

Freedom

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The Fall of England.

It is not often that Anarchists have the need or the inclination to turn aside from the propaganda of their clear, well-defined principles to the consideration of political situations which arise in every case from the betrayal of the people to the end that the class rule may be maintained. But when such an unprecedented combination of knavery and stupidity as rules England today brings a nation to a crisis such as we now have to face, it becomes imperative that every honest person should think, speak and act to save the country from the depths to which the aforesaid knaves and fools are dragging it.

For the dangers ahead of us are both imminent and catastrophic. The millions of money that are being poured out for the continuation of the South African war will have to be earned by the wretched wage-slaves who will not waken from their apathy, will not open their eyes to the suffering which the immediate future holds in store for them. Having laughed at Socialists and Anarchists as mere dreamers, they have given themselves up to all the reactionary influences that have destroyed their mental and moral virility. Instead of thinking for themselves they suck in the lies of the press; instead of speaking for themselves, they shout with the majority because it is so much easier than standing up for the truth, and instead of acting for themselves, they have given themselves up to the gambling spirit just like their "betters" and to low pleasures provided for them by their "superiors" who know how to make a profit. And what has been the result? Did the workers think they could abandon justice and truth and let things take their course without Nemesis following on their heels? Fools and weaklings to be so misled! The awakening will come through such suffering as this country has not known for a century. For on top of this seething mass of of folly and corruption have ridden into power perhaps the greatest enemies of the people this country has produced. We say "perhaps" advisedly, for there have been plenty of others. But these following on the great work achieved by the leading thinkers of the century—by Spencer and Mill, by Ruskin and Morris, to mention no others—these vampires it seems to us stand pre-eminent in the scale of iniquity.

For, if we discard all sophisms and open our eyes to the truth, what do we see the true condition of things to be like in England today? Reaction on every hand. In education, reaction; and what that reaction means the thoughtless, as usual, do not realise. Our direct need was for a great advance in this all-important matter—our slow, insular habits of mind needing all possible stimulation; whilst broader and deeper conceptions of what other peoples beside ourselves think, feel and aspire to, might have brought our national character to be—well, what it professes to be. In another column we give some views as to what education might be according to the opinions of Zola and Kropotkin. By comparison the wretched plight we are in will be easily realised. It is the deliberate work of those who are responsible for the war. Take, again, the position of the labor movement, of the trade unions. Here, also, the reactionaries have done their deadly work, and done it deliberately. Frederick Harrison tells us, indeed, that trade unionism is dead in England; and although it may not be so bad as that, it is bad enough to mean that the unions have the task before them of reconquering the position they have lost. And they will not succeed even in this unless they adopt non-political methods. And so we see all that was gained by the work of 50 years, with its trials and sufferings and sacrifices, lost by a single decision of that legal and political machinery in which so many of the workers have been placing their hopes, and which they expect some day—*some day!*—to use in their own interests! We may surely say that now or never is the time that the workingman must recognise the politician as his greatest enemy. We might continue pointing out the evils of the reactionary spirit in the press, in religion (so-called), till we traced it even in the conduct

of the police at public meetings and at parliamentary elections. But it is needless to go on. The war fever gave the opportunity and the jackals of the capitalist system have taken the fullest advantage of it.

Drunk with the lust of gold and conquest they began the "rule" of this country, this "land of the free!" They laid their plans well, and having debauched the people with their vile press they commenced the wholesale murder of so-called "savage" races. Everyone knows how we alternated between bluster and humiliation in our dealings with other nations which alone would have been sufficient to have proved to any ordinarily intelligent person the crass ignorance of "the strongest government of modern times." But the people took no heed, being more engrossed with Ascot and Derby! Then came Chamberlain, Milner and Rhodes with their trump card of the Boer war, and while the English nation went mad with patriotism our neighbours laughed in their sleeves. They at any rate could see which way we were going, and have not failed to take advantage of us in China as they will later in Egypt, in India and our Mediterranean ports.

It is a nauseating task to follow up the juggleries of politics and diplomacy. But remember, till the past few years England has held the flag of liberty highest of any in the world, and small as that may seem relatively to Anarchism, we cannot and will not see the best traditions of this country trampled under foot by rascals and renegades without calling upon all fair-minded men to protest to the utmost. The Boers are winning in a grand cause, but we are slowly murdering their old men, women and children; and the cutthroats who are responsible for this would murder our women and children also, if the English worker would fight for his rights as the Boers are fighting for theirs. Let him then face the situation. England has fallen. Her commercial supremacy is as good as gone. Our "foreign possessions" will go too. And how is the English worker prepared to meet the evil days that are coming? Will he trust again to politicians to save him? There is none that can do it. Will he seek an outlet in emigration? He will find nothing open to him abroad. At home there remains to him the workhouse or starvation—or the Social Revolution. Then, perhaps he will remember the teachings the Socialists and Anarchists preached to him in past years. He will begin to realise the truth of what was said by the "dreamers." But he will not escape the suffering which his apathy and indifference to the fate of a brave people will have brought upon him. Let him, even now, raise his voice against the Chamberlains, the Balfours and the rest of the bloodstained traitors to himself and his country, and then the world will believe he has a right to ask for justice, not for himself alone, but for all mankind.

PARIS CONGRESS REPORTS, 1900.

MILITARISM:

Attitude to assume in case of War.

The subject and title of this Report would *à priori* seem to stand apart from the narrow circle round which trade unions have till now revolved. But upon reflection and examination into all the links which bind the individual to society, one quickly perceives that it would be folly for a workingman's union not to take advantage of every opportunity offered that enables him to give expression to his views in relation to one of the greatest scourges of the century—Militarism. Are we not all, in truth, victims to this bloodstained idol, while the opportunities to protest efficiently against this slavery are so rare that we gladly avail ourselves of the Order of the Day of the Congress, hoping thereby to set an example to other unions.

