

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM

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MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

The Proof of the Pudding lies in the eating.

THE elections are over. The dust kicked up by the hoofs of parliamentary asses is beginning to settle. There may be (we hope there are not) some people in a blessed state of expectation regarding the many benefits likely to be showered upon them by the "Great Liberal Party" with its mongrel majority, led by the Grand Old Millstone. If there are, we can only say to these deluded ones: "Work as much pleasure out of the anticipation as you can, for it is perfectly certain you will get nothing else!"

Years pass, parliament perpetually gives a stone instead of bread to those who are foolish enough to ask of it what they ought to devote their energy to doing for themselves, "and yet a large number of people give thought and time and means to Parliament as if it were Providence itself. As a rule," we quote from the leading article in the "Echo" for August 15, "the time and attention given to politics produce but little corresponding benefit. If a man cultivates a field, or builds a ship, or makes buttons, or teaches children, or prints books, or paints a picture, or writes a song, he, or society, is generally rewarded in proportion to the quantity and the quality of the work done. How different is the result in the pursuit of politics. Take, for instance, the last General Election. In money alone that election must have cost those actively engaged in it at least a million sterling."

Probably, for the expenses of the General Election of 1885 were over a million, each vote costing, says "a Returning Officer" writing to the "St. James's Gazette," about 4s. 5d. And this is not wonderful when, according to the same authority, the successful candidate for South Ayr spent £240 on "ballot boxes," Mr. Hamar Bass of West Staffordshire £600 for "personal expenses," and a North Bedfordshire candidate over £1000 on "agents and advertising." Whereas, as some criterion of the BONA FIDE costs of an honestly conducted election, we may mention that several East End seats cost £225 or under, and the joint expenses of Bradlaugh and Labouchere at Northampton were under £270. This money, remember, has been made out of the workers' toil, it is thus spent without their consent, and all they get for this involuntary expenditure on their part is plenty of windy speeches and a few ineffective acts of Parliaments,—of which the Corrupt Practises Act is one. This act has been again tinkered up since 1886, but it is no secret in political circles that this last election has been more costly than the one before.

The expenditure of money has, however, been but a small part of what the election cost. To quote further from the "Echo": "For years a majority of the candidates were nurturing their respective constituencies. They were either addressing meetings, or circulating literature, or writing letters, or paying personal visits, or were in some way or other engaged in securing or conciliating voters. As it was with the candidates, so it was with rival local political organisations. If the same or a similar amount of time, ability, anxiety, and activity were expended in promoting education, or advancing social questions, in which all alike are interested, and in which there was no stultification of energy, the nation would have a tenfold greater harvest of result. But the loss arising from the contest is immeasurable. The friction, the consumption of power, the antagonisms, the alienation, and bad blood produced, the contraction or suspension of other useful work, have been enormous. There was in almost every town and village of the country, for several weeks a social war, and a social war that involved considerable moral loss to the community. And for what? No one can answer the question.... The combatants mostly fought over a phrase. And the war is not ended. It is only just begun. It is transferred from the hustings to the House of Commons. Just as rival candidates endeavour to crush each other at the poll, rival party Members will now try to crush each other in Parliament. In this way the neutralisation of force and the waste of life will be continued. And the saddest part of the business is that these mutually destructive representatives think that THEY are promoting national well-being. They strut about as if they were the benefactors of society instead of being hindrances to the progress of society."

Surely it is a sign of the times when we find a capitalist newspaper writing in such a strain as this. More especially a professedly liberal, nay, radical paper. For the indictment is not against men, measures or parties, but against representative institutions, against the waste of energy over elections and parliaments, energy which might be better devoted to direct practical action. What a striking contrast to the high hopes of the earlier radicals! What a change from the days when Mill spoke of representative government "as the ideally best polity," and

dwelt on the very exercise of the franchise as "a potent instrument of mental improvement"; when John Bright was indignant with those who had not yet attained a "proper estimate of the value of the franchise"; when the whole economic side of the great popular agitation of 1838—48 was swamped by the agitation for certain electoral and parliamentary reforms.

The "Echo's" criticism reminds us of a cartoon in "Punch" some time ago. Gladstone is offering Hodge the County Franchise. Hodge: "Am oi to be a power in t' staat? What be oi t' get by tha'at?" Gladstone: "It is not, my dear friend, what you are likely to get by it, but what I can make out of it."

Just so. At last even the organs of capitalist opinion are beginning to hint at the truth that there was never a government which did not primarily exist to keep in office, protect the monopoly of property holders, and hold the masses in subjection. The present administration will be no exception. It will grant the people the concessions they wring out of it, the measures by which it hopes to retain its tenure of power, nothing more. The whole of the human energy expended in putting it in office is a sheer waste. Nay worse, it is downright mischievous. It has been taken away from useful efforts to cope with the crying needs of the day, to keep up and perpetuate a miserable imposture. It has been expended to patch up a rusty old machine, which serves no purpose, and can serve none, but to encourage slavish helplessness and dependance amongst people whose only hope lies in learning to depend on themselves and act on their own initiative.

Workers! Throw over the politicians, do not vote them into power, show their touts the door, informing them at the same time that you have begun to think for yourself, and that when your fellow men do likewise, you will pull down this worn out edifice—government—and leave the people free to live in happiness and comfort. No Government, whether it be Liberal, Radical, Tory, Labor or Social-Democratic; no "committees of public safety" to blossom into full-grown tyranny. No, thanks! To put it vulgarly, "We've had some." An end to General Elections, let's have the Social Revolution.

REIGN OF HUNGER.

V.—REMEDIES. (Continued.)

This, then, is what those of us who are awakened to the real meaning of the Reign of Hunger must needs do: rouse any and every one we can reach to the sense that the dissatisfaction they groan under is in greatest part a result of the artificial inequality kept up in human relations by our present method of social co-operation for existence; that this inequality is by no means an essential factor of social life, but the fruit of certain special tendencies, to wit, monopoly, exploitation and domination; that the said tendencies to monopolise, exploit and dominate are not the natural expression of healthy human capacities under normal conditions, but of the diseased, perverted state of such capacities; that these diseases or perversions, being once plainly recognised for what they are, may be cured, and human relations made healthy and natural, so that a free and equal mode of co-operation may be established in place of the existing unfree and unequal method; that this cure cannot be expected to come from any outside agency, but must be effected by the vital energy of the sufferers themselves, by exerting their will in this direction and shaking themselves loose from all that keeps up the disease; that the said cure must therefore necessarily work in two ways, must consist, 1st, in the destruction of external artificial barriers to equality, such as the recognised authority of governments, private ownership of the means of production and so forth, 2nd, in the larger growth in men's minds of those special capacities which free and equal co-operation demands, such as sympathy, reverence for man, trustworthiness, intelligent self-control; finally, therefore, that the destruction of barriers and the creative force of the enlarged capacity for healthy social relations are two manifestations of what is essentially one and the same movement, the same rising tide of vital human energy, the inward growth causing the outward destruction of what bars its expansion.

Once the more energetic part of the people are roused to realise these facts, free and equal human relations will become a possibility of the near future. The more energetic part we say, because, when the public mind has grown ripe for some great revolution, there are always a comparatively small number of born initiators, who go forward and start it, while the great numbers look on, acquiesce, then lend a hand, give the movement the momentum of their solid weight behind it, slowly fall into the new routine, and the change is accomplished.

The revolution we desire and foresee is, mentally and morally, perhaps the greatest, the most fundamental the world has yet seen and the

ferment of its preparation must needs be long and terrible, the foregoing travail of heart and brain intense. We are not amongst those Socialists who conceive that the main difficulty lies in setting agoing the material changes which are the outward and visible portion of this gigantic revolution. We do not underrate the enormous weight of custom, routine, prejudice and established order, or the complication of the machinery of inequality, which plays a part in every action of daily life. We do not deny that this has not been made and imposed upon us all in a piece, but has grown up gradually, until we have taken it for granted as a matter of course, and hardly know how the world would seem without it. All this we do not deny. But we do say: The obstacle to progress formed by all this is an obstacle in men's minds rather than in any outward material facts. Once a sufficient number of the workers have made up their minds what of all this is essential and what is not, and are resolved to devote their whole energy to getting rid of what they feel non-essential and hurtful, they can take effective measures to put an end to the material conditions which oppress them without any overwhelming difficulty. The preparation of heart and mind for the new growth, for the reorganisation of social relations and methods of co-operation, there is the crucial point; not the way in which the old dead growths may be discarded, the old organisation overthrown.

