Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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LABOUR'S MARCH PAST.

THE Socialist Congress of Paris, 1889, did one useful thing. It called upon the workers of Europe to show their strength by means of a general demonstration on May Day this year. Certainly the Congress desired only that the workers should humbly ask their respective Governments to grant them a limitation of their daily hours of toil. But a large proportion of the workers were not content that the demonstration should be made an occasion for minimising their ideals. During the last weeks of April these comrades of ours energetically preached the Class War, Abolition of the State, and a General Strike, and with such success that the object of the Congress of Paris was almost entirely lost to view. The capitalist class, which is always as fearful of the future as the working class is hopeful, became thoroughly frightened, and the capitalist newspapers described the elaborate military preparations which were being made to prevent the workers holding meetings in the streets of Continental cities in such a way as to make one suppose a universal revolt was to be inaugurated at the break of day on May 1st. Evidently the Social Revolution is near at hand; evidently it is too late in the day to satisfy the workers, even in England, with the eight-hour day. These gatherings of the workers throughout Europe must have made that quite clear, and the leading men on the side of the capitalists would seem to think so too. M. Jules Simon may be considered a representative man, and one whose opinion stands for something, seeing that he was the principal French delegate to Kaiser William's Berlin Congress, and M. Simon looks forward "with grave apprehension to the effect upon Europe of this present labour agitation." "Alread ," says the old man, "I can hear mutterings of what must be the struggl of the future, a bitter struggle between the many and the few, between capital and labour, between luxury and starvation, between misery and wealth. No human power can avert that struggle." But the capitalists will put it off as long as possible; of that we may be sure. And they know that they will be in the greatest danger when the workers once gather together in Paris, Vienna, Berlin, and elsewhere, although the apparent object of the meeting may be only an Eight-Hour Bill. For this reason they determined at any cost to prevent large meetings, and in this they succeeded. If those meetings had taken place—if, for example, as many Frenchmen had met on the Place de la Concorde as gathered on May 4th in Hyde Park, they would hardly have been content with passing a resolution.

Paris and Vienna, the *foyers* of European revolutionary activity, may be said to have gained the honours of the day, for they contributed most towards the terror of the middle class. In the former city, the expectation of a serious move on the part of the workers led to the arrest of many active propagandists, including Louise Michel and our friend Dr. Merlino, who is personally known to many English comrades. Merlino is charged with distributing manifestos to the military, urging them not to commit murder by firing on the people, should they be so commanded. Charles Malato, the comrade whose letters on the French movement, published in *Freedom* from time to time, have been so much appreciated, has been arrested and sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment for an article in *L'Attaque*. The editor of that paper, Comrade Gegout, has received a similar sentence, and Comrade Weil, the publisher of *Le Père Peinard*, has also been sent to prison for a like period for an article in his paper. On the evening of April 30th the police broke into the office of *La Révolte* and stole a portion of the printing plant, alleging that the office was a clandestine one. Such is Liberty of the Press under a Republic. In Vienna troops were everywhere—guarding buildings and prepared to massacre people at the word of command. The workshops were all closed, the women and children were left at home, and the men of the working class marched solemnly through the streets and back to their indoor meeting-places, where speeches were delivered and resolutions passed. But it is evident the workers of Vienna are only waiting for the opportunity to act. "It is a rehearsal," said an Austrian statesman; "as for the real performance, it will take place some day, and soon too, when the military and police are unprepared." In Spain great activity prevailed, and especially where the Anarchist propaganda has made greatest headway. In Catalonia, which is the principal manufacturing district of the peninsula, work was suspended on Labour Day by all classes, from the labourer to the merchant; by the former to celebrate the Proletarian Fête Day, by the latter from fear. The day was, in fact, given over to the workers. In the following cities and towns the workers went out on strike for the eight-hour day:—Barcelona, Valencia, Sabadell, San Martin de Provensals, Gracia, Sans, Sangervasis, Reus, Alcoy, Antequera, Coruna, Lavagoras, Sanfehir de Gipols, Palafrugell, Palamos, Llagostera, Manllen, Roda, etc., etc. In Barcelona the character of the demonstration was openly revolutionary. A local tax-collecting office was burned, and when the state of siege was to be proclaimed, the people invaded and sacked the printing office in which the proclamation was being printed. And not only in the big cities, but in the small towns also, right throughout Europe from Oporto to Budapesth, from Kristiania to Cadiz, the workers mustered in sufficient strength at any rate to express their solidarity with each other and their earnest desire to realise the Social Revolution. Here in London also the day was not forgotten. A comparatively small but nevertheless a sturdy body of English workers belonging to the Anarchist groups, the Socialist League, and the Federation of Trades and Industries met to show that they also were solid with the workers of the Continent. Perhaps this meeting may have as good an effect upon the future as that in which the 300,000 took part on the Sunday following, although that certainly must have had a very important effect upon the minds of English employers of labour.

