thompson, "the first Irish Socialist," and to the Ralahine Socialist Colony in County Clare. Thompson's Socialist writings in the "twenties" of last century are practically unknown, and this interesting chapter should cause many to buy the book. The Ralahine experiment is dealt with in detail, the objects and rules of the Association being printed in full. In spite of obstacles in the shape of a heavy rent and social conditions in the country, the colony made great progress, the effect on the character of the colonists being remarkable. The downfall of the colony was due to the landlord being declared a bankrupt, the persons who took over the estate treating its members as common labourers on the estate, and seizing the buildings and grounds. But while it lasted, the colony was an object-lesson in the value of co-operation as opposed to the present system of every man for himself and devil take the hindmost.

*The Problem of the Continuation School.* By R. H. Best and C. K. Ogden, B.A. 1s. net. London: P. S. King and Son.

This is a plea for compulsory industrial continuation classes for those who at present leave school at fourteen. This book gives an illustrated account of the system in Germany, where the results have been very successful (especially to the employing class). The fact that it has been successful in Germany is not sufficient to endear the system to us, as we know that the educational methods adopted in all countries are designed with one object—to make efficient and docile wage-slaves. Compulsory continuation classes would simply be aiding that object. To compulsion we oppose voluntary methods, to discipline we oppose self-expression and free initiative.

*For Liberty: An Anthology of Revolt.* Compiled by Henry Bool and S. Carlyle. 3d. net. London: C. W. Daniel.

The compilers of this anthology have thrown their net very wide, the list of authors quoted occupying two pages. Anarchists and Governmentalists, Atheists and Christians, Socialists and Anti-Socialists, all pay their tribute to the love of Liberty. To analyse such a book is impossible; but we feel certain that many will be surprised when they see the names appended to some of the most radical of utterances. The book is good value for money, containing, as it does, over a hundred pages. A cloth edition is published at sevenpence.

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Monthly, One Penny; post-free, 1½d.; U.S.A., 3 Cents; France, 15 Centimes.

Annual Subscription, post-free, 1s. 6d.; U.S.A., 40c.; France, 2fr.  
Foreign Subscriptions should be sent by International Money Order.

Wholesale price, 1s. 6d. per quire of 26 post-free, in the United Kingdom.

All communications, exchanges, &c., to be addressed to

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## A May Day Message.

When a man is in need of the necessities of life and will persist in demanding them, there are but two ways of dealing with him: Either give him what he needs or shoot him. The question will never be settled otherwise, and war will continue for ever.

This is exactly the relationship between Capital and Labour. Capital would have shot down Labour long ago, but that it never became necessary, because the demand for the means of life was made with such an uncertain voice. So long as Labour was indefinite, Capital talked sweetly of the blessings of peace and statesmanlike conciliation, and the elect were invited from among the lower orders to join the upper class and sit in its council chambers. In the meantime, however, it was not forgotten to increase the number of men with bludgeons and to give them further arms. Experiments were being conducted to ascertain the best kind of cartridge to use against strikers, and not for a moment did the master class forget that it could only enjoy the blessings of peace so long as it was strong enough to hold by force the wealth of the world from those who needed it.

When in 1907 and up to the present time workers, not only of England but of Europe, began to more and more fully realise that the politicians and conciliators were not what they wanted; when they began to take the responsibility upon themselves and urged a direct war on Capital; when their words of revolution were backed by deeds, then Capital also began to reveal itself in its true character.

The politicians of Italy had already twice succeeded in defeating the railway workers by mobilising the Army; the men being both workers and soldiers—a system advocated by reactionaries in England—they were sent back to work under military law. Briand, a Socialist who had become a successful politician and, therefore, one of the master class, adopted the same methods in France, and the great railway strike in October, 1910, was crushed by him; every worker was compelled to return to the railway or be arrested as a deserter. The Government of Spain, in the meantime, had murdered its chief educator, Ferrer, because of his sympathy with the Labour movement. If Portugal was not taking part in the general repression, it was because the politicians of two schools were too busy shooting each other. As to England, it was taking lessons, and in the meantime English Capital was applauding the propagation of Russian methods of government throughout the continent. The English press was delighted with the defeat of the French workers. The *Daily News*, one of the champions of democracy, declared quite frankly that Briand's methods were an "infringement of liberty and a perversion of military law"; but it pointed out that the French Socialists "had become more and more subject to the influence of Anarchist leaders," and, therefore, it entirely supported Briand in his methods of repression. The most striking thing, perhaps, in connection with this strike was that it induced a politician to tell the exact truth in regard to the attitude of Capital towards Labour. Briand declared that "if it had been necessary to have recourse to illegal measures, the Government would have taken them." Now, indeed, the mask had fallen and the humbug about the sacredness of the law had been exposed. It is for the worker to obey always, and the master to use or throw aside as he pleases.