We repeat what we have said before; if the workers of Europe and America, or say the skilled and organised workers only, or the workers of this country, even only those engaged in the main industries and means of communication, made up their minds for a GENERAL STRIKE, they would at once paralyse the existing economic system. If they struck with the fixed purpose of taking common possession of land and capital and in future being their own employers, they could bring the privileged classes to their knees in a week. Even the threat of such a strike, if it were seen to be a reality, would, very possibly, have an overwhelming effect. For, could the workers but realise it, they, the poor, despised, hard-driven wage-slaves, hold in their power the supplies of the whole community. Human beings cannot live on money or credit. They must have food and clothes and houses. If the actual producers of food and clothes and houses, and those who convey the necessities of life from the places where they are produced to the places where they are needed, refuse to go on supplying the privileged classes with them on the present terms, the privileged classes must make fresh terms to escape starvation. Just the same power that a capitalist holds over his wage-slaves in the partial, short-sighted strikes of to-day, do the workers, if they could only realise it and act together, hold over the whole monopolist class: they can starve them out. What use are the possession of money, credit, articles of luxury, when the necessities of life cannot be got because the means of communication are closed? What use is the possession of the means of production to men having neither the skill nor the necessary numbers to employ those means productively? If the monopolists of land and capital and of so much stored up wealth cannot get other slaves in place of the revolted ones, they must of necessity treat with the rebels. They crush petty and partial attempts at rebellion to-day because so far strikes have come singly, and blacklegs can generally be procured to help out the capitalist as against their own mates. For the public mind is not yet fully ripe for a far reaching change of social relations, and too few of the workers have as yet grasped the situation. They need only time and experience, and just now the lessons of experience are following hard upon one another. Probably we have not long to wait until the mass will be so deeply leavened with the new ideas that it will be possible for the men of action to go forward, secure of the general sympathy.

When they can do so; when strikes break out, in every direction at once, in the main industries and means of communication, with a declared purpose commanding the sympathy of the mass of the workers, so that even if they do not all act with the strikers, they will not act against them, such strikes will ring the knell of capitalism. And the more general, the more international they are, the more complete will be the freedom the strikers will gain for the reorganisation of their work and the enjoyment of its fruits on a rationally social basis. All will then depend on their mental and moral readiness to make the best of the opportunity.

Do we seem to have forgotten government, its army, its police? But in anything approaching to a GENERAL strike what could governments do? They subdue and crush down, not by dint of their own strength, but the superstitious folly and helpless isolation of their opponents. When one of our isolated economic revolts occurs, the government backs up the capitalist by protecting blacklegs and punishing the more energetic rebels by law. It is able to concentrate all its attention on one spot, or at most on two or three. Even then, recent events in America show how a really determined attitude temporarily bewilders and paralyzes the authorities.

But in face of a genuine economic insurrection a government, at least a modern democratic government, with only citizen soldiers at its command, would be simply powerless. Its troops could not be everywhere at once, especially with cut telegraph wires, broken bridges and dislocated railways to hinder their movements. It could not drive the revolted producers back to their factories and workshops at the point of the bayonet, or force them to labor on conditions they were determined not to accept. It could only resort to threats and diplomacy. The most serious danger the workers have to dread from a middle-class government is its plausible concessions, its proffers of impartial investigation and settlement of disputes. Many of their enemies would doubtless gladly shoot them down, but under the conditions of a general strike such measures would appear too dangerous to the shooters. To a general strike the resistance would only be feeble, partial, despairing.

The more general the strike, the less the risk of bloodshed. As France saw in 1789, a class, even a privileged class in possession, cannot crush the revolt of a people, even when only the minority are active rebels. And more especially is this the case where the privileged class is not united in defence of its class interests, where many of its members are ready, from sympathy or policy, to join the popular side. In England now, who can doubt that this would be so? A general strike, or even probably a wide-spread strike, threatening to become general, would make the English workers masters of the situation.

To bring about a social revolution, it is utterly needless to accept either of the alternatives "a policy of parliamentary action or of dynamite," those two horns of an imaginary dilemma on which our adversaries are so fond of trying to thrust us. They misread the whole drift of the popular movement, or they would see plainly that neither parliaments nor bombs can make a revolution. And, without a recourse to either policy, English workmen can, when they choose, take possession of the land and plant they use in their work, of all that is needed to place them in a position to make reasonable terms of social equality with their former masters, and become free men directing their own work and eating its fruits. It needs only that they should open their eyes and make up their minds. The difficulty lies not in the doing, but in forming the effective desire to do.

SHELLEY.

A MAN who has an idea for which he lives and labors, an intense love, let us say, for liberty, truth and justice, will be met at every step by the crowd of men who have no ideal at all beyond their pockets, and these will tell him, after jeering at his hare-brained enthusiasm, that he and his ideas are out of place in this work-a-day world, and that he is a fool for his pains since men and women are not angels and never will be.

The poet Shelley, born just a hundred years ago, who loved liberty, truth and justice, had experience of this in his brief life, which lasted barely thirty years. Now, however, only seventy years after his death, the centenary of his birth is being celebrated by the "leading literary spirits" of the day. This fact will give us some idea of the rapid growth of ideas which the present century has seen. For we must remember that Shelley brought to the world ideas more bold and revolutionary than any which had been heard of since Bruno attacked the Catholic dogma. True, science had been preparing the way for new ideas; but Shelley was one of the first Englishmen to grasp the great import to mankind of the discovery of these truths. He knew that liberty of thought must, sooner or later, logically end in liberty of action, and his faith in freedom was such that he poured forth to mankind in unsurpassed language the most startling truths—truths which no calumny could kill, and which we Anarchists to-day are striving hard to get accepted. In fact, after making all allowance for the immense evolution of ideas in every path of human development since his death, we yet can admire him, sympathise with him and study him as if he were a young poet living now and inspired with the ideas which inspire us to-day. Whether understood or not, the DESIRE for equality has always existed. Shelley knew this and expressed it in one line—

"Eldest of things, divine Equality!"

And here is a picture of freedom which makes one sigh for its realisation,—

"My brethren, we are free! The plains and mountains,
The grey sea-shore, the forests, and the fountains,
Are haunts of happiest dwellers; man and woman
Their common bondage burst, may freely borrow
From lawless love a solace for their sorrow—
For oft we still must weep, since we are human.
A stormy night's serenest morrow—
Whose showers are pity's gentle tears,
Whose clouds are smiles of those that die
Like infants without hopes or fears,
And whose beams are joys that lie
In blended hearts—now holds dominion;
The dawn of mind, which, upwards on a pinion
Borne, swift as sunrise, far illumines space,
And clasps this barren world in its own bright embrace!"

It is interesting to note how words change in their application, sometimes having their meaning narrowed down, sometimes having it extended or re-applied till they become almost self-contradictory. All words are subject to the law of change, some more than others. Religion, which once meant conformity to an established church, is now so widened in its application that Belfort Bax writes on the "Religion of Socialism," and we shall hear soon perhaps of the "Religion of Atheism." Revolution is another word which has undergone a great change. At one time it was almost wholly synonymous with bloodshed and barricades, now, however, we regard it as applying to any great change which implies a new departure in any field of human activity, no matter by what means that change may be brought about.

Having said so much, it will be clear in what sense Shelley used the word Anarchy and in what sense we use it. We use the word as gage of battle to all government and authority. Shelley used it to denote those self-same abuses of government which we combat. The following verse from the "Masque of Anarchy" will make this clear,—

"And he [Anarchy] wore a kingly crown;
In his hand a sceptre shone;
On his brow this mark I saw—
'I am God, and King, and law!'"

Men whose miserable natures regard woman only in the light of a useful domestic animal, and cannot conceive of love existing between

man and woman without the fulsome meddling of church or state, some such men have tried to blacken Shelley's memory because of his advocacy of free love. Shelley knew full well you could have no love which was not free; you might "bind" it after it was freely given, but then it was love in spite of its fetters and not because of them. To Shelley belongs the perennial honour of having written the finest love-poetry in the English language. More than this. He placed the ideal of free love on a pinnacle which is unassailable by the vulgar conventionalists, who are quite content with legalised prostitution—for such many of their so-called "society marriages" amount to and nothing more.

Here are a few lines wherein Shelly's ideas are clearly set forth,—

"I never was attached to that great sect
Whose doctrine is that each one should select
Out of the crowd a mistress or a friend,
And all the rest, though fair and wise, commend
To cold oblivion
True love in this differs from gold and clay,
That to divide is not to take away.
Love is like understanding that grows bright
Gazing on many truths narrow
The heart that loves, the brain that contemplates,
The life that wears, the spirit that creates,
One object and one form and builds thereby
A sepulchre for its eternity!"

Shelley's poems are a storehouse of splendid thoughts clothed in lovely language, and surely we cannot better celebrate the centenary of his birth than by studying and enjoying the works he has left us, which for Anarchists especially are a golden harvest. Besides, there is the character and individuality of the man, which are as grand and admirable as his poems. Morally and physically courageous, possessed, indeed, of all those finer feelings which our wretched social system does its best to crush, the marvellous consistency of his conduct through life with the ideal which he preached is astonishing to weaker mortals. There is no space here to speak in adequate terms of the work he has done for humanity. That work will be felt as long as the human race exists.

Perhaps we cannot do better than conclude with a prophecy of his,—a prophecy which we trust the present generation may yet live to see fulfilled.