The 1st of May was really a warning to middle-class Europe, a kind of notice to quit. It is amusing to notice how surprised some of the capitalist papers were on May 2nd to find that nothing had happened. "It was not much of a demonstration anyhow," was the keynote of several of the leading articles in London papers. We presume this is only their way of saying, "What fools we were to be scared so!" But it looks as though the capitalists are somewhat impressed when even Lord Salisbury tells us from his place in the House of Lords:—"The truth is that those Socialist proposals are connected with great evils, and no one who is not absolutely blind will deny the existence of those great evils. How far we can grapple with them we do not know as yet. We are bound to give them the best of our attention. Undoubtedly we have come on an age of the world when the action of industrial causes, the great accumulation of population, and many other social and economic causes have produced great miseries, and added to the evils to which flesh is heir. It is our duty to do all we can to find remedies for those evils, even if we are called Socialists for doing so." And since the demonstration strikes have broken out in every quarter, many of which have been crowned with success. In Berlin the workers in several establishments have secured cessation from Sunday labour, the railway men of Vienna, the shipwrights of Leghorn, the weavers of Chemnitz, and many, many more varieties of workers have gained something, and, as M. Simon tells us, "the Socialists are so constituted that the more you concede, the more they demand." Every day the papers contain telegrams and articles describing fresh strikes and labour riots—to-day it may be in Spain, to-morrow in Hungary, to-day in France, to-morrow in Germany or Italy. Meanwhile the idea of a general strike is gaining ground daily. One of the latest converts to the Anarchist proposal of a general strike is comrade William Morris, and we do not doubt that most of the Socialist League agree with him and us on this point. Hope has been raised in the breasts of European workers; May Day has thoroughly convinced them that Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, in the fullest, truest sense, may be secured with but a little effort on their part. Who can doubt that they will soon make that effort? At the present moment Socialist and Anarchist ideas and ideals are being warmly welcomed by millions of workers. Everywhere there is a yearning for freedom from the capitalist yoke. And on the top of this ferment in the industrial world is coming a return of what is called Bad Trade, the monster of which Capitalism is the Frankenstein. It may be that this Bad Trade will act as a spur to the workers, who, seeing still deeper poverty and misery in inaction and a bright future to be gained by a forward movement, will attack the Bastille of Capitalism with such determination as to secure a speedy and permanent victory.

The Worker, of Brisbane, Queensland, the second number of which has just reached us from Australia, is a labour paper with broad Socialist principles. It has sixteen pages, and costs threepence. It is reprinting Bellamy's "Looking Backward" as a serial, and contains a long list of local unions. A quotation from its editorial columns will show its quality:—"If the workers of the world downed tools together this morning, in three hours a millionaire would be hungering, and in a week he would either be working for himself or be dead; in a month the roads would be impassable, and the kangaroos eating out the cattle and the dingoes eating up the sheep; in a year machinery would be rotting with rust and mines be falling in, and stranded ships be rent on the rocks or sunken in the undredged silt of river harbours."

REVOLUTIONARY ITALY.

(*From our Italian Correspondent.*)

THE economic situation in Italy could scarcely be more grave. For several months big bankruptcies have been announced every day, in the north as in the south and centre. It is, in fact, not a mere crisis, but a liquidation—an expropriation in legal form of the little capitalists, merchants, and proprietors by the lords of finance and politics. For if some have to sell, others buy, and at very good prices. New fortunes arise from the ruins of the old. The ruling class puts on a new skin.

A similar transformation is taking place in politics. With the death of Saffi, the last of the Mazzinians, the party who named itself after the proscribed of London, having already given up much of its ideal, is about to disappear altogether. Some of its members are passing over, arms and baggage, to the Government; others are ranging themselves on the side of the Socialists. In both cases the transformation is great. The former administer, thanks to the extension of the municipal suffrage, the communes and the charity organisations, and it is not worth our while to consider them any further. The others have made themselves leaders of the navvies' societies and contractors for public works, and discuss at the Ministries the plans as to new lines of railway. Of the two Socialists who were in the Chamber, one, a certain Moneta, has publicly announced his adhesion to the Monarchy; the other has been temporarily excluded from the Chamber, in spite of a discourse of a most humiliating character which he has delivered in his defence.