It was close upon the heels of this French strike that the great series of English strikes and repression which bring us up to the present day started with the South Wales coal war. In this case also the politician—in the person of Mr. Churchill—

was found breaking Parliamentary precedent, and telling the truth. On being asked to grant an inquiry into the conduct of the police, who, it will be remembered, acted on this occasion with a drunken brutality with which we are now more familiar, Mr. Churchill replied that "he could not at the present time in any circumstances consent to hamper the police in the discharge of their dangerous duty by any promise of inquiry." So that it will be observed that the Government intended that the police should act in a manner that would have been impossible had they foreseen an inquiry. It is in these chance remarks, when politicians accidentally tell the truth, that we understand where we stand, even when we cannot read directly from the logic of the position.

However, it must be clear to every worker now that the more he develops his side of the quarrel, the more the possessing class will use its only argument—brute force—against him. This he will understand, not alone from the instances given, for during the last year or two we have continued to progress. The imprisonment of Tom Mann and Crowsley for teaching Christianity to the Army, the appalling brutality of the Dublin police, the great demonstration of force for the repression of the railway strike, the deportation of the South Africans—all these things make upon us a great demand. Capital has fully realised its position; it understands that it has no part in production, and that it depends abjectly on the workers. In order that it may continue to drain off the richness and beauty of life from the dull, colourless mass of humanity, it strengthened its only weapon—force.

The great need in the ranks of Labour now is for a clear understanding, so that the demand may be made without compromise that armed Capital shall give up the wealth of the world to those who have made it, and to those who alone can use it. What the answer to that demand must be we already know, and we can now see also just as surely what the final result must be. The gun raised against the worker is manufactured by himself, it is pressed against his own shoulders. In the long run, Capital cannot shoot Labour; for the former is dependent on the latter. There can, then, be but one end to the dispute—the defeat of Capital, and the triumph of Labour. Compromise is not only useless, it is impossible. The more extreme the workers are in their tactics, the better it will be, provided they lead to the possession of the world's wealth.

A clear understanding, not among the "leaders and generals" of Labour, but among a number of the workers themselves, is the only thing which will undermine the great power of repression that has been built up. The problem is on a huge scale, but it is simple. To keep it in its simple form among the workers, and not allow it to be again obscured by the politicians, is one of the first duties of all friends of Labour, and especially of Anarchists.

## THE NEWCASTLE CONFERENCE.

It is not often that Anarchists foregather with such a blare of trumpets, or, more precisely, a Press booming. Everyone in Newcastle knew that we were coming, knew not exactly what to expect, and awaited with pent-up curiosity to see what manner of men we really were. Disappointment was theirs, for we were respectable-looking, mild-mannered, and did not assume a fearsome aspect.

We started well, for did we not argue with our serving-maid over the tea cups ere we had scarce settled ourselves in the town, and very soon afterwards continued the argument with pressmen and local Socialists, whose premises we had taken as our temporary abode? One felt certain misgivings as to the value of long and protracted discussions as a means to an end, but felt, nevertheless, that good work is done by an interchange of opinion upon the many subjects which trouble us; by taking stock of our past year's work, and meeting comrades from all parts, many of whom had been hitherto names only. It was refreshing after many very usual conferences to know that here if one had aught to say, objections to raise, or criticism to make, no mighty chairman threatened if the rules of procedure were transgressed. We knew what we wanted, and discussed it fully, freely, and frankly. A word as to the personnel. They came from all parts, we forget exactly where, but chiefly Glasgow, Edinburgh, Coatbridge, Huddersfield, York, Sheffield, London, Bristol, Gateshead, Liverpool, Stockport, Wales, North and South, and the Chopwell boys came in dozens, each an embryo fighter, from whom more will be heard anon, we hope.

The conference proper was announced for Sunday and Monday, and, after running the gauntlet of pressmen and photographers, we settled to business, and as a preliminary successfully disposed of the youthful but enterprising journalist whose adventures, real and imaginary, made delightful fiction in the London and local press. The agenda gave promise of stirring times, but our anticipations were not realised by subsequent developments. The following is a brief summary of the business:—Report of the movement in various districts,

organisation, linking-up of groups, the relation of Anarchism to Trade Unions, Syndicalism, etc.; the Modern School, anti-militarism, report on literature sales, the weekly paper, new pamphlets, and the International Congress. With such a list of subjects to discuss, one knew we could but touch upon each one. Greensmith, of Huddersfield, undertook the secretarial work.