At various Co-operative Congresses we have already witnessed the awakening interest of trade unionists in face of the advance of Militarism, and, timid though this interest be, it is one that will strengthen as it grows. For instance, at the Congress of the Federation of Labor Exchanges the following resolution, presented by the Union of the Seine Trade Unions and the Besançon Exchange, was adopted:

"Resolved: That in order to strengthen sentiments of labor solidarity and to save young soldiers from the suffering caused by a sense of isolation and demoralising regimental influence, this Congress suggests that the young workers who have to submit to barrack life be put in touch with the secretaries of Labor Exchanges wherever the regiments may be garrisoned.

"That where direct relations with the Exchanges prove difficult to establish, this Congress advocates such friendly overtures as are possible in the military district."

One can imagine the enormous influence that might be acquired over young proletarians disguised as murderers, if the unions kept in constant touch with them, and it is almost certain that many a Fourmie and Martinique would be spared us in the future.

But this solution of the problem, which is mentioned merely to draw attention to the revolutionary initiative existing in some Co-operative groups, is still incomplete. Its authors omitted to probe into what is really the vital point of Militarism, and tried to palliate the idea of the uniform with the hope of milder fusillades in the future. What we need now is not half-truths. We need light, brilliant, blinding light, even were we to fall its first victims; for this we must never forget—there are no social changes without victims. Progress is a history of martyrs.

Militarism exists through our own fault; it is our apathy, our inertness, which constitutes its strength, and it will always be the workers who will assassinate their fellow workers at the bidding of some gold-braided nobody. To prevent this what can be done? What has been done so far, and what should be done from henceforth? Let us have as many questions as will aid to an impartial solution of the matter, so that we may assume tactics conformable to our idea of where the gist of the struggle will lie.

Until today, and I allude especially to trade unionists, we have dissociated ourselves entirely from this question, and it is therefore a great satisfaction to have noted the initiative taken at the Congress of Labor Exchanges by the Unions of the Seine. But there the matter at present ends, and such a result is meagre. For if in conjunction with the idea of a general strike we neglect to take into consideration the armed force which is likely to be a sufficiently interesting antagonist, we risk facing certain defeat; and it would be foolish to object that if unions do this it would be entering into politics. Such a taunt would be unmerited; since, whenever owing to an economic conflict a strike takes place, what do you find before you if it is not always the army acting as a barrier between you and your aspirations? Happy, moreover, are you if not shot down as at Fourmie and Chalons! Strange indeed, that there can be some who would have unionists dissociate themselves completely from this question. No, too much time has already been lost, and the indifference shown until now amongst our industrial centres would be criminal were it to continue. We need, in fact, not only an active propaganda but militants ready to assert their manhood when the moment arrives. Not that we call upon any to desert; we know the peril deserters run and it is repugnant to us to suggest acts to others that we personally might not have the courage to put into practice; as we know, there is no more efficacious propaganda than that of example. Once for all, we state our belief that it is the general cowardice and the voluntary and involuntary support given to it that has maintained and will continue to maintain militarism. We therefore mingle sincere admiration with our fraternal greetings to the disciples of Tolstoi, who, although believers in religion, agitate more like Anarchists than the best amongst us. From them springs our example, and from them chiefly do we learn a lesson.

Unhappily, if energy is rare it is also timid in showing itself, and that especially holds good in the sad position in which those anxious to escape the military *Hades* find themselves. This also is greatly our own fault. If, by the help of international groups (which seems to us so easy), we were to institute some special section charged with entering into relations with the refractory, it is certain that many of those who now hesitate as to their duty by reason of the uncertainty of tomorrow, would hesitate no longer. Also, an international newspaper (bulletin) might be of service in making known such as had had enough of supporting an institution which they considered criminal. These are merely vague suggestions, but which seem to us should be discussed and, later, formulated, so as once for all to do away with the danger we now run through being at the mercy of bands of drink-sodden, uniformed assassins.

Now that economic questions more and more interest the workers owing to their growing thoroughly sickened with the deceptions and follies of politics; now that the position of the proletarians becomes ever more precarious; when the number of the unemployed, of tramps and unclassified of all sorts, daily increases, it is all-important to pull ourselves together and refuse to be taken aback by that dread "tomorrow." We must refuse any longer to permit that sinister cry heard in 1898 in Milan: "Aim straight! Shoot well!" Who amongst us forgets the enormous increase of troops consequent upon the attempt at a general strike two years ago? Which of us failed to shudder when thinking of what might have followed had the workers acted unanimously? You will remember two months ago [July 1900] at the Creusot pits the refusal of the soldiers to fire upon the crowd, as well as the paper pellets flung by the soldiers from the windows of the train carrying them towards the scene of strife, and which said to the workers: "Fear nothing, we are with you!" These are the gleams of hope which it is worth while to cherish and spread abroad by means of leaflets. It is education in this sense we should give the young men of our unions. Then, not only would they not fire upon the people, but there is the

chance that they might refuse to augment the number of professional murderers. And such education is needed by us all, by militant unionists, reading circles, etc. The Order of the Day of this Congress indicating the attitude to assume in case of war, there is no reason for hesitation or for taking other resolutions than such a one as follows:

"Considering that wars are due only to the quarrels of certain capitalists, who, the moment their interests are at stake, do not hesitate to precipitate frightful butcheries with the sole aim of improving their position; That property, itself the source of discord, is but the produce of labor stolen and accumulated by parasites; That those who precipitate wars are careful never to take personal part in them: Agreed, that the proletarians refuse to associate themselves with said international butcheries, that they will form groups and educate themselves to this end, believing that the sole means to avoid massacres that are the shame of humanity is to join hands internationally against their executioners."