The Anarchists become more and more numerous and strong, and they are the only revolutionaries who trouble the sleep of the Government. The trial which recently took place at Rome of those implicated in the affair of February 8th finished with the acquital of all the accused. It is true, however, that they had already suffered one year's preventive detention, and that two of them died in prison as a result of the brutal violence of the police agents. These murders are a part of the system. Also, at the Milan trial, where thirty young Anarchists were accused of having started groups for propaganda and for action, called by the accusers "associations of malefactors," it was proved that the police had been guilty of brutal violence towards the prisoners; but the president of the Assize Court found that that was quite natural. Our comrades in this case were also acquitted, but after sixteen months of preventive imprisonment. It is remarkable that in both these trials a great number of young people of twelve, fourteen, and sixteen were amongst the prisoners. A Government which is afraid of such adversaries must surely have little confidence in its own strength. Besides, nothing has better proven than the Rome trial how fragile middle-class Governments are. It came out in evidence that the Government, in order to prevent riots, had given to a committee nominated by the unemployed workers the sum of ten thousand francs, the members of the committee undertaking, in return for this payment, to keep the starving workers quiet by advocating patience. But it appears that the people, especially when they are hungry, have a sort of second sight, for they suspected what had happened, and did not wish to listen to the blarney of their "leaders." They cried out against those who had sold them, and were so exasperated that it was only necessary for two Anarchist orators to say a few appropriate words in order to induce them to act. Thus the expedient devised by the Government to prevent a row was the very thing which provoked it. Once the people were in the streets, the Government lost its head. Contradictory orders were issued from the Ministry, the police spies fled before the crowd, the police (*carabinieri*) came up very leisurely after the crowd had gone, the troops were confined to their barracks, and the Ministers were afraid to send them out for fear that they might fraternise with the people. The Parliament House and the Quirinal, with all their inmates, were at the mercy of the crowd, if they had known how to take advantage of the situation. They began by pillaging a few little shops, and when they turned their attention to the big establishment of Montecitorio it was too late.

At the present time disturbances are beginning again. Quite recently a meeting at which Anarchist speakers were captivating the audience was dissolved by force. There is talk of establishing a Workers' League. Never were we so near to a Revolution.

ANARCHISM V. REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

Below we give the first instalment of a letter from our comrade Glasier of Glasgow, which we have had to hold back for some time on account of its great length for our small paper. He has divided it into three sections and we propose to deal with it in three issues of *Freedom*, giving one section and our reply threto this month, and the others in succeeding issues.

To the Editor of "Freedom."

DEAR COMRADE,—I thank you for your frank and clear replies to the queries which I addressed to you in *Freedom* for September, 1889. As these queries—although propounded in a rough and ready way—embrace the essential points of difference between Anarchist and Socialist teaching, you will perhaps allow me a few words of comment upon your replies. The three questions involve really the same principle and it is not possible to deal with your replies quite separately: I will however retain the original order as far as possible for the sake of reference.

1. The method, as defined by you, by which Anarchists would seek to achieve the social revolution, does not, so far as that method is possible of translation into actual effort, differ essentially from the method of revolutionary Socialists. You say "every worker should revolt against oppression and robbery on his own account whenever he has the power, and numbers of workers should freely band themselves together for that purpose." Again: "The Anarchist workers at the first opportunity will endeavour to organise themselves in free associations, and those who do not care to participate in the freedom and happiness of the people, may continue to support the idlers who now live upon their labour if they choose." With that I agree and I think all Socialists will agree. Socialists no more than Anarchists would submit to be robbed and oppressed if they had the power to effectually resist. they would instantly, though in a minority, abolish private property and class privilege *now* if they could. But surely it is evident that in our own country, for example, neither Socialist nor Anarchist can possibly do that even in a limited area while they are in the minority. How for instance, could five, ten, one hundred or one hundred thousand Anarchists, either in a single town or in many towns, take possession of a portion of the land or confiscate a factory without having to contend against the meanwhile overwhelming majority of the people with the certainty of defeat? "Anarchists," you say, "are in no way concerned as to whether a majority or a minority is in favour of such and such a thing. What they think about is whether the force over against them is stronger than the force on their side, and how they are to hold their own against a stronger force, which is by no means necessarily a majority." Precisely so; but there is nothing distinctively anarchistic about that. It is the principle of war—a principle that will be adopted by Socialists as well as Anarchists in the future, just as it is adopted by kings and political parties at present. If it is as young as freedom it is certainly as old as tyranny. Still, it is surely wise to remember, that fairly calculated the majority is always stronger than the minority and it is only at best by self-destructive battle that a minority can even temporarily maintain itself against a majority. It really seems to me, that in practice Anarchists like Socialists, will have to wait till they are themselves the majority or have somehow acquired the power to force others who are the majority into submission before they can hope to put in practice their ideas. In countries where the land is not appropriated by a class or where there exists no organised government—it might be possible for Anarchists to disregard the majority or minority around them, but they cannot do so in any "civilised" country. The truth of this is manifest in what occurs to-day in Britain, where Anarchist workmen have to submit to their employers and the law with no better show of resistance than their neighbours.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