"Fear not the tyrants will rule for ever,
Or the priests of the evil faith;
They stand on the brink of that raging river
Whose waves they have tainted with death.
It is fed from the depth of a thousand dells,
Around them it foams and rages and swells;
And their swords and their sceptres I floating see,
Like wrecks on the surge of eternity."

A. M.

SOME OBJECTIONS TO ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

A REPLY TO THE "REFEREE."

[Continued from August number.]

Last month we explained in rough outline, 1st, the Anarchist way of looking at differences of opinion; 2nd, the sort of methods by which we believe disputes and unsocial conduct would be dealt with by an Anarchist Community. It remains to reply to the objection that Anarchist-Communists are proposing a very rash experiment; Anarchy never having been yet tried in a civilised society, and "every community in the world now practising law" having "begun with Anarchy and found it a failure."

To begin with, we think the *Referee* would have a very great difficulty in proving the assertion that existing societies possess a government enforcing a written code because they have found that Anarchy is a failure. We do not know a community of which Herbert Spencer's celebrated dictum is not true, i.e., that governments have been both founded and maintained by aggression and war. English freedom has certainly been thus lost. Our earliest accounts of English societies represent them as regulating their internal relations by mutual agreement, custom and free association; and show us this free condition gradually destroyed, not by the general sense that it was undesirable, but by the brutal conquest of community by community, or tribe by tribe, and above all, by the usurpations of successful war leaders and soldiers. Little by little, strong and ambitious kings and their principal companions in arms appropriated both land and authority over those who dwelt on it, gradually extending their jurisdiction until it absorbed the free organizations which had spontaneously grown up for mutual aid and protection, and reduced them to a part of the machinery of feudalism or mere instruments for the exercise of royal prerogative. The early English lost the large liberty of their original social system, because in those troublous times of perpetual warfare they did not know how to defend it; not because they found it impracticable. As to a written code, the first we hear of emanated from a successful war- duke, Ina of Wessex, and was apparently used by him, as written laws have been used by so many succeeding kings, to consolidate his authority, and force all the dwellers in the territory he had reduced to submission to live according to one set of customs, of which he did his utmost to increase his importance by constituting himself the guardian.

So much for the past; but the past is gone for ever, societies (for England is no solitary exception) have been forced under the yoke of the strongest, have developed under the regime of law and authority; the question remains, is the experiment of now abolishing these restraints too dangerous to be tried?

Perhaps, before we deal with this question, it would be wisest to enquire: is such an experiment likely to be tried at all, within an appreciable future? If law and authority have gone on strengthening their hold over social life ever since they first grew up in early society, they must now have secured a grasp from which it would be the idlest of dreams for a handful of Anarchists to attempt to gain freedom.

Is it not, however, a matter of history that, for several centuries at least, authority has been on the wane in civilized societies? Have we not in England, for example, been fighting against it with success ever since the Reformation, itself a great victory over authority in matters of opinion? Is it not a truism that the tendency of our civilized societies has been to pass from absolute to constitutional monarchy, from monarchy to republicanism, a republicanism more and more democratic. In politics it is now representative government which is on trial, and by some already found wanting. Whilst, on the other hand, authority in religion, in morals, in opinion generally, has been almost wholly discarded, its claws cut, its fangs drawn. The battle of freedom of thought is fought out, that of freedom of expression is almost won, the contest is beginning to rage fiercely round freedom of action. The same tendency is discernable in every social relation, in marriage, in the family, between masters and servants, employers and workmen, in the decline of respect for office and rank, for sovereigns and aristocracies, for parliaments and magistrates. Everywhere authority is questioned, disputed, required to give a reason for its pretensions.

The rapid growth of this wide-spread spirit of revolt in our own times is no Anarchist delusion. It is almost impossible to pick up a Conservative publication without finding lamentations over the loss of all respect for authority, including law itself, and exhortations to the powers in possession to do something to avert the coming ruin. We Anarchists only differ from Conservatives in regarding this tendency with hope instead of despair; while we differ from the Liberals, (Fabians and other State Socialists included) in not ignoring the rise of the stream, and in not believing that the flood can finally be checked and diverted into artificial channels by temporising reforms, which shall combine economic well-being with submission to the authority of the majority and their "representatives." Like Conservatives we believe that the authoritarian element in social co-operation is doomed, but, unlike them, we are convinced that the result will be, not confusion and pan-destruction, but closer and more harmonious social relations.

But even if it be inevitable, the future towards which the rapid decay of authority is hurrying us is strange, unknown? Yes, and so has every social phase mankind has passed through appeared to the society about to enter it. In every epoch of change there have been many who have cried out that progress must be stopped at all costs or ruin would ensue. Even such changes as the abolition of negro slavery the abolition of capital punishment for theft, or the reform of Parliament were in their time looked upon with terror as perilous leaps in the dark; but society instead of being unhinged by them has gone on as before, only a trifle better. Whether we like it, or choose to recognize it or not, societies that have life and growth power in them must change, must go forward. Our past is not so lovely that we should regret, nor the present so satisfying that we should desire to retain it. Let us have the courage to look boldly in the face the future that life seems to be holding out to us, that, as far as may be, we may gain courage by realising its highest possibilities and being prepared for its dangers.

More, in the great social fermentation amid which our lot is cast we cannot ourselves remain passive spectators. Being ourselves living units of a living society we must take what active part we can in the work of social development, warring against what we believe evils, striving for what seems to us the best method of deliverance from them. This is the attitude of an Anarchist propagandist.

If the *Referee* will have patience with us for another month, we will do our best, in our October issue, to explain on what grounds we are so convinced of the capacity of social relations to survive the destruction of authority, as not only to regard that destruction with equanimity but to do our best to forward it.

ANARCHISM IN AUSTRALIA.

Comrades Andrews and Schellenberg write us that a small group at Smithfield, New South Wales, is doing what propaganda it can by lectures and literature. In June, Comrade Schellenberg lectured on "Anarchy, the true Socialism," and issued a leaflet explaining that liberty is the aim of true or Anarchist Socialism, while the Democratic sort would only make each of us the slave of the majority. As a sample of what Anarchist Communism means, he advises people to read Morris's "News from Nowhere." "Liberty," he concludes, "cannot be given but must be taken." Comrade Andrews sends us a leaflet in verse, "Neither God nor Law," with an effective stamp enclosing the words "Anarchy is the only Freedom; Liberty, Reason, No Rule." We trust our comrades may be successful in spreading their views.

THE WALSALL PRISONERS.—Deakin's brother has received a printed form filled up by him, stating that he is well and has been removed to the Isle of Wight (Portland?). There is reason to believe that Charles is now at Portsmouth.

LA REVOLTE : ORGANE COMMUNISTE-ANARCHISTE. Paraissent tous les Samedis. Administration : 140, rue Mouffetard, Paris.

L'HOMME LIBRE : ORGAN DE COMBAT POUR L'EMANCIPATION DES TRAVAILLEURS. Tous les Samedis. Administration : 27, rue Montagne-de-Sion, Bruxelles, Belgique.

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Special Notices.—The "Wage System" is out of print. Directly we get the necessary funds we shall reprint it, and also issue "Anarchy" and "Anarchist Morality."

HELP FOR THIS PURPOSE IS URGENTLY NEEDED.

Thanks to the kind loan of a comrade, we are able to print another thousand of "The Talk," which was sold out.

A CONCERT & DANCE will take place for the benefit of the Freedom Publication Fund, on Saturday October 15th, at the Athenæum Hall, Tottenham Court Road. Concert 8.30, dancing 10 p.m. Tickets, 6d. each, may be had from Mrs. Hyde, 72, Kentish Town Road, N.W., or from the Steward, Autonomie Club, Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Until further notice, all communications for "FREEDOM" to be addressed to: C. M. Wilson, 72, Kentish Town Road, London, N.W.

NOTES.

STAMPING OUT THE CHOLERA BY AUTHORITY.

Inquirers about Anarchism often ask for illustrations from life of the two principles of authority and voluntary co-operation in actual working. The "Times," August 27, may supply them with one. Authoritarian method of coping with the cholera: During the last outbreak the Italian government rigidly enforced quarantine. At the French frontier "scores of even first class passengers were herded together without any of the ordinary appliances of civilisation, with the scantiest and worst food, and no water supply but what was drawn from a well obviously exposed to pollution. As to third class passengers, of whom there were at one time about 3000 at this one place, there were not enough tents for them, and men, women and children were huddled together with no protection from the sun by day or from the dew by night; they were half-starved, and many of them left the lazaretto only to die." Even in France railway passengers were condemned to "vague libations and powderings," and half choked by sulphurous fumes, whereas infectious germs can only be really destroyed by heat or corrosive acids, which would kill a human being long before it touched the bacilli. The torture of all these people only made them more prone to disease and did not benefit any one else.

MEETING THE CHOLERA ON THE VOLUNTARY SYSTEM.