We add no long comment to this challenge. Exploited in the time of peace we create unions in order that the worker may therein find moral and material links through which to bind him to the cause of Emancipation. Directly we go on strike from this or the other motive of solidarity, we always in time of peace find the army at once prepared to massacre us and to protect the property of our masters' syndicates; by an economic and co-operative struggle we must endeavor to annihilate the brutal power that oppresses us. It is for us to turn to account the hour when our masters, under false pretences and only in order to strengthen their hold upon us, endeavor by letting loose the chains of war to drown our visions of freedom; for us is it to refuse to further such combinations. Let us declare a military general strike, and do what the parliamentary Socialists at their congress refused even to discuss. Such appears to us the only manner of efficient agitation.

ALBERT HENRY.

(for the delegates of the Union of Bronze-workers.)

Trade Unions, the House of Lords' Decision, and Political Action.

I wonder if the recent decision of the House of Lords, which makes trade unions liable in expenses for the delinquencies of their members during the period of a strike or lock-out (for, after all, that is what the decision really amounts to), will have any real effect upon the organised workers of the country. True, here and there we have a few benighted politicians clamoring for the readjustment of the law. It seems to me, however, that they miss the whole point, which is this: it is a moral impossibility for the workers to even successfully defend the few privileges they possess today by legal or constitutional means. If this decision succeeds in opening the eyes of the people to this fact, then I think the Anarchist will sincerely thank the Lords for assisting them in their propaganda and, probably, saving them years of thankless work. To those who believe in parliamentary or constitutional effort as a means to remedy the existing social evils, as a means towards their abolition and the substitution of a co-operative commonwealth for the competitive system of today, let us point out that never was the futility of political action more successfully demonstrated by the above decision. The labor politicians believe that they can replace bad laws by good ones; laws which will shift at least part of the burden on to the proper shoulders. Well, here is your answer. The whole of your administration, all your law officers, judges, etc., are recruited from the ranks of the middle classes. To them is the right of interpreting the laws of the country; and, as many of these laws are worded in strange and ambiguous phraseology, of course it follows that they will interpret them according to their own class leanings and class prejudices.

Today there is a certain amount of hypocrisy which prevents the workers from perceiving this; there is the form (but not the substance) of impartiality. Once, however, the struggle becomes more acute; when the workers become really class-conscious and recognise their own condition, and whither they would go, the mask of hypocrisy will be thrown off, and the law will be twisted and turned and contorted for the benefit of the possessing classes and the oppression of the workers.

Witness America, where if Congress or any of the State legislatures pass a law, which apparently is to the advantage of the working class, the Supreme Court promptly steps in and decides that this law is against the Constitution and, therefore, null and void. The struggle in America is more acute than here, and it is shamelessly avowed that courts of justice (*sic*) are owned and controlled by the great syndicates and trusts;—what price the worker going to law there? what chance has organised labor in the law courts? The American workmen have long since lost faith in politics because of this and other reasons of a similar nature.

Granted that the labor politicians are successful in altering the law in this respect, the alteration will in all probability be full of so much ambiguity that the judges will go on in the old sweet way of deciding for themselves what the law really is. If not this way, then in another. There will be other laws and other statutes dragged from the lumber room, musty tomes moth-eaten and thick with dust will be produced to prove their contention. And their contention is: that the laborer remain where he is; that "God's in heaven; all's well with the world."

The worker who advocates political action, who encourages respect for law and constituted authority, is merely adjusting the noose for his own strangulation.

For he who by voice or pen attempts to strengthen the people's waning faith in parliamentary action is at the same time encouraging a subservience to law and the decisions of the law courts, which as we find

not only in this case but almost every case, are diametrically opposed to the interests of labor, organised or unorganised, which will ultimately react disastrously even on the ideals which he professes to hold and endeavours to propagate.

How can it be otherwise?

The man is in a false position to begin with, and all his efforts towards emancipating the people by political methods are merely sowing the wind. Let us take for illustration a Socialist municipal councillor.

This man, probably, for years and years at street corners and public platforms has told us again and again that all the flotsam and jetsam of our great cities, the drunkards and criminals, are the victims of society, of our rotten economic conditions. In course of time, however, our Socialist councillor is elevated to the magisterial bench and becomes a dispenser of justice (?) himself. How does he act when the "victims" come before him in his new capacity? In the self-same manner as the old-fashioned brand of middle class alderman, with the heavy gold Albert stretched across an expansive stomach. The permanent officials, the iron ring of tradition and circumstance are too strong for him, and he is compelled to deal out ten and twenty and sixty days to the "victims" who, he once told us, were punished for the sins of society, not their own. But the evil goes farther than this. By his example, to quote Byron in another sense, "he has repaired legitimacy's crutch; a prop not quite so certain as before." He has told the people that by political action their condition can be improved; and yet, when he finds himself in power, he is compelled to acknowledge his powerlessness. Years have been wasted traversing a road only to find that it leads nowhere.

No, political action will not save us. There is nothing better from the middle class point of view than a strong labor party; what a splendid bulwark for law and order and the constitution. And in the meantime, the law courts can minimise or totally nullify any little so-called good which the labor party may extract from parliament after years and years of waiting and wordy warfare. No, day by day it is becoming more conclusive that it is hopeless to accomplish anything by parliamentary or constitutional methods. Besides, how can one upset the constitution by constitutional methods as the Socialists paradoxically hope to do? The workers must understand that there is absolutely no hope for them that way. They must abandon their constitutional agitation and learn for the future that laws and governments exist not for the purpose of conferring liberty, but for the perpetuation of slavery.

Let us hope that this trade union decision will open their minds to a faint ray of light.

The workers, once they abandon political action entirely and devote their energies towards the strengthening of their unions, and, what is equally important, towards the development of new tactics and broader ideals, will realise their own emancipation at a tithe of the cost and a fraction of the time required to secure a few paltry reforms. It is in this direction that the workers must look. Too many of their unions are narrow-minded, hide-bound, in red tape and ignorance. They have forgotten that the changed conditions necessitate the adoption of new tactics; that, if our fathers were successful, it was because they were original, and we must be original likewise instead of religiously following in their footsteps.