(*To be continued.*)

Our friendly antagonist seems to be at a loss to understand the difference in the methods advocated respectively by the Anarchists and by the Revolutionary Socialists to effect the Social Revolution. We will do our best to make this perfectly clear. Comrade Glasier speaks of "acquiring the power to force others into submission," and here we think he put forward the Socialist's ideal very clearly as distinguished from ours. It is the ideal of the popular revolutionaries of France during the last century, and is indeed borrowed from them by the school of Socialists to which our comrade belongs. Put into other words this ideal consists in forming a revolutionary government. It is the ideal of the men of '48, of the Communalists of '71. But in our opinion it is a mistaken ideal. Revolutionary governments have paved the way for the reactionaries, for Louis Napoleon and Thiers. Revolutionary governments have hindered the action of the masses. And here is the great distinction between the Anarchist and the Socialist—in the machinery and method of carrying on the future society the Anarchist desires that there shall be no such thing as Government; no committees, councils and assemblies as those things are understood to-day in what is termed the administration of affairs. Anarchists have no desire to "acquire power to force others into submission." They desire not to coerce others but to be free from coercion themselves. We wish to organise in any way we please and to preach by example. The Revolutionary Socialists like the Social Democrats, appear to fear that the mass will object to act in the way which is best for themselves, whereas, in fact, the mass of individuals are always eager to copy their fellows and to borrow an idea. Coercion is quite unnecessary. The present society supplies myriads of instances where the average man follows the example of the more go-ahead specimens of humanity. Anarchists recognise this palpable truth and see that to put things right and secure the greatest possible happiness for all it is only necessary to emancipate man from the shackles of superstition, political and religious, from stupid laws, and from the monopolists upheld by such laws. If it were not for the coercion of the present system a physical force revolution would be unnecessary, the best intelligences would be leading the workers on to prosperity. But what do we find? The land, the raw material from which all wealth is produced, is monopolised by a class upheld by the much belauded government. As the result of that monopoly wealth itself in the form of factories, machinery, houses, food, clothing, etc., is monopolised and people starve because there is too much food, go in rags because too much clothes have been made, sleep under arches and odd corners because too many houses have been built and deprive themselves of all leisure because thousands of their fellows are anxious to do a share of their work. The reason of this is not as

the Governmental Socialists would have us believe, the need of a stronger government, but the very government itself, which by its meddling and by its protection of exploiters has produced the most outrageous disorder. That which so many believe is the regulator of society is really the mother of disorder.

It is quite true that the workers will have to get a considerable body of public opinion on their side before the expropriation of the capitalists and landlords can be begun, but this is quite another thing from an actual majority. There is a very large body of persons in every community who are only moved by personal interest—*i.e.*, those who politically speaking are said to be "on the fence." Now supposing the workers in a factory or a mine should fall out with their masters, these people will always stand aloof unless some powerful inducement is offered them to take sides. They will hesitate to make either side their enemy and on this account they are scarcely worth taking into consideration. The real danger to the worker consists in the forces of the governments, local and national, which may be brought against him by the expropriators. If he is strong enough to withstand these he need never fear the majority. But of course before the Revolution can be inaugurated there must be a goodly number of determined men ready to make matters quite clear to the exploiters. If only here and there rent is refused to the landlord the forces at his disposal will enable him to compel payment. If only here and there employers are told by their workpeople that they will no longer be allowed to monopolise the profits of the undertaking the capitalist will laugh and the workers will be compelled to go on as before. But if the workers all over the country, on the land and in the mines, factories, etc., show their determination, if the solidarity shown in the recent strikes becomes intensified when the great last strike of all takes place, and a revolt in one centre is followed by a rebellion in another, and the good example becomes contagious, the cause of the workers will be won—without a government.