The English government have given up quarantine for the United Kingdom, except in the case of actually infected ships, consequently the people feel that their safety largely depends on their own energy, humanity and common sense. Already the Liverpool shipping companies have telegraphed to their agents in all infected districts: "Book no more emigrants at present for America, via Liverpool." Local sanitary committees are everywhere meeting and arranging the best preventive measures; e.g., at Grimsby a conference was held "between the cholera prevention committee and all the medical men in the town, with whom arrangements were made for the free treatment of any cases of choleraic disease among the poorer classes," also the manning and fitting of a hospital ship; the township of Cleethorpe was invited to co-operate. Then again, the circular of the Local Government Board to local sanitary authorities might have been issued by an Anarchistic hygienic society. It merely gives useful advice and suggestions as to the main sources of danger and best preventive measures. One suggestion is that "discreet and competent persons" should visit those likely to be exposed to danger and explain to them how best to protect themselves. Another that, besides the public arrangements for disinfecting articles from sick rooms, a useful disinfecting fluid should be supplied to all who need it. Of course the most sensible and humane suggestions may be carried out arbitrarily and roughly by the local officials, who unhappily are "authorities" and not

the sanitary committee of free communes, but so far this way of dealing with the present crisis is an illustration of the voluntary method, which, happily for us, already plays a part in our social life.

CHOLERA AND SOLIDARITY.

The Russian government grinds down the Russian peasants, takes all their best corn and best cattle for taxes, so that when bad seasons come there is a famine. The famine breeds pestilence; famine typhus cultivates the ground for the most virulent form of Asiatic cholera. Russia becomes a hot-bed of disease.

The Russian government persecutes the Jews, specially the poorest Jews, and drives them forth by hundreds of thousands. They come to other lands, bringing with them the Asiatic cholera. "The rapidity with which the disease has managed," says the "Lancet," to travel by means of German railway lines carrying Russian emigrants to the North Sea has brought us face to face with an infection having the full force of the Eastern disease." We commend these facts to Englishmen who say that the oppression of the Russian or any foreign people does not concern them, that the English social question is enough to attend to. Like Carlyle's "poor Irish widow," who proved her sisterhood with the hard hearted folk of Edinburgh by dying and infecting seventeen of them with typhus, the famine cholera stricken Russian people are forcing us to acknowledge the brotherhood of the poor and oppressed of all lands. Their necessity is our danger, whether we recognise it or not.

RUSSIAN CHOLERA RIOTS.

Doctor-baiting and hospital-wrecking seems, on the face of it, an inexplicable and barbarous folly. Like other apparently inexplicable things, however, it has its reasons. Theoretically cholera barracks in Russia are provided for those who wish to be received as patients. According to the government circular, the consent of the sick man or his friends is required before he can be removed from his home. Practically the officials, even the common police, have in several cases carried off ailing persons willy nilly, and shut them up in a cholera pest house, even though they may not have had cholera at all. For instance a pregnant woman complained of nausea to a neighbour, the police heard of it and carried her to the cholera barrack, where she was shut up till next morning among the dead and dying. She was freed, as she had influential friends. But what about those who have not?

As to the cholera hospital itself, it is often a sort of hell. The doctors, being ordered by the government to make continual house-to-house inspections to find out cholera cases, have no time to attend to the hospital patients. These are continually left to the care of ignorant or incapable assistants, or male and female nurses, who are perpetually drunk, "to keep off infection." The sick lie neglected in their agony in the most miserable uncleanness and discomfort, made yet more intolerable by harshness and cruelty. There is reason to fear that if, as occasionally happens during a cholera epidemic, they fall into a trance, they have sometimes been buried alive. By a new regulation it is now forbidden to bury for twenty-four hours after apparent death.

Add to these horrors the mental condition of the people after the awful physical strain of last winter's famine; their brains starved, their nerves unstrung, their whole system enervated by underfeeding. Even before the cholera came, whole villages were liable to attacks of a sort of frenzy, men and women being suddenly seized with temporary fits of delirium.

These facts alone would be enough to account for outbreaks of blind fury against the cholera measures and the officials who carry them out. This, however, is not all. It comes after a long experience of the petty tyranny of sanitary officials, exercised to extort bribes. For instance, when there is an outbreak of cattle plague a cattle inspector exacts, as a matter of course, three kopecks per head as blackmail, before he will pass a peasant's cows. This is moderate; the more avaricious insist on ten or even thirty kopecks. If this is refused, even the sound cattle are slaughtered; if it is paid, very often even unsound beasts are passed.

Then again, though Russian doctors are many of them excellent and devoted men, there are a large number of most unfortunate exceptions. What else can be expected when the best of the medical students are yearly marched off to Siberia for their liberal ideas. According to Mr. E. W. Smith, the last English journalist who has come from the plague-stricken districts, there are only 12,000 doctors practising in Russia, only one for each 8333 persons! Taken all in all, the wonder would be if there were not cholera riots.

NO CHOLERA AT ALL!

An article has appeared in an official newspaper at St. Petersburg, the "Grazhdanin," which receives a government subsidy, stating that the cholera is a pure pretence and sham, and that the proper way to treat cholera patients is to tie them to a cart tail and drag them through the town! Apparently the governor of Nijni Novgorod is of a somewhat similar opinion, for, says the "Times," he lately ordered a man 130 strokes with the rod for spreading "false reports" about cholera and others various terms of imprisonment for the same offence.

JOHN MORLEY ON THE SOCIAL QUESTION.

"There are millions born into this world whose minds are left dark, whose bodies endure sufferings almost like those of the beasts in the fields, whose lives from the cradle to the grave are lives no rational creature could desire to have." "I know that there is now a new era dawning in the hearts of the workers of England. I know that the ragged and the hungry, I know that those who are bowed down with

care and with toil to the ground, and whose whole hearts are sore with the carking anxieties as to where to-morrow's bread is to come from for them and for their little ones—I know that all these poor sons of toil are bitterly sighing for better things and slowly rising in revolt against their lot. I know it—I sympathise with it. There is a revolt amongst the ragged, and the hungry, and the miserable, and the hopeless against their social lot. But do not let it be a blind revolt. In mere politics you can play a good many tricks without the State being very much the worse for them. But when you come to wages, to questions of hours, to questions of tariffs, to questions of markets, then you are going to the very foundations upon which the social fabric stands. A mistake in this region—in wages, in hours, tariffs, and markets—means a cupboard without bread, a grate without fire, children without clothes, hearts without hope. I will not betray the interests of the working people in this country by putting up those interests to an auction of rival politicians." Suggestive words enough, being uttered by a man who is a politician himself and knows all the tricks of the trade. It might be a good thing if some of our Radical and Fabian friends would reflect a little before urging the workers to fling their dearest interests into the political auction mart instead of looking after them themselves.

A LOST COMRADE.

The terrible death in life which Carlo Cafiero has now been dragging out for years in an Italian madhouse is over. Our dead comrade was one of the most energetic and devoted of Italian Anarchists. He was born of a rich family in Barletta, educated at a Catholic seminary and at the University of Naples, and intended for a diplomatic career. Whilst still quite young, he inherited a large fortune from his parents. Nevertheless he became a convinced Socialist, threw up his profession in disgust and left Florence, the then capital of Italy, for London, where he gave himself up to the study of the social question and liberal ideas. His wealth was henceforward devoted to the cause of Anarchism. In 1873, he joined the International, and with Bakounine formed an active propagandist centre in Switzerland. In 1874, he took part in the Bologna insurrection, and afterwards, with Malatesta and others, took active share in organising the Benevento revolt. He was captured and, after 17 months' imprisonment, went to France, was expelled and eventually returned to Italy. Already in bad health, he was again imprisoned and consigned to solitary confinement, from the effects of which he never recovered. Shortly after his release he became hopelessly insane.

THE REVOLT OF LABOR IN AMERICA.

The period of passive resistance seems closing in the United States, the period of spasmodic and isolated but direct revolutionary action to have begun. Four times during the last two months have the troops been called out to put down strikes, i.e., those of Carnegie's steel workers, the Idaho miners, the Tennessee miners and the railway switchmen of New York State. In the three first cases the strikers were armed; in all they offered direct and violent resistance to the capitalists' attempts to take the bread out of their mouths by means of scab labor, and for several days at least boldly held their own against the paralysed and bewildered authorities. In every case the sheriffs found it impossible to get enough special constables to act against the strikers, and it took some days to get the military into action. If such outbreaks become more general, ceasing to be confined to one or two isolated localities and trades, the authorities will be hard put to it. The development of the American labor agitation is at this moment of supreme interest. Its least encouraging feature is an apparent lack of broad Socialistic ideas amongst the workers; but, if the agitation grows, such ideas must needs spring up from the very stress of the struggle. The workers cannot fail to realise that only by being themselves common owners of the means of production can they be free of capitalist oppression. Meanwhile we are glad to see the timely propaganda made by "SOLIDARITY." We advise every English group to subscribe for a copy of this excellent Anarchist paper. Its address is 85, East Fourth Street, New York. Price 1½d., fortnightly; annual subscription 4s. 2d.

▲ LETTER FROM HENRY BAUER.