The reports from various groups were good, particularly the inspiring accounts of activities in Coatbridge and Ammonford. Nothing beyond the usual plodding of a handful of comrades, beset by persecution and difficulties, could be reported; but one felt that the Welsh spirit, which can run enthusiastically in so many causes, will find, and in fact is finding, a splendid field in Anarchist propaganda. The comrades working in mining districts had certainly the most inspiring reports. Newcastle comrades decided to form a group for more active work. Before leaving we heard that they had met and definitely started the group. We wish them luck. The linking up of groups made interesting matter for discussion, but all were agreed that a very close union was not possible. The move set on foot at Liverpool for a medium of communication between groups, of which Platin, of Bristol, has charge, was considered as good a means as any if taken advantage of; and further, the weekly paper would undoubtedly act as a bond between the groups, and keep all more fully in touch with local activities.

The best and most useful discussion of all was the one upon the relation of Anarchism to Syndicalism, Trade Unionism, etc. Whilst there was a diversity of opinion as to the value of Anarchists joining and working through Trade Unions, it was fairly well agreed that some form of industrial action was necessary, and this action and our thoughts could best be expressed by adopting the Syndicalist method of warfare in Trade Unions, thus helping the workmen to put aside their faith in leaders and each become a fighting unit for the emancipation of his class. The debate, however, lacked definiteness, and was not a satisfactory expression of Anarchist thought upon these matters.

The Modern School was discussed as a means to get the children interested and to counteract the influence of the mis-training given in the day schools. Comrades Dick and Ploschansky spoke of their efforts in East London; their children's magazine, which was well in evidence, gave ample proof of their untiring efforts. The result will be, we hope, many such efforts in various districts. Anti-militarism could hardly be discussed. That it should form part of our propaganda all were agreed, leaving methods to circumstances and opportunity. The sales of literature were reported to have doubled during the last two years, but FREEDOM has not shown a corresponding increase. Many new pamphlets are awaiting publication when funds will allow.

The discussion upon the weekly paper was opened by F. W. Dunn, of London, who stated what had been attempted by the Anarchist Education League with the *Torch*, and their desire to convert that venture into a weekly paper under the title of the VOICE OF LABOUR. The paper, he stated, would be a four-page one from May 1 at a charge of a halfpenny; and by September they hoped to bring out a full eight-page paper at a penny. A general discussion followed, all expressing the desirability and necessity for a weekly paper, and offering all assistance to the London group in their effort. By the time this report appears the VOICE will be launched, and the hopes expressed by one and all will now be given an opportunity for realisation.

The coming International Congress raised many points, and most groups intimated their intention of being represented. The Conference decided to meet next year in Manchester.

A word as to the evening meetings. A splendid meeting was held in the Co-operative Hall on Sunday night, when Comrades Lowther, McAra, Ponder, Doris Wess, and George Barrett spoke to an audience of well over 400. Without any attempt at oratorical flourish, the speakers gave in a clear and interesting manner the why and wherefore of Anarchism, a message with which most of those present were as yet unacquainted. The sale of literature was good, and what was lacking in oratory was supplemented by the written word, a sounder and more impressive method of propaganda. The open-air meeting in Bigg Market was the more inspiring, and was throughout a battle between a critical audience and the speakers. Comrades Dunn, McAra, and Ponder were the speakers, and the latter's answers to a would-be annihilator in the shape of an S.L.P. critic were keenly taken up and appreciated by the audience. Thus ended a Conference which has helped us to understand each other's work and methods, prepared the ground for a weekly paper, and sent us back to work feeling that somewhere, at least, good work is being enthusiastically carried on.

The thanks of all are due to the comrades who made the arrangements, excellent in every way, and to the women folk of the B.S.P., who catered so well for our more material needs. D.

## MAY DAY.—HYDE PARK.

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## SIDELIGHTS ON SOCIAL SUBJECTS.