The struggle is now no longer a question of wages; it is the existence of the wage system which is at stake. Let the organised workers but recognise this fact, and victory is assured. Not the paltry little victories of today but a victory which will bring to the worker rest and leisure, art and science, and to humanity peace.

J. BLAIR SMITH.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

The Miners' Federation of France has recently circulated the following "call" among the men:

"The hour for firm Resolutions has come—the time for words is past; we now must have acts. It is time to show our masters that we know how to be determined. Consequently, and in order to carry out the decisions of the Congress of Lens, which, confirmed at the meeting of May 6th were re-affirmed at that of July 9th, it is necessary that by your votes in favor of a general strike you prove your determination to begin this general strike upon the First of November next, if by said date the government and mining companies have not reached a conclusion satisfactory to yourselves upon the subjoined points:

- 1.—A working day of eight hours inclusive of ascent and descent.
- 2.—After 25 years service a pension of two francs (1/8) a day without an age limit in case of ill-health.
- 3.—The adoption of a minimum wage responding to the needs of the workers in each district.

"It is indispensable that every man in his respective centre should, so far as possible, start a vigorous propaganda in favor of a general strike. On the First of November next if the miners of France decide unanimously in the affirmative, we on our part are ready; we have waited long enough. Rise then, comrades! On to the General Strike! Let each man do his duty. Organise the Referendum at once in every hamlet, town and village, so that by October 1st, at latest, the Federation may know the result. May all declare themselves for the General Strike and be ready when the hour comes to take part in it."

This is an inspiring call to arms against Capital, but those who know France shake their heads. They say that a pre-arranged strike has hitherto never succeeded among French workers, who do not understand the law-and-order notion which to the English worker is what a silk hat

is to a Stock Exchange clerk. Nor is organisation in trade disputes understood. The strikes that succeed in France are those that begin spontaneously, and then extend by leaps and bounds like the flying sparks from a forest fire, till centre after centre gets alight and the countryside is in flames.

Some Spaniards who came to England because they had been boycotted for their activity as trade unionists, found employment at Dowlais.

They are devoted to trade union principles, and strong in the belief that the workers first duty is to combine they joined the Worker's Union (there being no organisation of their own trade in Dowlais), I fear with little good to themselves.

The ironworkers are paid by the ton, but a great part of their time—for which, of course, they are not paid—is taken up in changing the cylinders, which is done as often as seven times in three days; worse still, they have to attend on Sundays for this purpose from 8 o'clock till 1 p.m., without pay; and if they don't attend they are fined from 5s to 10s. This "under the British flag" and the Nonconformist conscience, which abhors the "Continental Sunday."

It is not wonderful, under these circumstances, that one of the big Dowlais ironworks lately declared a dividend of 20 per cent.

In the United States, besides the great Steelworkers Strike, there is a strike in San Francisco of perhaps greater interest; for the capitalists—large and small, shopkeepers and department stores—have formed an Employers' Association, and initiated a movement for the destruction of unions and a boycott of unionists and all who have any dealings with them. The unions affiliated to the San Francisco Labor Council have struck—from the Coast Seamen's Union to that of the Cooks and Waiters. So that in response to the ukase of the Employers Association there is something like a general strike; and the police are busy clubbing indiscriminate doses of "order" into people generally.

The unions have taken up the challenge pluckily, and we hope they will come through all right.

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S GROUP.

The International Workingmen's Group was founded in London in October, 1900. Its title is justified by the fact that the hundred members who at present compose it are of many different nationalities. French (the majority) there meet in fraternal intercourse with Germans, Italians, Spaniards, Swiss, Belgians, etc.; all, with few exceptions, being wage-earners. Varying schools of Socialism are represented amongst the members, and all opinions and ideas are open for discussion and have a fair hearing.

Good lectures have been given on: The Social Question and its Solution, Darwinism and Socialism, Patriotism and Internationalism, Co-operation, etc., etc. These lectures have given rise to discussions as courteous as instructive. Concerts and soirees have also been organised.

The Group has unanimously taken part in aiding our Anarchist comrades of Barcelona who have been the victims of the Spanish government. A resolution protesting in the name of humanity against these arbitrary acts has been adopted, and a copy has been forwarded to the Ministry at Madrid.

The delegates from the Trades Unions of France were received here, which gave our members the opportunity of exchanging ideas with our French comrades on the workers' movement.

As to the internal organisation of our association: We have founded a library composed of books selected from English authors; this to commence with. We hope to add works in other languages, and by these means to give the best intellectual weapons to our young propagandists. A dramatic group is in course of formation.

The affairs of the Group are arranged by a committee of four members, *absolutely without powers* other than these, with two secretaries and two treasurers for the necessary correspondence and financial administration. The committee has no dominating powers, because each member may organise what he considers good for the propaganda, in which case he posts in the hall a circular stating his aims and ideas, and invites the signature of those who wish to join him. When a sufficient number have joined, the Group furnishes the necessary means.

Following on a series of lectures on The General Strike, The Socialisation of the Means of Production, The Position of Anarchists during the Revolution, and The Organisation of Labor,—the Group has unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"That the emancipation of the workers can only result by their own direct action in ending the system of exploitation created by bourgeois society;

"Considering that class privileges are maintained by the solidarity of a caste and the power of their organisation;

"Considering, also, that labor is the one thing without which humanity could neither exist nor progress;

"That the workers who merit the name of revolutionists should maintain the cohesion of all movements tending to destroy bourgeois society.

"The International Workingmen's Group declares its solidarity with the General Federation of French workers, and will use all its efforts to aid and develop its aims.

"The International Workingmen's Group sends its fraternal greetings to all labor organisations, without distinction of schools, that are helping on the revolution."

G. Lorz,

Secretary.

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NOTES.

A MINIATURE SOCIALIST STATE.