This respect for the government which is fostered even by the Revolutionary Socialists is indeed the curse of the workers. The Anarchists have set themselves to undermine it, to destroy it in every possible way. By pointing out the hopeless incapacity of the government to aid us, its powerlessness for good; by showing that it is the mainstay of capitalism, by demonstrating that it is absolutely impossible under any system of election for it to represent the majority, and that it prevents the workers from emancipating themselves. This we are doing rapidly, but the work would go on much more rapidly if the Revolutionary Socialists would come over and help us.

ANARCHISM IN SCOTLAND.

"NEVER prophesy unless you know," is a motto which some of our Social Democratic friends would do well to take to heart. Their continued assertions that Anarchism will never take root in Great Britain, like the equally truthful forecasts of the Rev. Baxter with regard to the destruction of this planet, do not seem to have any foundation in fact, for Anarchists and Anarchist groups are now to be found in most large towns and cities where Socialism of any kind has gained adherents. Those who read our propaganda column will have learned from it that Anarchism flourishes in such English towns as Manchester and Norwich, but the progress of the idea in Scotland is less generally known. The writer has recently had occasion to spend a few months in the north and gladly availed himself of the opportunity to visit the Socialists and Anarchists in the land of cakes and obtain some idea of the strength of the Labour movement there.

Social Democracy, which never had a very strong hold on the Scotch people, appears to be losing ground rapidly. Of the half-dozen branches which were in existence a few years back only the one at Glasgow—which does very little, and numerically appears to be anything but strong—is left. Anarchism on the other hand is rapidly gaining ground. In Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow, there are many Anarchists, and as many more Socialists who believe with William Morris that "it is the business of Socialism to destroy the State and put Free Society in its place,"—which appears to be pretty much the same thing as Anarchism.

The group in Aberdeen which commenced operations only a few months ago, now consists of a number of energetic comrades who devote themselves to a study of the causes of the present evil condition of society, distribute Anarchist literature and carry on the propaganda in other ways.

In Dundee the most active organisation of workers is the local Labour Federation of which comrade Joseph Carr is the energetic secretary and James Aimer, another Socialist, president. Of the Socialist members of this organisation some are disposed to rely upon the interference of the State, whilst others rather incline towards self-help, but in practice the organisation adopts the Anarchist tactics of getting the workers to work out their own salvation. The Federation has already managed several labour disputes with considerable success, having obtained encouraging concessions from the exploiters for tramway and other workers. This success has caused the organisation to become deservedly popular and it now has a large number of members belonging to the various local trades and industries. The writer whilst in this town addressed a crowded meeting of workers and his anarchistic utterances were well received. The agent for *Freedom* and other anarchist literature in Dundee is William Cameron, 17 Lawrence Street. We understand that a group is in course of formation and would suggest that Dundee Anarchists who may read this article should put themselves into communication with Cameron at once. We hope in our next issue to give a report of a lecture on Anarchism which Comrade Cameron will shortly deliver.

It is very satisfactory to note that even amongst the Governmental Socialists in Scotland there is a strong tendency to resent centralisation. Scotch workers prefer to join local bodies over which they have themselves the control. This is a good step in the direction of Anarchism. In Edinburgh as in Dundee the Socialists have thrown in their lot with a local organisation instead of belonging to a mere branch of a body which is more or less controlled from London. The Scottish Socialist Federation is the name adopted by the body which includes all the organised Edinburgh Socialists and a very energetic body it is, including several Anarchists such as Bell, Smith, Mackenzie and others, one or two former members of the S. D. F., and a good many Socialists of the Morris type. On May 4th this body held a large and enthusiastic meeting in the Meadows and although the resolution, like the statement of principles of the organisation, was framed so that all Socialists could agree with it, the meeting was distinctly revolutionary in tone. The same evening an interesting meeting took place in the Society's rooms at which the writer opened up a discussion on the Futility of Government Action and was well supported by Melliet and other comrades.

In Glasgow the local branch of the S. L. includes some "good" Anarchists and a number of Socialists whose views are very much in accord with those of J Bruce Glasier referred to elsewhere. The distinction between Anarchists and such Socialists is not so very great and we shall be much disappointed if the evolution of thought in Glasgow does not soon result in the formation of a definite Anarchist body. It is only fair to the State Socialists to mention that there is also in Glasgow a local organisation professing State Socialism, the moving spirits in which are Nairn and Hutcheson, seceders from the S. D. F. Both of these men are good speakers and energetic, but Governmentalists though they are they appear to want to manage their own affairs.