The political demigods of the Empire have been calling one another polite names over the Ulster crisis, but, as far as can be ascertained, only one of the number has had the courage to describe himself as a stupid person. Thus did Mr. Walter Long when speaking at Brixton on April 24. There is only one drawback to this very excellent confession: the honest men in the audience might believe it, and Mr. Long might repent his truthfulness. It was also a little unwise attempting to hold up his colleagues in the House as heroes. He claimed a great victory for Mr. Bonar Law when he endeavoured to move a vote of censure on the Government, and whom Mr. Masterman, oddly enough, had two days previously accused of running away like a coward when the Prime Minister offered him an opportunity of proving his charge of lying. People in the limelight ought really to be more careful of their speeches, for there is a possibility—a remote one, I admit—that members of the audience may possess some measure of intelligence, and the politician when "found out" presents but a sorry spectacle.

We are, however, in hearty agreement with Mr. Walter Long on one or two points. We like his description of Liberal members: "You have got a more servile majority than I have ever known. It is a case of sheep in the fold. The bell wether leads with his bell tinkling, and all the sheep blindly follow." Only, of course, if some miracle should transform this majority into a Unionist one, then the "sheep" would naturally prove to be highly intelligent, independent gentlemen, only desirous of serving their country.

Out of the mouth of even a Member of Parliament may flow words of wisdom. Thus Mr. Davison Dalziel, following Mr. Long at the Brixton meeting, told his audience that "the days had gone by when a Member of Parliament had either the opportunity or the power to speak entirely on his own initiative. Nowadays we were hide-bound by the strict rules of party politics." Then why remain in Parliament at all, Mr. Dalziel? But therein lies the wisdom of the honourable Member. On the question of Labour unrest, Mr. Dalziel was positively illuminating. "The primary cause," he said, "was not that the working classes were any worse off than they were formerly. The onward and irresistible march of civilisation had taken care of that." "Onward and irresistible" is a good term, particularly when we know it is all brought about by the Juggernaut car of Capitalism. Perhaps a few of the audience could enlighten him upon the many benefits from civilisation they have received as workers; but the most practical lesson in economics would be a twelve months' course of work in a factory. After the Talking Shop and the £400 yearly salary, it would prove a more than sufficient convincer as to the luxurious, nay, even riotous, times the workers enjoy.

In fairness to Mr. Dalziel, we must give the last instalment of wisdom. He pointed out that the shareholders in any ordinary commercial concern in this country had far greater control over the actions of those representing them than the electors of this country had over those who represented them in the House of Commons. Precisely so; because in the former case the shareholders are anxious for high dividends, and actual control is therefore necessary; whilst in the latter, Parliament and our political machinery are so beautifully arranged as to prevent the propertyless elector from exercising control of any kind, though all the time the semblance of democracy is given in order to ensure the good behaviour of the masses. The financial bosses who really run Governments know their work too well to allow any Tom, Dick, or Harry to have a finger in the political pie. The honourable Member could not, of course, admit this; his constituents might then have wanted to dispense with Parliament and all its political mountebanks. Who knows!

A "get rich while you wait" recipe has appeared recently in the daily press. We refer to the silver fox industry which has developed in Canada. Some people, it seems, invested £100 and have since been drawing £2,000 a year. "The little animals, worth many times their weight in gold, have to be very carefully tended. They are fed on meat, milk, and biscuits, and a veterinary surgeon is always in attendance. They are kept in an enclosure made out of wire netting twelve feet high, but each has a separate pen to itself, containing a kennel in which to sleep. Electric burglar alarms are installed." All this in order that my lady of Mayfair may wear fashionable furs purchased at fabulous cost. Yet, all the time myriad workers are dying slowly but surely of hunger, neglect, or overwork. When we learn to develop a sense of proportion, and banking balances have ceased to sway men's minds, then human beings may even become as valuable as silver foxes.

Surely the time is approaching when the whole question of political pensions will be opened. The late Lord Cross left personal estate to the value of £79,299, and for over 20 years prior to his death received a pension of £2,000, making a total pension sum of £40,000. We further learn that his lordship, during his twelve or thirteen years of office received between £60,000 and £65,000 public money as salary. We note that the Treasury makes an appearance of protecting the taxpayer by requiring a declaration from the applicant to the effect that his total income is inadequate to maintain his station in life. We understand

that no such declamation was made by Lord Cross. These paupers in high life, though costly to the community, are certainly interesting in view of their conception of a standard of living; we strongly recommend it to every wage-worker in the land. Meanwhile, we are glad to know that the interests of the taxpayer are safeguarded. Mr. Asquith, when tackled with this particular case in the Commons, and asked who was to be judge of a pensioner's means—the man himself or the Government—replied: "It is left to the honour of the pensioner." Great heavens! and a political pensioner, too!