Comrade Bauer writes from Allegheny, August 22: "Now, after a lapse of several weeks since the shooting of H. C. Frick, the meanest man the nineteenth century has produced, we are enabled to walk about the city unmolested by the authorities, as they have ceased their idiotic persecution of the comrades. Of course, as you are probably aware, Nold and I were arrested as 'conspirators'—as accessories before and after the fact—and after being locked up 9 and 20 days respectively, I was released under \$5000 and Nold under \$7000 bail. We are to be tried in September next. If we distribute literature now, we are immediately arrested. For doing this one comrade was arrested and put under \$500 bail, charged with 'inciting to a breach of the peace.' We are also unable to get a meeting hall. The authority brutes say they are going to 'stamp out' Anarchy. Let them stamp ahead. We have a better field for propaganda now than ever before, and you may rest assured that we are utilising the opportunity.—Your accounts of the Homestead affair are substantially correct.—Please continue sending the 300 copies of FREEDOM regularly every month for the International Groups."

PINKERTONS.

THE PRIVATE STANDING ARMY OF AMERICAN CAPITALISTS.

It is a disgraceful fact that the original Pinkerton was one Alan of that name, a Scotch Chartist, who fled to the United States to escape prosecution by the English Government. He entered the Chicago detective police, and his success in this line tempted him, after the American Civil War, to set up as a private

detective on his own account in Chicago, where the headquarters of the "Pinkerton National Detective Agency" still are. From criminal detectives Alan Pinkerton's men became bank watchmen. Next the "Pinkerton's Preventive Watch" was started, with an eye for its emblem, and for its motto: "We never sleep." Soon an armed Pinkerton, in uniform, was to be seen guarding every block in the business quarter of Chicago. The Pinkerton force is entirely independent of the regular police; it is paid by the private persons who hire its services, at the rate of from 32s. to two pounds a day per detective, and expenses. The men are regularly drilled. Recruiting and everything connected with the force is managed with profound secrecy.

When old Pinkerton died, his two sons carried on and enlarged the agency. It has now branches at New York, Philadelphia, Boston, St. Paul, Kansas City, and Denver, and can mass 2000 drilled detectives and watchmen armed with rifles and revolvers at any given spot within 48 hours. According to the *New York World* there is scarcely a state in the union that has not been distracted by excitement over the delegated and assumed powers and privileges of Pinkertons. They sail close even to the capitalist laws of the U.S.A., trusting to the powers of Corporations licensed to engage police aid, and of Sheriffs to swear in and arm special constables, to cover their arrests and assaults. At every contest between labour and capital, Pinkertons appear in the defense of the latter, and their interference becomes more and more bloody. It was against their murder of strikers that the famous Chicago Haymarket meeting was called to protest. They were largely used by the Chicago capitalists in hunting our martyred comrades to death. In New Jersey they killed a boy, during the long-shore strike, and have since been forbidden by law to enter that state. An anti-Pinkerton act has also been passed in New York, owing to strong working-class pressure. In the last great miner strike, the Pinkertons murdered eight men. No wonder that their appearance roused the Homestead folks to frenzy. They are the abhorrence of every American workman. A special committee of the House of Representatives is now sitting to inquire into Pinkerton methods, and a bill is proposed to make it illegal for local governments to employ Pinkertons.

But American capitalists will be able to get on very well without them as long as they have the militia and regulars to fall back on, as in the switchmen's and miners' strikes. The Federal Government has a standing army, limited by the act of 1870 to 30,000 men, recruited by voluntary enlistment for a three years period of service. But in time of need the conscription might be introduced again as it was during the civil war, and the army raised to any figure. The President is commander-in-chief, and Congress, theoretically, raises, supports, and makes the regulations for the army. These regulars are supplemented by a local militia in each State under command of the Governor, who is elected for two years. This militia may at any time be called out by Congress "to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection and repel invasion," and in the late strike it has played as large a part as the Pinkertons at Homestead.

THE CONQUEST OF BREAD.

By PETER KROPOTKINE.

I.—OUR RICHES.

THE human race has travelled far since those bygone ages when man fashioned rude implements of flint, and lived on the precarious spoils of the chase, leaving to his children for their only heritage a shelter beneath the rocks, some poor stone utensils,—and Nature, vast, vague and menacing, with whom they must fight for their wretched existence.

During this troublous time, which has lasted for many thousand years, mankind has nevertheless amassed untold treasures. It has cleared the ground, dried the marshes, pierced the forests, made roads; builded, invented, observed, reasoned; created a complex machinery, wrested her secrets from Nature, made a servant of steam. Thus, at his birth, the child of the civilised man of to-day finds ready to his hand an immense capital accumulated by those who have gone before him. And this capital enables him to acquire, merely by his own labor, combined with the labor of others, riches surpassing those dreams of the Orient, the fairy tales of the Thousand and One Nights.

The soil is partly cleared, fit for the reception of choice seeds, ready to make a rich return for the skill and labor spent upon it—a return more than sufficient for all the wants of humanity. The methods of cultivation are known.

On the virgin prairies of America a hundred men, with the aid of powerful machinery, produce in a few months enough wheat to maintain ten thousand people for a whole year. And where man wishes to double his produce, to treble it, to multiply it a hundred-fold, he makes the soil, gives to each plant the requisite care, and thus obtains enormous returns. While the hunter of old had to scour fifty or sixty square miles to find food for his family, the civilised man supports his household, with far less pains, and far more certainty, on a thousandth part of that space. Climate is no longer an obstacle. When the sun fails, man replaces it by artificial heat; and we await a time when artificial light also will be used to stimulate vegetation. Meanwhile, by the use of glass and hot water pipes, a given space is rendered ten times more productive.

The industrial prodigies accomplished are still more striking. With the co-operation of those intelligent beings, modern machines—themselves the fruit of three or four generations of inventors, mostly nameless—a hundred men manufacture the stuff to clothe ten thousand persons for a period of two years. In well-managed coal mines the labor of a hundred miners furnishes each year enough fuel to warm ten thousand families beneath an inclement sky. Besides all this, we have lately witnessed the spectacle of a wonderful city springing up in a few months on the CHAMP DE MARS,* without interrupting in the slightest degree the regular work of the French nation.

And if in manufactures as in agriculture, and as indeed through our whole social system, the labor of our ancestors especially profits only the few,—it is none the less certain that mankind in general could procure an existence of wealth and ease, aided merely by the creatures of steel and iron which it already possesses.

Aye, truly, we are rich, far richer than we think; rich in what we already possess, richer in the possibilities of production of our actual

* The Great Paris Exhibition of 1889.

mechanical outfit; richest of all in what we might win from our soil from our manufactures, from our science, from our technical skill, were they but applied to bringing about the well-being of all.

(To be continued.)

ENEMIES OF PROGRESS.

(No. 1.)

THE PARSON.

OF ALL enemies of progress, the parson stands head and shoulders above all obstructionists. Past history proves him to have too often been a tyrant and a fiend when he had the power, and his present position in society proves him to be one who delights in stopping inquiry and civilisation. The parson never leads when a new theory or hypothesis is given to the world, but generally casts slurs and base insinuations on every question of a speculative character. When Galileo, through much study and enquiry, came to the conclusion that the earth was not stationary, but moved round the sun, the parsons of that day made him eat his words and convictions, under the penalty of death. When lightning-rods were invented, the sky-pilots screamed throughout the country that wicked people had invented an apparatus for turning aside the wrath of God. And when Charles Darwin published to the world his work on evolution, the parsons derided him and stigmatised him as an infidel, and one who sought to put God out of sight of humanity or practically ignored the creator and maker of all things.

Coming to our own day, we find that the parsons are still the enemies of progress. One may be found here or there who may seem more honest, but this honesty can only be discerned when their manhood peeps forth from under the mask of theology. In the bulk, they are like their earlier brethren: lovers and teachers of ignorance. The very book (viz., the Holy Bible) from which they teach and preach is made by them a stumbling-block to liberty; for instead of treating it as other literature, they take isolated texts that are some of them concentrated essences of the slavish and outworn ideas of past times and would force us to receive them as divinely inspired rules for belief and conduct. So that the whole book is still held as a sort of fetish, and regarded with blind reverence by a large majority of unthinking toilers. What a farce is this Christian religion! The parsons often say (with sanctimonious faces and upturned eyes), "Our religion is the religion of progress, and the civilisation of to-day is the result of Christianity." It is a falsehood. The progress of nations is not the result of Christianity, but is traceable to the development of "Reason."

How can these few following texts be reconciled with the spirit of "Freedom" and "Liberty"? "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God." "Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God." "But I suffer not a woman to teach . . . but be in silence." "Wives submit yourselves unto your husbands, as unto the Lord." Where is the liberty of thought in the text "He that believeth not shall be damned." Many more might be quoted.