SOCIETY ON THE MORROW OF THE REVOLUTION.

Translated from the French of JEHAN LE VAGRE.

VI.—THE EDUCATIONAL PERIOD.

We now have to deal with an objection which is brought forward by certain Socialists, but which should really be credited to the middle class. Not being able to deny the vices of the existing organisation and the necessity of a social transformation these people entrench themselves behind the exigencies of what they term progressive amelioration-and say to us "Certainly; you are quite right! What you say is excellent. It is really a desirable thing that the workers should obtain the whole product of their work; but you must not forget that you have to deal with society as it is; you have to take into account the ignorance of the masses. If all of a sudden we were to make the reforms you ask for we should run the risk of having the majority of the populace against us. It is not in this way that we must act. When the articles of consumption are so plentiful that men can help themselves without the fear of others going short; when men are intelligent enough to know that they ought to respect the liberty of others, then doubtless it will be possible to proclaim the complete liberty of the individual, to suppress all government. Let us get to this point gradually. At first let us instruct the people and when they are instructed they will obtain for themselves all you demand." With this sort of language the middle-class, without denying the legitimacy of our demands, succeeds in putting off their realisation to the Greek Kalends. Following this example certain Socialists tell us, "Your ideas are beautiful but they are not capable of being realised with the temperament of the French (referring to France or the English temperament when speaking of England). Certainly your ideal of society is magnificent in theory but impracticable in reality. When a transitional period shall have perfected humanity and destroyed the evil instincts of man your ideas can be applied without inconvenience, but in the meantime man must pass through that educational period which will bring him progressively to the end you have in view. From the commencement of the Revolution, however, or at any rate directly the struggle is terminated, it will be necessary to regulate the consumption according to the production of each so as to prevent the production being exceeded by the consumption."

We will deal with the danger of the want of products later on, but we venture to remark here to those self-styled Socialists that they appear to have a very peculiar idea of the economic revolution which they preach in theory. In practice they appear to desire nothing more nor less than a political revolution. That explains to us their manner of action in propaganda. Grouping themselves into committees for this purpose and committees for that, in local branches, district and national federations, etc., they hope to substitute in the course of the struggle their new organisation for the old, and already they begin to dictate their laws to us.

As we have seen in a previous chapter, the taking possesion of the machinery and soil cannot be accomplished by issuing decrees. Such a change of government could have no other result than to change the men in power, for directly the new government was established it would, if the economic changes had not already taken place during the struggle, either be carried away by a counter revolution or else, through diplomacy, be compelled to adjourn these measures—and once adjourned the people would have to wait for a very long time.

We Anarchists look at the Revolution which is being prepared from

a wider point of view. For us the Social Revolution cannot be accomplished like the political revolutions of the past after a day or two's fighting. According to the completeness of the propaganda which will have been made, according to the time that we may have before us to prepare it, this struggle will be more or less long, and may last for an indefinite number of years. To suppose that the middle class will allow itself to be despoiled of its privileges without resistance is to commit a grave error. The savagery displayed in the repressions, which have followed those revolutions where there has been only a tinge of Socialism, show us the sort of warfare that we shall have to carry on. Attacked boldly in its privileges, threatened with the loss of that which raises it above the mass, we may be sure that it will defend itself with all its strength, putting into play all the resources which give it the power it now possesses.

Now, whatever we may do we may be sure that our propaganda cannot penetrate everywhere to an equal degree. We can foresee that the middle class will intrench itself in the localities which have not been worked by us, and from thence will carry on the war against us, and cause to the new organisation all the embarassment it possibly can. There will then be between the new ideas and the old dying society an implacable and terrible struggle without any truce worth mentioning which may possibly last as we have said several years; and, who knows, perhaps several generations.

It is evident that during this period of struggle production must be organised so as to facilitate consumption. In our opinion this will be effected by individual initiative spurred into action by necessity.

In the beginning of the struggle the people urged on by want will go to the warehouses and take what they need and at the same time will place their labour force where it seems to them to be most necessary. Thus by practice they will become habituated to consume without troubling about where the products come from which they consume, and to produce without caring where the commodities go which they manufacture. In this way the workers will grow accustomed to Communism before the Commissions of Statistics have been able to agree amongst themselves on Value in Exchange. And this will take place spontaneously under the impulse only of example. If the Anarchists whom the propaganda will have made are fully conscious of the part they ought to play they will be able to carry the masses with them; it will suffice for them to resolutely put their theories into practice in order to demonstrate their advantages; and, as the mass understands plain matters and is always, even in times of revolutions, attracted by new ideas, the only thing which could prevent their being universally adopted would be an attempt to reconstitute authority. The duty of Anarchists is quite clear. It is to prevent the establishment of such authority.