At an inquest held recently at Holloway Prison, evidence was given that the deceased prisoner was treated well in every way, and had gained 6 lb. in weight. Some women gained as much as 14 lb. or 15 lb. during their incarceration. About 75 per cent. of the women put on weight. The cells were kept warmed at 60 degs., and it was said the cocoa was of a much better quality than that which men had on warships. If this is true, the oppressed wage-slave stands more chance of decent existence by breaking the law than by respecting it. The question then arises, Is it not much more logical to become a well-fed "criminal" than to starve virtuously outside the prison gates? Nevertheless, the whole prison system is a disgrace, and the Government responsible for it is the Frankenstein monster of civilisation. For greater crime exists wherever Government holds sway, and Government is strongest wherever exploitation is most rampant. The wastefulness and folly of it all! Government pretending to heal by means of prison life that festering sore in society that has been caused wholly by the growth of Capitalism. Let us, as rebels, point out who are the real criminals in society, and so help to break down our whole hypocritical institution of so-called law and order.

M. B. HOPE.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### France.

The Anarchists in the West of France intend to form a provincial federation of the local groups. This will be in imitation of the Federation of the Centre of France and the Federation of the Paris groups. Not only did the French comrades find it useful to have a tie between the different local groups of the same district in order to help each other and to make the propaganda more effective, but last year at their national Congress they created also a national federation of autonomous groups. Every region has its own features, and Brittany with its own language certainly requires special measures and means to introduce our ideas among the Breton folk, who till now have been left to feed on literature in their language supplied by priests and Conservatives. The little Breton paper *Brug*, published by our comrades, is the first attempt to bring Anarchism to the population in the mother tongue. We heartily wish them success in their effort to create a vigorous Anarchist propaganda suited to the local condition of Western France, which is so different from the South, for instance, or from Paris.

The *Voix du Peuple* will appear on May 1 with illustrations, and will be devoted to anti-militarism, jingoism, and such immediate claims as lesser hours, abolition of nightwork, the English week, etc. The paper is the organ of the Confederation of Labour, which, as usual, is preparing to celebrate the First of May by calling upon its affiliated Unions to demonstrate especially against the wave of militarism which has swept over the country. In its appeal it says:—

"Once again the 'criminal' laws have been applied against Syndicalists. The last trial ended in 165 months of imprisonment being inflicted on our comrades. Our 'Sou du Soldat' [to keep the young soldiers in touch with their Union], is persecuted, sentenced; the Catholic 'Sou du Soldat' is allowed by the military authorities, recognised and declared legal—such is bourgeois logic! Our militants are in prison! At liberty—financial swindlers, Ministers who are their accomplices, Members of Parliament doing 'business.' Workers, prepare yourselves for action! The work of anti-militarism, of education, and of solidarity must continue! Let the First of May be the first action of revolt!"

### Italy.

For some time a lively agitation has been carried on among the railway men for an improvement of their miserable wages and long hours. Especially the conditions of the lower-grade employees is such that an immediate increase of salary was deemed necessary by the railway Union. After all, their demands amounted only to three francs a day minimum, and an extra franc a night for nightwork. The concession of the urgent claims means an expense of 50,000,000 francs (£2,000,000), whilst the total sum required for the fulfilment of the men's demands is 100,000,000 francs. Naturally, the Government thought £2,000,000 a tremendous sum, though millions were spent for the Tripoli brigandage without a moment's hesitation. The railway men would have met with a curt refusal if they had not taken all measures to enforce their claim by declaring a strike on April 15 unless the Government gave in. On April 16 the Minister of Public Works had the good sense to confer with the representative of the railway Union. This Union, the *Sindacato Ferrovieri Italiani*, with very decidedly revolutionary tendencies, practically contains the whole of the personnel of the Italian (State) railways, as only a few hundreds of dissident employees are organised in another, reformist, Federation. The Deputy Bissolati accompanied some delegates of this Federation to

several interviews with the Minister during the railway crisis; but the Government, the public, and the railway men know very well that it does not matter whether the small Federation joins the movement or not—the situation is in the hands of the revolutionary *Ferrovieri*, who can paralyse the traffic if they like. This evidently was also recognised by the Minister, and he therefore interviewed the delegates of the railway men and promised them to convoke next month the representatives of all grades of railway workers, who will appoint a commission to examine the claims. The Government will lay proposals before Parliament to create funds for the increase of wages. Further, a project is being prepared to ameliorate the old age pensions, to increase salaries, and to diminish the hours of labour. In view of these concessions, the railway men's Union decided to postpone the strike.