The parson is one of the greatest enemies of progress, for he fears independent thought in the individual. He considers those people as heretics, who will not swallow his supernatural nostrums. He hates those of an inquiring turn of mind. Free-thought and Free-action are twin sisters of civilisation. Without these two progress would be impossible, for they are inseparably connected. Now the parson views with no small amount of alarm the progress which Socialism and Free-thought is making to-day, and he sees in these movements that his unproductive and often lazy life will soon be a thing of the past; hence his mad opposition to advanced thought and action. He deludes his hearers,—those upon whom the glorious light of Reason has not yet shone—into the belief that those people who call themselves Socialists are nothing but robbers in disguise; agitators who would only sow dissension and unhappiness broadcast; and disturb the peaceful contentedness of his easily-satisfied congregation. "Ah," he sniggers, "let us sin that beautiful hymn:—

"All things bright and beautiful

The rich man at his castle
The poor man at his gate
He made them high or lowly
To order their estate."

And the befooled congregation returns hom, satisfied by the poison which the parson has liberally doled out them.

Parsons are the enemies of progress, for they deal in the supernatural—of which they know nothing—and neglect the natural—about which they don't bother much—as long as their income is regular, or promotion with a higher wage looms in the distance. Where ignorance is greatest there also will be found most fear and most parsons! The sky-pilots thrive on ignorance and superstition. They do not wish that people should think for themselves, because, if once this happens, their authority is a thing of the past. They know this, hence their desire to be on School-Boards, where they try their utmost to get theology crammed into the heads of children; if they had the power, theological learning would take precedence over secular knowledge. But, thanks to the spirit of the age, their day is over, and they and their nostrums will have to take their place in the history of the past. Their anathemas against Socialism and Freethought only serve as advertisements to those who seek for knowledge and truth. We should hasten the day of emancipation by showing to our children and our neighbours what a plague parson-dom and priest-craft have been to the long-suffering sons of toil. Many beautiful and peaceful homes have been destroyed by

the poison of theology, and many an end has been made sad by hell's lurid glare—an article in which the parson largely deals. We should be up and doing, and point out, both by history and common sense, that, if anything has to be done, man must do it himself. Prayers will not make a brick, supplications to the heavens will not remove the grievances under which we suffer and groan to-day. We do not want parsons to point out a way to reach heaven, while around us is a veritable hell! We don't want to be with Jesus, while our children are starving and go in rags! We want workers, not dreamers. We want men to be dissatisfied with their lots under existing circumstances. Can we expect the parsons to help us? No! We must help ourselves, the parsons must go.

G. E. CONRAD NAEWIGER.

EDUCATION.

WE will not attempt to enter into a criticism of the education now given or the manner of giving it, to all or any particular class at the present day. Its defects, in many respects, are too evident to every one whose attention has been turned to the subject to require any further condemnation from the specially Communist Anarchist point of view.

Our wish is rather to point out a few of the great advantages to be gained in this, as well as every other social matter, by allowing freedom and economic equality to every individual, in place of either coercive rule, or the dire necessity attendant on economic competition.

As Communist Anarchists we cannot place any faith in a possible satisfactory reformation of education for society as a whole, where the material conditions are unequal. Indeed in no matter, in our opinion, is the injustice of material inequality more plainly evident than in this of education. For it is impossible not to recognise the irresponsibility of every child born into the world as to the condition into which it is born. It may be more difficult to show that the adult is not responsible for his own success, or the reverse, but as to the child there can be no doubt whatever. Not to give every child a like chance, an equally good preparation for the life it will have to lead is a flagrant injustice to which no impartial man can be blind. Consequently we will not lose time in fruitlessly endeavouring to suggest immediate remedies that could be acted upon before the primary economic revolution comes upon us.

To start with then a true harmonious education, having for its aim the healthy development of the human being, a thorough preparation for a happy social existence can only be possible for all mankind where every one from childhood up can freely claim his fair share in the wealth of the community at large. Granted that parents have sufficient to live upon in the way of the first necessities—food, clothing and shelter—parental love will lead them to desire that their children should have as happy and advantageous a life as possible. The universal rule is to wish them a more happy, more successful life than the parents have had themselves. But the judgment as to what would bring them this is naturally an individual question, according to the tastes and aspirations of the individual parents. The higher their development, the higher will be the ideal to which they will aspire for their children. And there can be no doubt that in proportion as the parents appreciate the value of free development for every individual, the more they will encourage the independence, and foster the power to initiate and create in their children. To do this they will inevitably be led to study and respect the natural bent of their children's characters. And as common sense and social feeling will bring the responsibility of their own, and their neighbours' well-being to bear upon them, they will take care that training—manual and intellectual—will be such as to prepare their children for some useful work, which will ensure for them a secure and honoured position among their fellow-men.

As there will be no motive for the production of shoddy goods, since all will share alike and naturally wish to have every thing they use as good and beautiful as possible, there will be all honour, and every inducement for every one to produce as good work as he can, therefore every one will strive, in proportion to his ability, to do his best. And this will tell enormously on the training of the children.

Since man has made the experience that knowledge is power, and the pursuit of it brings pleasure, there is little fear (particularly as there will be no servants, or mere manual labourers) that the toil necessary to produce material necessities will become so engrossing, as to make men blind to the advantages to be gained by purely intellectual or æsthetic pursuits. Consequently they will take care that their children's attention is not too much absorbed in the preparation for any one special occupation. They will also soon recognise that the broader the capabilities, the greater will be the skill in any particular pursuit.

Also they will have time to observe that all good steady work is in a great degree dependent upon the state of health. Therefore they will more and more take note, and insist upon the conditions of fresh air, exercise and free unrestricted games for the development of the physical and with it, mental and moral nature.

Such, we imagine, will be some of the leading tendencies of thought influencing the education of the young. But we hear our opponents objecting: you have not given us any practical hints as to how such education is to be carried out, and also, you have imagined that all parents are continually actuated by a high and unselfish love for their children, whereas we know that many parents are by no means so devoted to the welfare of their offspring.

Let us take the latter objection first, born chiefly, we believe, of that miserable pessimistic distrust of our fellow-men, which is with many the inevitable outcome of caste feeling. Not that we deny that, alas! many a child is born of a union brought about on the basis of a money bargain,

or by unreasoning lustful desire, regardless of future consequences, or again of a marriage that has become irksome and bad for both parents, and that all such children may not be the objects of more than an animal instinctive affection which soon passes away, or indeed may not be loved at all! But children born of parents between whom the only bond is that of love are not likely to lack the self-sacrificing love of their parents, and it is only with such offspring that we shall have to do in the free society of the future. And further more that same deeply rooted passion, which now causes many once mated couples to endure a life of private misery, rather than separate and incur the opprobrium of their fellows, will certainly act still, where-ever there might be lack of parental devotion, to secure such treatment for their children as will cause them to be well thought of, at least to be considered, "as good as their neighbours."

A. H.

(To be continued).

"LEADEN INSTINCTS v. GOLDEN CONDUCT."

It is not desirable that Anarchists should expend much time in controversy. John Stuart Mill was not far wrong when he coupled "loud discussion" with "weak conviction." Also not far wrong when he considered both of these to be characteristic of the age in which we live. Genuine Anarchism, however, represents very strong and profound conviction indeed;—conviction, too, on a very serious, not to say tremendous, subject. It is, accordingly, a creed which tends to issue directly in action consistent with its principles, rather than in the prolonging of noisy and fruitless disputation.

Anarchism is no "fad." The men and women who profess it have not come by it carelessly or hastily. The posture of mind and condition of the sympathies found in the more earnest Anarchists is that of people who have undergone the indispensable "forty days" of education in the wilderness. It is reached, not before, but after having learned that in very deed we do not live—LIVE—by bread alone. It is reached, not before, but after having had the advantage of a remarkably instructive bird's-eye view of the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them; with a broad hint as to how and at what price these kingdoms are to be possessed. It is reached, not before, but after having conquered the inclination to fling Self and its skull-ful of consciousness down, no matter whither, so only it be away from the pinnacle of a desecrated temple, a temple wrested to the pitiful uses of the buyers and sellers and merest money changers; or of scibblers, pharisees, and hypocrites, who don't yet know themselves for what they are.

But though the inky small fry of a venal press are not worth powder and shot to do battle with, it is quite another matter with regard to the criticisms of the great and good few who are as intent as we are ourselves in the desire to aid poor, bothered humanity to find its way out of the mess into which a primitive laissez faire caused it to stumble, and to reach a goal at which it may find the splendid happiness of a noble and healthy self-fulfilment. These loyal few, who care for truth, and who recognise the necessity for progress, differ from us not at all as to the kind of goal to aim at; they differ merely as to what are the surest means and what the fittest method by which that goal may be really reached.

Foremost among the worthy opponents of our doctrines are the orthodox evolutionists. (For ALREADY the evolution theory has not only its orthodox but also its heretical adherents!). Recognising the fundamental principle of evolutionist philosophy, we Anarchists differ from the Spencerians as to the social and ethical application of those principles. We take the same scientific truths for texts, but we preach quite other sermons from them.