To read the report just published of life on Pitcairn Island one might imagine oneself experiencing something approaching what life is supposed to be under a Socialist State. Here are some of the principal details:

The adult males have to give all their labor during the early part of the day, viz.: from after an early breakfast at 5 a.m. until 2 p.m., to works for the public good, directed by the local Parliament of seven. At the present time twenty-nine men are available, and their labor is divided between building a new church adjoining the present schoolroom, a new whaler, and the necessary boat work, shooting of goats, etc. Two p.m. is the dinner hour and the remainder of the day the people employ themselves about their own business of gardening, etc. The women of the family do all the housework, and many of them smooth and paint cocoanuts, plait and decorate mat bags, etc.

Disease, we are told, is unknown and the 126 inhabitants are happy and contented. Perhaps some would think this rather a fascinating picture of social life; but there are one or two important points to be remembered. In the first place, the account given is from the lips of Mr. James R. McCoy, chief magistrate and president of the island, and as no other person was seen or interviewed, we suggest this gentleman's version of things should be taken *cum grano salis*, as we have some knowledge of what presidents are. Fancy asking Chamberlain for a true account of English life and sentiment. However, one other thing is mentioned in the report. "It was common talk in Honolulu and Tahiti that the islanders were deteriorating morally and physically." We should say this must inevitably be the case with such sterile social organisation. And so the little picture is spoilt, and notwithstanding their freedom from disease we don't think they can be quite so well and happy as we are told seeing they have a president and a parliament of seven!

SUFFER LITTLE CHILDREN!

Some recent cases in the coroner's court indicate pretty clearly what civilisation has done in the training of mothers. It would be much better if we would recognise that we have not yet attained to the level of barbarians. Infant mortality in our great cities is something we imagine the Chinese would be appalled at, and is only exceeded in horror by Chamberlain's wholesale slaughter of the little ones in his concentration camps.

The ignorance of the mothers is something deplorable; and add to this the awful conditions of life of our town population, with all the disastrous effects of the adulterated food-stuffs supplied by the capitalist, and the wretched offspring of slum parents, if they only knew all, might well envy the babies of Tierra del Fuego. And even if they do survive, what a prospect is in store for them with all the sweating dens, match factories and other infernos waiting to devour them! Yes, the barbarians have the best of it—as long as they've no gold mines in their country.

Many of our Midland comrades will be grieved to hear of the death on the 1st of August, by consumption, of our comrade Kit Rawdon, of the Leeds Group. The movement in that town has lost thereby a staunch friend and fighter.

Brevities.

It is really remarkable that so few people except sycophantic journalists and courtiers are aware that, in our Royal Family, we possess the most splendid and varied aggregation of all the talents and all the virtues extant.

Although most people prefer to respect the old proverb: "De mortuis nil nisi bonum," and would rather "let the dead past bury its dead," still it rises in one's gorge to read all the fulsome adulation in the newspapers regarding any royal personage who may happen to have paid the debt of nature. This time it is the Empress Frederick in whose honour the peans are sounded and the "In Memoriam" doggerel manufactured. Though why sensible people should have the vulgar virtues and the prosy platitudes of a commonplace family thrown in their faces, morning, noon and evening, the journalists do not say. The Empress Frederick was, after all, a harmless mediocrity, who, in another walk of life, would doubtless have passed her years in minding the kids and darning socks; so far as the evidence goes, her mental calibre would not have raised her above this sphere. Of course, the journalists (those versatile and accomplished gentlemen, who can see through veritable stone walls) have perceived all along those wonderful talents and virtues which the less acute vision of ordinary people has passed unnoticed.

One newspaper, in speaking of the death of the Empress, says: "but the death of the Empress will stimulate scientific enquiry and experiment into the causes and cure of this great scourge" (cancer).

Just so. So long as merely common people die of such a disease, it really does not matter; but when the disease has the audacity to attack a crowned head it really, you know, behoves us to be up and doing; we can't allow such a thing to go on. So sleeves are rolled up, and the scalpel of the surgeon will be fleshed in the living bodies of the poor in London and other hospitals, and many a poor man's life will be sacrificed so that, in future, royalty may be safe from the "scourge."

Let us hope, for the honor of the medical profession, that the death of an empress is not required to stimulate them in attempting to cope with this disease. They work (or ought to) for humanity, of whom royalty is but an insignificant and worthless fragment.

Mr. Bell M.P., in *The Clarion* for August 3rd, bewails the fact that unionists are rather much inclined to take matters into their own hands without even saying to their Executive Committees (capitals please) and what not, "By your leave!" He considers this a great evil, and desires to see "discipline" strictly enforced, as well as a greater subservience to their "leaders." For Anarchists, however, the news is very welcome. It shows a development of the spirit of initiative, which we have always endeavoured to cultivate in the masses, and a distrust of "leaders" who, after all, are very seldom anything but followers. Their positions make it imperative that they should carefully sound public opinion before making a pronouncement. Our great objection to Trade Unionism was that it to a large extent crushed all initiative and individuality, that it practically gave the control of thousands of men and their actions into the hands of a few individuals. Without reflecting in any way upon these people, it is as well to remember that "to err is human," and even Trade Union Executives are not proof against this common failing of humanity; consequently, the widest toleration is necessary. After all, the men on the spot, who are suffering from the grievances, are the best judges. Let us have more of the spirit of unionism, and less of the red tape. As Anarchists, we are glad to be assured by Mr. Bell of this development among the rank and file of unionists; and it is on its further development that our hopes are based. Mr. Bell need not despair; Liberty, not "discipline," will solve the social problem.

So the war is still going on; it begins to look now as if it were one of the permanent institutions of the British Empire. Our "successful" generals send reports of the cattle they capture—and liberate. Tommy must continue to suffer, and the British people to pay. May we remind Mr. Bell and the other labor politicians that, had they paid more attention to the economic side and less to the political side of the labor question, this war might have been impossible. The general strike would have paralysed the hands of our cheap-jack Brummagem government. Let the people understand that the battle between Capital and Labor will be finally decided upon the economic field, and half the fight is won. Movements will be speedily organised for the wholesale non-payment of rent; alliances between the Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies be formed, each with a new conception of life, and inspired with the enthusiasm to realise it.