The Anarchists have decided to hold a national Congress, perhaps two, one in the North and one in the South; among other subjects, the question of participation in the International Anarchist Congress of London, next August, will be discussed.

### Portugal.

After having been twice postponed, the Congress of the Portuguese Trade Unions was held at last at the end of March at Thomar. The initiative for this Congress had been taken by the reformist Unions, and the revolutionary Syndicalists hesitated in the beginning whether they should join or not. They did after all, and the first national Trade Union Congress of Portugal is an accomplished fact. As might be expected when two sections so different as the reformists and the revolutionaries work together, there were stormy moments, which were safely passed through only owing to concessions being made by both sides. For instance, the reformists insisted that certain delegates—a doctor and a Member of Parliament—should be admitted, though they are not workers; they carried their point, but on the condition put by the revolutionary Syndicalists, that in future Congresses only organised *bona fide* workers can participate.

The Congress decided that the workers of all the Unions will unite for the economic improvement of their conditions; for this purpose, provisionally, a National Labour Union has been created to which will belong Trade Unions "not adhering to any political or religious doctrine"; the greatest possible autonomy will be allowed to each member in his own Union, and to the latter in the National Union. In other words, the Portuguese National Labour Union is based on the same principle as the French Confederation of Labour: to organise all wage-earners in the fight against employers and wage slavery, and to banish all political and religious questions from the sphere of activity of the Labour organisation. Unhappily, our Portuguese comrades have left the door ajar for future difficulties. On the insistence of the reformists, the members of the Central Committee of the National Labour Union are allowed to accept a political mandate unless the latter is bestowed by the Government. Experience has shown that, once politicians have succeeded in slipping inside a Labour organisation, they usually finish by making the Union their tool for political purposes, and direct action by the workers themselves is frowned down by their politician leaders. We hope that the revolutionary section of the new Union will see that this dangerous decision is annulled at the next Congress, which will be held at Coimbra. Let the workers unite and fight as workers, and leave the politicians to flounder in the Parliamentary bog without dragging the Labour organisations along with them.

Several very interesting reports had been prepared for the Congress, but lack of time prevented all of them from being read. One dealing with "A Project for Reform of the Law on Trade Unions" was presented by the Socialist Member of Parliament, Silva (of course!), and its conservative spirit came in for a good deal of criticism. Another, by Rates and Nagueira, on "Organisation," contained conclusions which were adopted as the basis of the new Labour organisation. The report on "The Increased Cost of Living" will be printed and distributed by the Congress.

This first Labour Congress aroused a good deal of interest in the general press, and the working classes have high hopes that the unification of their forces will lead to good results in the near future.

### Norway.

The National Congress of the "Lands Organisationen," the Norwegian Labour centre, was held in Christiania on March 23-26, in order to discuss the proposed law of compulsory arbitration. The Congress decided to prepare a general strike for the date that the Bill will come before Parliament, in order to prevent it from becoming law. The Congress also instructed its delegates for the International Socialist Congress, to be held in 1914 in Vienna, to vote for the proposal of Keir Hardie and Vaillant, viz., in favour of a general strike in case a war is declared. So the Norwegian national Labour organisation will now start making propaganda in that direction.

These decisions show that the revolutionary Syndicalists, who in Norway have remained inside the old Unions, have not wasted their propaganda. This revolutionary opposition inside the Unions counts now 8 000 members, and the groups in Christiania have taken over *Direkte Aktion*, the organ of "Young Socialism" and of revolutionary Syndicalist principles. Our comrade Albert Jensen will be the editor, and is sure to see to it that the paper lives up to its title.

The receipt of a free copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe. 1s. 6d. per annum.

## Anarchism: Communist or Individualist?

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE—I am thoroughly glad to see the ardour of your correspondents, in April FREEDOM, to emphasise freedom of opinion and mutual toleration among Anarchists. It is quite true that experience of another kind influenced me, when I wrote my article; and if the comrades represent English Anarchist opinion in general, I can only say that this is eminently satisfactory. Cannot this situation be improved by examining afresh the points which divide both sections? Certainly I am the last who wishes to "force people upon each other," but both sections really represent ideas put forward many years ago and which have not been properly revised since then. Both the Individualist and the Communist current ignored each other at their beginning; meanwhile, both have fully discussed and detailed their own standpoints, but have not, in my opinion, been in the mood to take fair notice of the other party's position. It falls to the present generation to ignore the one-sided polemics of past times and to do something new by themselves—to re-examine these questions in the broad spirit of modern experience, and to see whether Anarchism cannot make another step forward; whether Communism can learn something from Individualism; whether Individualism would profit by a greater place being given to solidarity, etc.