For instance, what can be truer or what truth more significant than that witnessed to by Mr. Herbert Spencer? "The belief," he says, "of the Socialists... is that by due skill an ill-working humanity may be framed into well-working institutions. It is a delusion. The defective natures of citizens will show themselves in the bad acting of whatever social structure they are arranged into. THERE IS NO POLITICAL ALCHEMY BY WHICH YOU CAN GET GOLDEN CONDUCT OUT OF LEADEN INSTINCTS." No: and there is no political horticulture by which you can get grapes from thorns or figs from thistles. But how can any one miss the fact that this is a two-edged truth, and cuts both ways! It is fatal for State Socialism; it gives one of the strongest of thrusts IN FAVOUR of Anarchism.

Remembering that we live in a world, not of fixed conditions, but of flux and of growth, the very predominance of leaden instinct should make us anxious to note accurately what special conditions they are which encourage the instincts to remain leaden. Haply we may alter such conditions,—sending the lead to the bottom, and letting it stop there, as WORTH NO ONE'S WHILE to fish up again. Things as they are, are GOOD for lead;—BAD for gold; and this fact alone seems warrant enough for the Commuistic experiment.

In closely watching life—the real thing, as it exists off paper—and in noting the intricate play of cause and effect within the all-important domain of CHARACTER, one is struck at every turn by the fact that "golden" impulses are opposed in a very deadly way by the existing terms on which alone human beings allow one another to live. The vicious relation works harmfully in EVERY LIFE and ALL THE TIME. And worse is true. Inferior conduct is constantly FORCED by the struggle for existence out of the possessors of superior inclinations. Character, on which all depends, is KEPT DOWN; and so we are all more miserable than we need be, and make one another more miserable than we really mean to. It is not merely that existing conditions, political and commercial,

are responsible for the transformation of citizens, originally well disposed and public-spirited, into desperately unhappy blunderers like Ravachol. A still more serious, because more insidiously evil result is seen in the universal and ceaseless temptation offered to mere vena cuteness at the expense of all regard for consequences to the community. Those who are complacently content with things as they are, pretend that it is VIRTUE, in the forms of industry, energy, and prudence, that is rewarded; and that those who are luckless fail merely because they are deficient in these excellences, and therefore deserve their fate. Whereas there is in fact no CONSTANT connection at all between even industry and energy, on the one hand, and material success, on the other. And as to that self-regarding QUASI virtue called "prudence," it is of little use unless with the prudent conduct there goes the trick of cuteness. Shrewdness in the limited cause of Self has only to be sufficient in degree and in unscrupulousness, and, as things are, it is safe to succeed, and to be in external ways even respected. In a soil and climate propitious to thistles how can we expect to gather figs and grapes?

Nor does the condition seem to be a normal or vital thing at all, but merely a morbid result of a general false start, HAPPENED UPON long ago. Those who were the best brutes seized most; those who were the greediest stored most; and the rest of the community let it go on, at first through innocent indifference, and later, when it began to hurt them, it was too late to protest. The least scrupulous had got it all their own way. Not only the resources of the community were in their custody, but also the power of protecting their "rights" (save the mark!), by means of "law and order";—the "law" of privilege; the "order" that is maintained by force.

With regard to the sheer difficulty of being at the same time successful and honest, Mr. Spencer has himself contributed excellent scientific testimony in his well-known essay on the MORALS OF TRADE, written more than thirty years ago. And he points out that there verily is, in the nature of things, only one possible remedy for the evil case: to wit, a "purified public opinion." So much of purified public opinion as our generation has arrived at, is now striving to make itself heard in the Anarchist cry for a radical change. Material progress,—the conquest of physical Nature for human purposes,—in the view of the orthodox evolutionists necessitates the disregard FOR THE TIME BEING (so many generations or perhaps centuries!) of the needs of the moral and social life. Men's conscience and sympathies must content themselves with starvation, or with humble pie at the best; until men's cupidity and cruelty shall have had their full fling and eaten their own head off! Oh, surely not! Let us, at any risk, at almost any cost, wrest a broad field on which that which is healthiest, individually and socially, may at least compete on fair terms for survival, against the ugly monsters tyranny and avarice. Within a single bosom, as in the open world, are these antagonists constantly brought face to face; and so far the lower can bully the higher, and then point to facts of bread and cheese for self-justification.

How long are the sentiments, the taste, the reasoned convictions of a socially-disposed minority to count for nothing?—a minority who, if unhindered by coercive artificial conditions would be happy centres of usefulness, each man and woman willing to work for and to trust a community that fed and trusted them. A minority to whom the squalid talk is as meaningless as it is revolting about the "enjoyments of private property," and the "rewards of ability" in shape of "rights" to sate and surfeit Self, and at will, under one smug pretence or another, to keep food out of starving stomachs, work out of willing hands, clothes off shivering backs, and hopes out of wistful hearts. Oh, it is all so grimly absurd and wrong headed!

"Merit," says evolutionist philosophy, must be reckoned by "power of self-sustentation." As things are, who is to say where this power exists, and where not? In one direction there is no test provided. The human creature is placed on the top of the hill of opportunity at birth, and he ever so much of a social "good-for-nothing," "law and order" will take care he shall come to no serious grief. In an opposite case, splendid faculty and noble character is born, and the hill of opportunity is placed on the top of it; and all the faculty and all the energy and all the character is needed for the life-long task of crawling out from beneath it; much to the loss of everybody all round.

What confusion it all is! We, who are not parliamentarians, nor seekers of even individualist "rewards," are FORCED to live as if we were, at least, individualists; on penalty of death, disaster, or moral checkmate. And oh, how afraid people are that force will be met with force; and THEY, likewise, constrained to be communists against their will. THEY may protest against coercion; WE are deprecated if we ever appeal against it.

"Improvement of character," says Mr. Spencer, "results from carrying on peaceful industry under the restraints imposed by orderly social life." That is what we Anarchists think too; but as yet there has been but little "orderly social life"; nor has there been any "peaceful industry." The hideous scramble of mutually-envious starvelings, seeking work and finding none, on one hand; the sickening, dog-in-the-manger scramble for more than enough of everything, on the other;—THIS is not "peace"! Force alone secures the thin semblance of peace; all but the minority whom existing methods favour, know, or might know, that it is WAR, to the knife,—aye! war to the dynamite bomb. There is no peace below the surface; but instead of it, the desolation and woe caused by wasted powers, stunted character, pent sympathies, the whole being surmounted by certain neat and tidy "institutions," providing for the protection and perpetuation of crude and barbarous instincts, aims, methods, and principles, far beyond their normal term existence; far beyond their due time for SUPERSESSION.

Then comes the question, How best discourage the meaner tendencies of humanity? What does Nature say when we ask her? What paralyses a function, or kills an instinct? Surely atrophy of the structure—the organ—of that function. What causes atrophy? WANT OF OPPORTUNITY OR OF TEMPTATION FOR ITS EXERCISE. We must see to it that the new chances be such that the woe-working instincts shall be starved out, disused, not missed, and finally forgotten.

Then comes the question of revolution. "Let human nature slowly grow into better things," say the orthodox evolutionists. "Little by little amity will prevail." "Inch by inch human creatures will concede one another the right to be, and to breathe." "Some day, some where, possibly conscience, sympathy, sincerity may get a high old time of it, without fearing the wolf at the door." AND MEANWHILE? Oh! meanwhile, millions must suffer and rot unavenged; PREACHING may be permitted from pulpits to-day and tomorrow if you like; PRACTICE must wait. Human nature is not good enough yet; it were madness to trust it to act as it preaches."

O ye of little faith! For the sake of each and all shake off this timidity. Give us no more of these "ifs" and "buts" and "probablys" and "ultimatels." Set free,—DARE to set free—at least so much of human nature as has, despite all your discouragements, achieved "golden instincts." Free these for the sake of the rest; for all suffer, when the best are bound. Let the little leaven at least get its full chance of leavening the whole lump.

Anarchism represents the present protest raised by checked sympathies against that which thwarts them. It will continue its protest. It cannot be punished. Crucifixism, ostracism, or even polite snubbing will not stamp it out. The flag will nevermore be lowered. Purified opinion will go on and on, setting spiritual fire to old quasi-moral rubbish, until it shall become no longer "respectable," no longer counted for "honest" to accept personal inheritance of parental hoards, or to accumulate means of existence and means of power in "own" hands, in excess of all possible need or use of them.

Communism is as yet theory—an ideal. But it is spreading. It appeals not to the basest but the noblest side of human character. It has a claim to be allowed fairly to compete with, and if it can to supplant the more barbarous system now existing. But it must first wrest the field in which to set up its tents. Amity and kind concession is better than revolution; but such concession is denied. Nature, therefore, will continue, whether we like it or not, to work by her own rough old method. She will thoroughly purge her floor. We know what will become of the chaff. She will require us to brace our energies for revolution, and that soon. Let us be on our guard against all those evil passions which alone could impair the moral force of strong action, and make it of none effect.

L. S. B.

THE PROPAGANDA.

REPORTS.

LONDON—

Some good work has been done during the last month or so by Comrades Morton and Davis speaking from the platform of the Clerkenwell and Kensel Green branches of the S.D.F. Davis has had several interesting discussions with Hobart and Kohler, in some of which Samuels and Aldman also took part. Full report too late for this number. Details next month. Davis suggests that comrades would do well to turn up at the Kensel Green S.D.F. Sunday meetings, corner of Fifth Avenue, Harrow Road.