What we want today is a powerful militant Anarchist movement when we hear on all sides the hoarse cries of reaction. Observe the Jingo madness; the insane worship of wealth and power; the toadying to royalty; it makes it all the more imperative that every man or woman who loves liberty should take action of some kind. There is a large section of the people wearied of the opportunism of politicians and the crimes of governments. Come, comrades, it needs but a determined rally, a vigorous onslaught on the prejudices and superstitions of our times and our movement will be the movement of the day. The people are waiting. Shall we fail to take advantage of our opportunity?

NORTHMAN.

PIKE-THRUSTS.

The Report of the Board of Trade on the Railways of the United Kingdom for 1899 (the latest published) is, to the discerning mind, interesting reading. Here are a few of the things it tells. First, that the Railway Companies earned £101,500,000; second, that the average per centage on capital was 3.61, or a little over 3½ per cent. Not much, you say, not much to trouble about; surely a trifle of 3½ per cent won't

kill the worker; surely it is a small matter to grudge the poor capitalist. Well, let us see.

Without labor the capital would be dead stuff, without value—worth nothing but for scrap iron. It is labor (and the public demand) that gives it any value at all. Well, what is the share of labor and what of capital.

The total earnings are 101½ millions; the net profits are 41½ millions, or two-fifths of the whole earnings; two-fifths go to idle, useless shareholders and interest mongers before anyone else gets a penny. The remaining 60 millions is cost and expenses. Well, how much do you think labor gets? Wages and salaries amount for fifteen companies, accounting for five-sixths of the expenditure, to 23 millions, so that in the same proportion the wages bill of the whole would be about 28 millions.

That is: Wages £28,000,000; Profits £41,500,000 or one-third more. For every £1 paid to labor £1-10s. goes to idle shareholders. And this is only 3½ per cent!

But that is not all. In the 28 millions are included the big salaries of Directors and Managers—hundreds and thousands of pounds, many of them—for holding positions the actual duties of which are performed by £1, £2 or £3 a week men. So that the per centage of profit calculated on the labor expended is really about 200 per cent; for every £1 that goes to the worker £2 goes to the capitalist and employer. Just think, worker!

Of course, this does not represent all the spoliation of the worker. He pays rent, and thereby keeps landlords and speculators; he buys goods, and thereby keeps hosts of middlemen and parasites, from the Stock Exchange downwards (or upwards). Also, over 120 millions a year goes in taxes to the State, which helps the capitalist to rob him and by blood and fire opens up new lands for the gold bugs to plunder.

And the worker stands it all! and calls himself *free*! Rule Britannia! When will he shout: "The Social Revolution!" and, not only shout it, but act it.

RED CAP.

INTEGRAL EDUCATION.

KROPOTKIN'S VIEW.

We maintain that in the interests of both science and industry, as well as of society as a whole, every human being, without distinction of birth, ought to receive such an education as would enable him, or her, to combine a thorough knowledge of science with a thorough knowledge of handicraft. We fully recognise the necessity of specialisation of knowledge, but we maintain that specialisation must follow general education, and that general education must be given in science and handicraft alike. To the division of society into brain-workers and manual workers we oppose the combination of both kinds of activities; and instead of "technical education," which means the maintenance of the present division between brain work and manual work, we advocate the *éducation intégrale*, or complete education, which means the disappearance of that pernicious distinction. Plainly stated, the aims of the school under this system ought to be the following: To give such an education that, on leaving school at the age of eighteen or twenty, each boy and each girl should be endowed with a thorough knowledge of science—such a knowledge as might enable them to be useful workers in science—and, at the same time, to give them a general knowledge of what constitutes the bases of technical training, and such a skill in some special trade as would enable each of them to take his or her place in the grand world of the manual production of wealth. I know that many will find that aim too large, or even impossible to attain, but I hope that if they have the patience to read the following pages, they will see that we require nothing beyond what can be easily attained. In fact, *it has been attained*; and what has been done on a small scale could be done on a wider scale, were it not for the economical and social causes which prevent any serious reform from being accomplished in our miserably organised society.

The experiment has been made at the Moscow Technical School for twenty consecutive years with many hundreds of boys; and, according to the testimonies of the most competent judges at the exhibitions of Brussels, Philadelphia, Vienna, and Paris, the experiment has been a success. The Moscow school admits boys not older than fifteen, and it requires from boys of that age nothing but a substantial knowledge of geometry and algebra, together with the usual knowledge of their mother tongue; younger pupils were received in the preparatory classes. The school is divided into two sections—the mechanical and the chemical; but as I personally know better the former, and as it is also the more important with reference to the question before us, so I shall limit my remarks to the education given in the mechanical section. After a five or six years' stay at the school, the students leave it with a thorough knowledge of higher mathematics, physics, mechanics, and connected sciences—so, thorough, indeed, that it is not second to that acquired in the best mathematical faculties of the most eminent European universities. When myself a student of the mathematical faculty of the St. Petersburg University, I had the opportunity of comparing the knowledge of the students of the Moscow Technical

School with our own. I saw the courses of higher geometry some of them had compiled for the use of their comrades; I admired the facility with which they applied the integral calculus to dynamical problems, and I came to the conclusion that while we, university students, had more knowledge of a general character (for instance, in mathematical astronomy), they, the students of the technical school, were much more advanced in higher geometry, and especially in the applications of higher mathematics to the most intricate problems of dynamics—the theories of heat and elasticity. But while we, the students of the University, hardly knew the use of our hands, the students of the technical school fabricated *with their own hands*, and without the help of professional workmen, fine steam-engines, from the heavy boiler to the last finely-turned screw, agricultural machinery, and scientific apparatus—all for the trade—and they received the highest awards for the work of their hands at the international exhibitions. They were scientifically educated skilled workers—workers with university education—highly appreciated even by the Russian manufacturers who so much distrust science.