It may, perhaps, be asked why I call Communism an economic hypothesis, when so much excellent Communist literature exists and so many people fully accept it as a theory. The minimum required of a social theory, the realisation of which would exclude misery and privation, is that production and consumption should be equal. "To each according to his needs, from each according to his faculties," is the formula of Communism; and free or Anarchist Communism means that the individual by himself, or (a sacrifice of freedom already) the individual by means of freely agreed arrangements with groups, and these groups with other groups, etc., decides the quantity of work to be done, and also the degree, up to which the needs of each may be satisfied. For it is evident that when neither of these quantities is somehow regulated, or only one of the two, both quantities could never, or only by the merest accident, balance to some extent. The more freedom prevails (absence of regulations, I mean), the less certain it is that useful things, the production of which may not be pleasant work in all cases, will exist in quantities sufficient to satisfy the needs of all, which needs, when the burden of dull, present misery is taken from the people, are not likely to decrease. That real, unlimited Communism should just hit the quantities needed, or even produce more than is required, to give plenty to all, is, in my opinion, the merest hypothesis.

Everybody sees this, of course; and so it is tacitly understood or openly admitted that any amount of voluntary measures will be taken to ascertain the quantities needed and to regulate production accordingly.

Now, other Anarchists, Collectivists and Individualists, try to overcome this difficulty in other ways, by giving to each the "full produce of his labour" (according to some standard to be agreed upon) or by "equal exchange" (or what can be done to come near to it). Communist criticism necessitates that these proposals would lead back to a wage system, a bureaucracy, the State, private property, etc. This criticism is no doubt right in many points. But, as I have shown, really free Communism would very likely founder on the rock of necessity to balance production and consumption, whilst regulated Communism would require sacrifices of personal freedom similar to those foreseen by Individualists or Collectivists. When Communists think that such sacrifices are practically necessary, when they cover them by the sweet name of "solidarity," which, indeed, may repay in many instances the loss of personal freedom, they are right; their belief in freedom remains unshaken, and they will take the risk of such regulations which cannot crush freedom if it is really alive in people's minds and hearts. Then why not concede the same belief in freedom's power to other Anarchists who, by other economic regulations, try to meet a difficulty which faces all? It is here that toleration and a fuller belief in freedom are found wanting sometimes; if I am mistaken, so much the better.

To me, it seems all the more important to reconsider our position, because a new factor is looming before us—the increasing disproportion between the population and the natural resources of the globe. Population increases whilst the accumulated wealth of Nature—coal, forests, fertile soil, animals, minerals, etc.—cannot increase correspondingly or is sensibly nearing exhaustion. Either to husband these reserves or to direct the immense mechanical appliances which will have to replace the energy at present gathered from these stores accumulated by past ages, many measures will have to be taken in common to a degree which our epoch of still relative plenty can hardly foresee. Terrible wars may ensue over these problems; but suppose this wave of insanity passed, and all nations agreeing to co-operate for the common good—will not the mere technical needs of proper management of these natural resources, internationalised, nationalised, or communalised as they may then be, create an administrative machinery the like of which we can hardly foreshadow in its immensity and strictness? Many, many things will be regulated then which to-day even State Socialists would leave untouched. Efforts to reduce this coming danger by checking over-population are infinitely welcome to me; but will they succeed? In any case, whilst fifty years ago, when the shabbiest bourgeoisism exclusively prevailed, every effort towards Collectivism, Socialisation, some form of Communism, was a step forward; to-day, when man is considered the abject slave of a vague collectivity, when Eugenics touch the very roots of his private life, there is urgent need for some genuine Individualism again, and there will be more in coming times, to ensure even a minimum of personal freedom, nay, to preserve even that little freedom which we consider intangible now, but which the reformer or Eugenist of to-morrow is prepared to trample under his heels.

Communism is inseparable from abundance and plenty. Birds in an orchard catch and eat as many insects as they like, care or want; to them, when insects are plentiful, work, enjoyment, and feeding are almost the same thing, merge one into the other. In a similar way, a leisured artist or scientist enjoys his work, because he only does what he really likes to do, and his wealth provides him automatically with food, shelter, etc., to the full extent needed. To extend this happy way of living to all, who would not wish for it? But the material conditions described—impossibility of balancing production and consumption without mutual arrangement, and

the limitation of natural resources which is going to influence production technically and administratively—these two factors make ideal free Communism impracticable, and place free Communism on the same level as Individualist and Collectivist Anarchism, all three having the same aspirations towards freedom, and none having a royal way to realise it. When everybody sees this, then, of course, my remarks are superfluous, and I apologise for making them.