PROVINCES—

Leicester.—Since our last report we have not only kept up our usual 3 meetings on Sunday and the village propaganda, but we have now increased them by another week-night meeting in Infirmary Square. We have had Comrade Bingham of Sheffield down, but with this exception our local speakers have "run the show" by themselves. The liveliest interest is shown by the Leicester workers in our propaganda, and we are expecting them to take a still livelier interest yet, as men are being thrown out of employment in shoals now, in consequence of the introduction of new labor saving machinery in the boot and shoe trade. We are still working up the democrats. A debate on "The Anarchist position towards trades unionism" took place on the 7th August in the Gladstone Club, W. MacQueen opening. The debate turned on the differences between us and the democrats, and in our opinion they got decidedly the worst of it. On the 30th, our Comrade Glassman has a debate with J. Chambers, in the Radical Club, on the best means to obtain possession of the land and capital. We anticipate another victory. Notwithstanding we have been working hard we have also had the pleasurable side of life, in the shape of the Annual Picnic of the Midland Counties Socialist federation, which took place at Rowsly. Comrades, mostly Anarchists, turned up from Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds, Salford, Birmingham, Walsall, Leicester etc., and amused themselves in wandering over Chatsworth House and Haddon Hall, making those venerable piles sing with wicked revolutionary songs. A conference was held to consider the way to get our Walsall comrades out, it eventually being decided to hold an Anarchist demonstration in Walsall on the date of their condemnation. A collection was made for the Anarchist press, and comrades departed for home with cheers for Revolution and Anarchy. May it soon come.

Manchester.—Every Sunday, during the last two months, weather permitting, we have held 3 meetings, at the usual places; speakers, Comrades Marshall, Barton and Stockton. Good attendances. A considerable amount of literature has also been sold. Almost every Sunday night we have had discussion at our meeting at the New Cross, and great interest has been shown by the audience, which usually numbers from 1000 to 2000 people. The propaganda is making headway, surely and effectively.

Bristol.—The educational work carried on in Bristol is proving so great a success that a body of men on the Bedminster side of the city invited the Socialist Society to form a branch in that district. Some 25 names were immediately given in and means are being adopted to place the new society on a secure footing. There was at first a fear that the new members would be "nobbled" by

the local Fabian Society, but the Bedminster men are so little in favor of this bourgeois kind of Socialism that that danger seems to have vanished. Three lectures are being given every Sunday in different public parks besides the usual week night meetings. The audiences are most enthusiastic, and the attendances have been excellent. A movement is on foot for starting regular Sunday night lectures in the Shepherds Hall, and if the thing can be successfully floated it is intended to ask some of the best lecturers to favor the Society with their aid. The names of Morris, Kropotkin and Hyndman have been suggested.

Hull and District International Socialist Association.—During the last month meetings have been held every Sunday morning, at 11, on Drypool Green, where Comrade Sketchley always lectures on one or other of the great questions of the day. On Sunday August 21st, a very large meeting was held, in which Mrs. Ida White of London took part. A second meeting was also held, which was addressed by Messrs. Cyril Bell and Poynts from Norwich. Sketchley addressed a good meeting at 3 p.m. in the Corporation Field, and in the evening at 7 in St. George Hall.

Brighton.—An energetic Anarchist group has been formed here, and for some time past has been holding very successful open air meetings on the beach, the speakers being generally Thomas Reed and J. Lawrence. During August, meetings have been held on Sunday afternoons and evenings and Wednesday evenings and, in spite of the efforts of Salvationists and State Socialists to draw away the audience, have been extremely animated. A comrade who was present on Aug. 14th writes: "A very good meeting. The State Socialists tried a little opposition, but Comrade Reed found it very easy to answer them, and they soon desisted. The rowdy element in the crowd is always Christian by profession, and a few noisy individuals generally make a point of being present, whose sole arguments consist of jeers, hootings and yells. A man named Cannon is the spokesman of this fraternity and has a few stock remarks on the duty of loving our enemies and keeping Anarchists in order 'by the strong arm of the law.' Negotiations are in progress for the hire of a spacious room, capable of holding an audience of about 500, for meetings and addresses during the winter months.

Aberdeen.—Progress reported last month continues. Larger and more attentive crowds gathering at Castle Street on Sunday morning to listen to the Gospel of Revolution and Anarchy; whilst our new station on the Broad Hill has turned out a greater success than we anticipated. The sale of literature goes on increasing, the 'WEAL, FREEDOM and pamphlets being rapidly bought up, in fact we may say we sell out every week. List of members has been increased by four names, and this despite the new and contemptible move made by the local Social Democrats of holding meetings (or, as it has turned out to be, attempting to hold meetings) within earshot of our Castle Street Station at the same time as we. This attempt to sneak the fruits of our labor does not signify, for whilst the "practical" S. D.'s have to content themselves by speaking to audiences of from 50 to 150 or thereby, the "hare-brained, madcap Anarchists" "rave" to sympathetic assemblies of from 500 to 800, and even greater numbers. It is not an exaggeration to say that our meetings exceed in size all the meetings held on Castle Street on Sunday evenings combined. There is no doubt about it. Anarchy is gaining ground in the "Silver City by the Sea," the home of smug faced respectably religious sham, money grubbing and Liberal politics, and when Aberdeen is on the move it is time for our masters to look out for squalls.

Glasgow.—Friday, 19th August, good meeting of members held in the Albion Hall, to consider our propaganda for the coming winter. Our members feel, more than ever, the urgent necessity of keeping the Revolutionary idea before the people. Instead of the recent Parliamentary manoeuvres disheartening us, they have nerved us up for more vigorous action. We are determined that the workers shall not be led into a snare and a delusion by our kind-hearted and well-intentioned eight-hour-day Parliamentary men, without our continually keeping our ideas well before them. The time has come, here at least, when we must be more emphatic regarding methods.—J. G. ANDERSON, Sec.

Dundee.—The group is a small one and has not yet been able to carry on active out-door propaganda, but we are pushing FREEDOM with some success and hope to do the same with the pamphlets.

Great Yarmouth.—The outdoor propaganda is well carried on by large meetings on the Hall Quay, announced sometimes by very striking and drastic placards. At Bank-holiday time many Norwich and some London comrades came to Yarmouth, and two meetings were held on July 31st, the evening meeting being especially well attended. Speakers, Poynts and Emery (Norwich), Headley (Yarmouth), Davis (Harlesden), Bell (London) etc. Plenty of opposition, but none of it intelligent. The second meeting lasted till past eleven. The visitors spent some pleasant evenings at the club with the Yarmouth comrades, whilst the local detectives, known to everybody, loitered about outside. Cyril Bell was followed about by detectives the whole 7 days of his visit. August 7th, good meetings morning and evening at the old place, addressed by Ida White, authoress of "Prison Poems," Arnold, Poynts and Headley. 8th, Ida White lectured in the Friendly Societies' Hall, subject "Science and Sense v. Superstition." Good attendance, interesting discussion, and at close 4s. 4d. collected towards expenses, 3s. 4d. of which Ida White gave to the Club for local propaganda. 14th, in the morning, in the old shop; spouters, Arnold, Saunders and Headley, who came in for some rather rough opposition from small capitalists and Conservative Working Men, the latter of whom threatened to throw us into the sea, but didn't care about starting on the job. The meeting continued until 1.45. Evening, speakers, Kitching, of the Hammersmith S.S., Arnold and Headley. We again came in for a fair amount of opposition, but of a more intelligent sort; meeting continued until 10.20 p.m. It was held to protest against the continued imprisonment of our Walsall comrades and Nicoll. 2s. 7d. was collected for little Victor Nicoll. 21st, two good meetings held on Hall Quay, morning and evening; plenty of questions and criticism at close; speakers, Arnold and Headley. Good sale of 'WEAL, FREEDOM etc. By the time this report is in print a strike of the Yarmouth fishermen is likely take place, and will be used for active propaganda. We are expecting Tochatti, Fox and Atterbury to help us during September.

NOTICES.

BRIGHTON ANARCHIST GROUP.—Open air meetings, Sundays, 3 p.m., on the Level; 7 p.m., on the Front (near Aquarium). Wednesdays, 8.30 p.m., on the Front.

HULL AND DISTRICT INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST ASSOCIATION.—Business meetings every Tuesday evening, at 8 p.m., at the Cafe, Low Gate, nearly opposite the Town Hall. On Sunday September 4, Mr. A. Hall, of Chesterfield, will lecture for the above group; morning at 11, afternoon at 3, and evening at 7, all at Drypool Green.

We ask all International Socialists to grasp hands with us. J. Sketchley, Cor. Sec., 52, Salthouse Lane.

In the press, "The Crimes of Governments," by J. Sketchley. 28 pp. (not 22) in wrapper, 2d.

MANCHESTER ANARCHISTS meet at the Freedom Socialist Club, 1, Chapel Street, Salford, Manchester.