Now, the methods by which these wonderful results were achieved were these: In science, learning from memory was not in honour, while independent research was favoured by all means. Science was taught hand in hand with its applications, and what was learned in the schoolroom was applied in the workshop. Great attention was paid to the high-st abstractions of geometry as a means for developing imagination and research. As to the teaching of handicraft, the methods were quite different from those which proved a failure at the Cornell University, and differed, in fact, from those used in most technical schools. The student was not sent to a workshop to learn some special handicraft and to earn his existence as soon as possible, but the teaching of technical skill was prosecuted—according to a scheme elaborated by the founder of the school, M. Dellavos, and now applied also at Chicago and Boston—in the same systematical way as laboratory work is taught in the universities. It is evident that drawing was considered as the first step in technical education. Then the student was brought, first, to the carpenter's workshop, or rather laboratory, and there he was thoroughly taught to execute all kinds of carpentry and joinery. No efforts were spared in order to bring the pupil to a certain perfection in that branch—the real basis of all trades. Later on, he was transferred to the turner's workshop, where he was taught to make in wood the patterns of those things which he would have to make in metals in the following workshops. The foundry followed, and there he was taught to cast those parts of machines which he had prepared in wood; and it was only after he had gone through the first three stages that he was admitted to the smith's and engineer's workshops. Such was the system which English readers will find described in full in a work by Mr. Ch. H. Ham.* As for the perfection of the mechanical work of the students, I cannot do better than refer to the reports of the juries at the above-named exhibitions.

It is evident that the years of childhood ought not to be spent so uselessly as they are now. German teachers have shown how the very plays of children can be made instrumental in conveying to the childish mind some concrete knowledge in both geometry and mathematics. The children who have made the squares of the of the theorem of Pythagoras out of pieces of coloured cardboard, will not look at the theorem, when it comes in geometry, as on a mere instrument of torture devised by the teachers; and the less so if they apply it as the carpenters do. Complicated problems of arithmetic, which so much harassed us in our boyhood, are easily solved by children seven and eight years old if they are put in the shape of interesting puzzles. And if the *Kindergarten*—German teachers often make of it a kind of barrack in which each movement of the child is regulated beforehand—has often become a small prison for the little ones, the idea which presided at its foundation is nevertheless true. In fact, it is almost impossible to imagine, without having tried it, how many sound notions of nature, habits of classification, and taste for natural sciences can be conveyed to the children's minds; and, if a series of concentric courses, adapted to the various phases of the development of the human being, were generally accepted in education, the first series in all sciences, save sociology, could be taught before the age of ten or twelve, so as to give a general idea of the universe, the earth and its inhabitants, the chief physical, chemical, zoological, and botanical phenomena, leaving the discovery of the *laws* of those phenomena to the next series of deeper and more specialised studies. On the other side, we all know how children like to make toys themselves, how they gladly imitate the work of full-grown people if they see them at work in the workshop or the building-yard. But the parents either stupidly paralyze that passion, or do not know how to utilize it. Most of them despise manual work and prefer sending their children to the study of Roman history, or of Franklin's teaching about saving money, to seeing them at a work, which is good for the "lower classes only". They thus do their best to render subsequent learning the more difficult.

* *Manual Training: The Solution of Social and Industrial Problems.* By Ch. H. Ham. London: Blackie and Son, 1886. I can add that like results have been achieved again at the Krasnoufimsk *Realschule*, in province of Orenburg, especially with regard to agriculture and agricultural machinery. The achievements of the school, however, are so interesting that they deserve more than a short mention.

KROPOTKIN'S LETTER.

Read to the Meeting at South Place Institute, June 21.

DEAR COMRADES,—I am extremely sorry that ill-health prevents me from being with you at this meeting of welcome to the delegates of the French Trade Unions.

I feel the more sorry as it entirely depends upon ourselves and our own endeavours that the present visit of French Trade Union delegates to the British Trade Unions should become the starting point of a great International Federation between the workmen all over the world.

It was from a similar visit that the great International Workingmen's Association was born in 1864. And if by this time the international union between the workmen of both hemispheres has made immense progress, and has been established directly, by means of a continuous intercourse which is going on amongst the workers of all nations,—there remains still the necessity of consolidating that union and of making it a powerful weapon—both in the conflicts between Labor and Capital, and in international conflicts.

There is a common stock of *ideas* circulating amidst the working classes of all nations; but there must be also a common ground for *international action*. The necessity of spreading labor organisations internationally, and of an international support in case of strikes, that international federations of separate trades—Glassblowers, Coalminers, Cotton-operatives, Dock-laborers, the Shop-assistants and, partly, the Engineers—are already being organised.

What is required now is an *International Federation of all the Trade Unions all over the World*.

Such a Federation will not interfere with the existing international Socialist organisation, such as it appears at its congresses.

The International Socialist Congresses have delineated their own special field of action—namely, legislation in favour of labor. But this legislation—no matter how sweeping it may be—would leave untouched the great problem of our times: Labor and Capital. It sanctions the existing relations between the exploiting Capitalist and the exploited Laborer. It only tries to improve them.

However, the great struggle between Labor and Capital—Labor endeavoring to free itself from the yoke of Capital—this great struggle goes on. It requires that the laborers should offer to the capitalist a compact mass—united, not subdivided by their political opinions. Whether Conservative or Liberal, Nationalist or Internationalist, Social Democrat or Anarchist, the workmen have their own interests as such; they have their own struggle to carry on—they are Laborers placed under the yoke of the rich ones and trying to shake off that yoke. And as the rich ones, whether Conservative, Liberal, Jingo or anti-Jingo, English or French, German or Russian, unite together to combat the workers as soon as these rise against the oppression of Capital—so the workers all over the world must constitute a formidable Federation, ready to support each other irrespective of political opinions and nationality, *in the direct struggle of Labor against Capital*.

An International Federation of all the Trade Unions, across all the frontiers, is thus an absolute necessity.