INDIVIDUAL OR COMMON PROPERTY.

A DISCUSSION.

(*From an Individualist Correspondent.*)

PEARSON says we have to learn what is right and wrong by observation and experience. That being the case, he should drop Communism, for by experience it has not been found to answer. The more humanity advances, the more Communism recedes. Tom Pearson put the Individualist position very well when he said that "the real vital underlying principle of the conduct of well-developed human beings, when they are free to live after their own nature, is the wider egoism. By this we mean the sense of each that he must think and act and feel by and for himself on his own responsibility, and yet that neither in feeling nor in thinking nor acting can he cut himself off from his fellows without a terrible injury to his own self. Their good is his good and his good is their good." It is quite possible for individuals in co-operation to work mines, railways, shops, factories, and exchange products and services against other products and services. If the miners should demand too much for their products, that is to say, if they put too high a price on their commodities, other workers would arrive and do their work for less; that is competition, and competition is the guarantee of cheapness.

What fault do I find with the management of a railway to-day? It is not that the stock is the property of the stockholders apart from the operatives; I see no harm in that. The essential evils are the paying of dividends to those stockholders, and the fact that the operatives, not having access to the means of production, are compelled to accept a salary not equal to the service they render. When workers organise exchange among themselves and have access to raw material, they will refuse any salary which is not equivalent to the full value of the product or service they render. Then there will be no room for interest or profit. In stating his own position Pearson states ours; but unfortunately his Socialist prejudices prevent him from carrying his principles to their logical conclusion. He says that he doubts very much whether free competition and free contract would reward the workers according to their natural abilities. The antitheses of competition and contract are monopoly and government; does he think that natural ability will find its reward as long as they exist?

When the State Socialist declaims against competition, it is very clear that he wants to establish his own Government monopoly. He refuses to observe that if competition were free monopoly could not exist, and that when competition had effected its purpose the ground would be clear for the fullest and most complete co-operation. The Individualist-Anarchists look to free competition in banking for the solution of the social problem: to make of all labour products represented by paper current money, and to dispense with the costly and insufficient gold basis of credit. Credit is to industry what the circulation of the blood is to the animal—the organ of nutrition, life itself. We claim that this is the first and real step to be taken, and that in social matters outside of the question of credit is only Utopia. HINDS GREEN.

THE PROPAGANDA.

BETHNAL GREEN. On Sunday morning, May 18th, Albert Tarn lectured at the North-East Bethnal Green Radical Club on "The Abolition of the State."

EAST LONDON.—On May 1st an Anarchist Demonstration was held in Princes Street Hall, at 8 p.m. Amongst the speakers were Tom Pearson (Freedom Group), Kahan, and Yanousky.

FREEDOM DISCUSSION MEETINGS.—The fourth and last of the series held at the Autonomie Club, Windmill Street, W.C., took place on the evening of May 24th, and was well attended. The discussion was opened by comrade J. Turner on "Free Co-operation." He contended that men in an unexploited condition freely co-operated in their struggles for daily existence, and that the best organisation must be self-organisation, as none could know better than the workers themselves the extent of their needs and capabilities. It would not only lead to the higher development of man, but it would give the producers all the benefit of their labour, instead of the lion's share going, as it did to-day, to the organiser or capitalist. Opposition was offered by Tipping and Donald, support being given by Green, Morton, Kenworthy aud others. Comrades will be glad to hear that the collections at these meetings have been unusually large, the whole amounting to 17s. 9d., which, after paying all expenses of advertisement, etc., left a surplus of 4s. 8d. towards the Propaganda Fund. Our best thanks are due to the comrades of the Autonomie Club, who so kindly lent their club-room. The second series, held at 117, Old Street, City Road, in the room kindly lent by the Gleichheit Club, was opened May 8th, by Comrade Barlas, who read a brilliant paper entitled "Principle *v.* Expediency." Comrade Netlow raised a point based on his understanding the lecturer to say that Anarchism was purely a matter of principle, and not at all of expediency, which he, and many others that he knew, had not found to be the case. Comrad Barlas, in reply re-read a portion of his paper, that *apparent* expediency often proves anything but expedient. A few remarks were made by Kaufmann, Henry, Pearson, Wess, and others. A collection of 4s. 8d. was made. The second discussion took place May 15th, when Comrade Marsh read an interesting and thoughtful paper on "Crime *v.* Punishment." The room was crowded. but at first there seemed no prospect of a discussion, as the Social Democrats of whom a great number were present, declared that they fully agreed that crime to-day was only the outcome of our unhealthy political and social life, and a disease only developed to a greater extent by punishment. Comrade Casey expressed surprise that the theories brought forward by the lecturer should receive the approval of the Social Democrats, as he had always understood that prisons, police, and pnnishment were to be essential to the welfare of the State under Social Democracy. This had the effect of raising a lively debate, in which Kaufmann, Neilson, White, H. Davis, N. F. Dryhurst, Bruce, Wess, Mellenger, Pearson, and Morton took part. The Democrats contended that their prisons would be so many moral hospitals and spiritual doctors, and their laws such as no one would want to disobey. The collection amounted to 2s. 8d. Comrade Casey has kindly promised a weekly donation of 1s. to assist our propaganda work.