April 7, 1914.

M. N.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE—Ament the discussion over "Anarchism: Communist or Individualist?" I should like to add one observation, or, rather, a correction of the following statement made by "M. N." in his article in the March issue of FREEDOM: "It has come to this, that at the French Communist Anarchist Congress held in Paris last year Individualism was regularly stigmatised and placed outside the pale of Anarchism by a formal resolution." This assertion is incorrect. Let "M. N." publish this "formal resolution" in English, and it will be seen that it did not aim to exclude the adherents of Tucker, Proudhon, Warren, etc., from the intellectual camp of Anarchism. All the Congress did was this: it declared formally that those "Individualists" who recognise—in accordance with the late "motor-bandits," Bonnot, Garnier, and so forth—that "individual taking-back," i.e., theft, burglary, homicide, etc., is synonymous with the social expropriation which Anarchists strive for, are not to be recognised by the Communist Anarchists as belonging to the movement of Anarchism. I doubt very much whether English Anarchists of every distinction have acted differently at the time of the Houndsditch affair. The more so as we are sure that Tucker himself would very justly resent the imputation that men of the above calibre and deeds are to be termed his comrades.—Yours fraternally,

P. RAMUS.

### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

- Life According to Nature.* 3d. net.—*On the Personal Christian Life.* By Leo Tolstoy. 3d. net.—*How to Bring about a Social Revolution.* By Philip Oyster. 1d.—*Wealth for the Worker.* By Philip Oyster. 3d. net.—*Man or the State.* By Oisway M'Connell. 3d. net.—London: C. W. Daniel.
- The Revolutionary I.W.W.* 1d. London: I.W.W. Publishing Bureau, 166 Farringdon Road, E.C.
- Die Religion der Freiheit.* Von Paul Barthol. 10pfg. Berlin: Forsterstr. 2.
- The Unfinished Task.* By David Wenk. Los Angeles: The Author.
- Eighteenth Annual Report of the National Anti-Vaccination League.* London: Garrick House, 27 Southampton Street, W.C.
- Jarhbuch der Freien Generation für 1914.* 1 mark. Zurich: Rainer Trudler, Werdstrasse 10.
- The Pillars of Society—The Lady from the Sea—Rosmersholm—Ghosts—A Doll's House—An Enemy of Society.* By Henrik Ibsen. 7d. net each. London: Hendersons, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

Every new truth which has ever been propounded has, for a time, caused mischief; it has produced discomfort, and often unhappiness; sometimes by disturbing social or religious arrangements, and sometimes merely by the disruption of old and cherished association of thoughts. It is only after a certain interval, and when the framework of affairs has adjusted itself to the new truth, that its good effects preponderate; and the preponderance continues to increase, until, at length, the truth causes nothing but good. But, at the outset there is always harm. And if the truth is very great as well as very new, the harm is serious. Men are made uneasy; they flinch; they cannot bear the sudden light; a general restlessness supervenes; the face of society is disturbed, or perhaps convulsed; old interests and old beliefs have been destroyed before new ones have been created. These symptoms are the precursors of revolution; they have preceded all the great changes through which the world has passed.—*Buckle's "History of Civilisation."*

### FRENCH BOOKS ON SALE.

- The following volumes can be obtained from FREEDOM Office. Price 3s. post free:—
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" " "Réformes Révolution."  
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## PROPAGANDA NOTES.

*Deptford.*—With the co-operation of old and new comrades, we have formed the Deptford and Greenwich Freedom Group. We have held three successful meetings, with our comrade J. Walsh as speaker; other speakers have also turned up and helped. With the assistance of other active comrades in London, I am of the opinion that there is every possibility of having a big propagandist group in this district. Meeting places are:—

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May 31, High Spen, 11 a.m.

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**FOREST GATE.**—All Anarchists are specially invited to meet at Mr. Jones's, 19 Birchdale Road, Forest Gate, every other Friday, 8 to 10. Next meeting April 10.

**West London Anarchist Communist Group.**—Sunday, 11.30, Putney Bridge (Putney side); 8 p.m., The Grove, Hammersmith. Tuesday, 8.15, Walham Green Church, Fulham.

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