GRAY'S INN.—Comrade Milburn (Freedom Group) has been doing good work among the men employed at Sage's Factory by addressing meetings and advocating the reduction of the daily hours of labour, a rise in wages, and the abolition of overtime. A resolution to this effect has been adopted by the employés, and we understand that further steps are to be taken.

HYDE PARK.—On the 11th and 18th May, Tarn spoke here in the afternoons.

NORWICH.—On Sunday, May 18th, Walter Neilson (Freedom Group) spoke to a good meeting in the Market Place. The Freedom Group in this city intend to commence at once a vigorous propaganda in the neighbouring villages by means of open-air meetings and the distribution of literature. On May 18th Poynts (Norwich Freedom Group) and another comrade made a favourable impression on a good meeting at Coltishall.

ST. PANCRAS.—Sunday evenings, at 106, Hampstead Road. On May 4th Pearson opened a discussion on "Free Communism *v.* Social Democracy." Good discussion, in which Neilson and Linden joined. On May 11th Walter Neilson opened on "The Dangers and Fallacies of Democracy." Mrs. Hicks, Moore, Burrows, Groombridge, Pearson and others took part in the discussion.

WEST LONDON.—At the Autonomie Club Anarchist discussions are held every Sunday evening, at 9. On April 27th, Hinds Green opened to a good meeting on "Mutual Banking." Harrigan, Pearson, Linden, and others took part in the discussion. On May 18th Attersoll opened on "Individual Liberty."

YARMOUTH.—On Priory Plain Walter Nelson spoke, on May 18th, to a large and attentive audience.

"Freedom" Publication Fund.—J.G., 1s.; A.M., 3s. 3d.; R.G., 5s. 4d.; H.G., 11s.

PROPAGANDIST LITERATURE.

A Revolucao Social, the Anarchist journal of Oporto, is, we are glad to note, translating "The Wage System" into Portuguese.

From the office of *La Revolte*, Paris, we have received a copy of the third French edition of "Aux Jeunes Gens," by Peter Kropotkine, known to English Socialists as "The Appeal to the Young." That it will have an extensive sale who can doubt?

No. 1 of "Protoplasm" has appeared. It hails from Edinburgh, has 16 very small pages and some very interesting matter. We presume it is a gratuitous paper as no price is stated. It contains articles on "The 8-hour Demonstration," "Trade Unionism," etc., and lengthy quotations from August Spies, Thomas Carlyle and Frederick Harrison. We shall look out for No. 2.

Our comrades of the "Autonomie" Group have just issued "Das Lohn System," a German translation of our pamphlet "The Wage System," which has also appeared as a serial in *Die Autonomie*. "Die Martyrer von Chicago" is another pamphlet just issued by the same group, which contains extracts from the speeches of our murdered and imprisoned Chicago comrades, their portraits, and other matters of interest in connection with that stirring episode in the Social War.

"The Anarchist Labour Leaf" is the title of a little four-page monthly paper which has just made its appearance under the auspices of the East London Communist Anarchist group. It is published gratis and should be widely distributed. We are often asked for leaflets for distributing purposes and we take this opportunity of suggesting to comrades in the provinces who require such literature that they should apply for a supply of this little paper. It can be had from H. Mackenzie, 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road, London, N.E., who also receives contributions to pay the expenses of its publication.

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