As to the special question—the question of Peace and International Arbitration—which has brought over the French Trade Union delegates to London, we can but heartily greet every step, however small it may be, in the sense of a *direct union between the workmen of all nations in order to oppose the warlike and conquering spirit which takes hold of the middle classes*.

Everything that will be done to establish that DIRECT union will receive our hearty support. But so long as an International Federation of all labor organisations of Europe and America has not been established, and so long as the workers have not seen in such a Federation the natural and true expression of *their own* interests, all such attempts will remain fruitless.

Take the present war in South Africa. It was begun in the interests of a handful of shameless money-grabbers of the worst description, whose names will be, and are already, cursed by every thinking human being. And the war is conducted with a barbarity of which no other civilised nation has ever rendered itself guilty before mankind.

The good name of England has been dragged in the mud, and it is now execrated everywhere in Europe for the abominations that are committed in England's name, in South and North Africa and in famine and plague-stricken India.

Whose fault is it?

I don't hesitate to say that the fault is—not with the moneyed robbers (to rob, to plunder, to exact is their profession)—the fault is *with the British workmen*.

They alone could have opposed this war. They alone can put an end to the abominations committed against women and children in their name. If tomorrow the Labor Unions of London alone would come out to Hyde Park and put their foot upon this bloody war—within a week's time peace would be concluded, and the gold-embroidered heroes of warfare against children and women would not dare to parade the streets of an English city.

But the preachings of the rich and the systematic lies of a venal press have blinded the workers of England as they will tomorrow blind the workers of France, of Germany, of Russia, when the middle classes of these countries will prepare their wars.

An International Federation of all Labor Unions of the World, alone, would be capable of opposing its force to that organised for robbery by the middle classes.

If such a Federation existed, if the workers of all nations had grown accustomed to listen to its mighty voice and to see in it the expression of *their own* ideas, the present war in South Africa would never have taken place. The Federation would have told the truth to the English workers, it would have roused their conscience; it would have called them to action. And the same is true of all future wars, of which a rich crop is already coming.

Let us, then, solemnly put to-night the first foundations of an *International Federation of Labor*, and work with all our energies to make of it a real force for civilisation and for the true and complete liberation of mankind without distinction of creed, of colour or nationality, as the great International Workingmen's Association had proclaimed it in 1864.

P. KROPOTKIN.

Methods of Propaganda.

I don't suppose it is of much importance, to anyone except myself, what I did or did not say in the discussion on "Methods of Propaganda." But, at any rate, the fact that H.M.K. has not done justice to my sapient remarks in the July number of *Freedom* may serve as an excuse for my putting in my oar and trying to repeat and amplify what I did say.

There are various methods—I think I mentioned three—corresponding to various stages and moods, which will show themselves in the individual and in the movement. They may be useful at different times, both separately and in conjunction, or alternately, as mood and occasion call for them.

First comes the stage of criticism, when we talk and argue and preach at the tea-table, in the lecture-room and at the street corner or in the parks. Then is apt to come a time when we retire within ourselves to think things out further—to compare and to digest. After going through a short course of the first stage the second was perhaps hastened for me by my wanderings in Russia, Cyprus and Canada. You can't have street corner meetings on the prairie. This second stage is a very important one for the Anarchist, if Anarchism is to be a living faith, ramifying into all branches of human activity. This is the period during which one talks quietly (more or less), thinks, perhaps reads, and compares notes; when one finds that one has been criticising and denouncing much that is in one's self. And a main function of this stage, or period, or mood is to consider how one may oneself become a practical Anarchist. For, after all, the end of all Anarchist propaganda must be to develop practical Anarchists capable of building up the new society and of bringing forth men and women capable of using and enjoying it when it comes.

Out of these two stages comes, or will come we may hope, a third, when having sounded some of the depths and seen some of the outcome of our own criticism, and examined again its relation to society and to ourselves, we evolve something positive and practical wherewith we are ready to go forth and do battle in the world. In this new and matured campaign we shall find many fields ripening for our activity. There is the press and literature, where an opening offers for a letter here, an article there, even a journal, a pamphlet, a book. But ever, as we watch and fight, let us remember that ours is a system, a principle, a faith which requires something more than theory, something more than a prediction of what will be if certain measures are adopted; let us bear ever in mind that ours is a principle and a method of life, individual and social, which can in some part be adopted now and assimilated more and more in our personal and social attitude and conduct as we go on. It is such personal attitude and conduct that will greatly help to create the atmosphere which will make regeneration possible. It is not, however, by only one method, but by all these methods—by speech and pen, as well as by thought and mode of life—that we have to work and so propagate our ideas and principles as to secure what I mentioned in our discussion as a great aim with me now, namely, that the next liberal wave shall have as much Anarchism as we can put into it.

Now as to propaganda in trade unions. There is surely good work for our cause to be done there. But there seems to me to be much want of clearness as to object, and therefore danger of going astray. Get the workers to join trade unions, get them to send representatives to trades councils, get them to organise—but what for? If you are only going to organise them to develop class-consciousness, and to elect perhaps a few Anarchists as officials, what will that do? What is to come of it? It may spoil some good Anarchists without helping the workers much forward.

I don't know Geo. N. Barnes and don't know what else he said or what he was driving at; but I see no great harm in his words as quoted by H.M.K.: "The trade unionists of this country are spending their time and their money and wasting their energy and their brains—as far as they have any—in useless schemes to defeat the capitalists." "As far as they have any," is an unpleasant sneer, perhaps; but I suppose he is one of them himself, and so feels entitled to such freedom. As to the rest, I think I agree with him. The workers are certainly entitled to more pay and shorter hours; but, if that is all they want, these follow prosperous trade, which is much hindered by strikes and lock-outs. It seems very doubtful if, in the long run, strikes do lead to higher wages, shorter hours and increase of employment. Rather the reverse, I think. One thing, however, seems to me certain: that this imitation of the employers in fighting for their own hand only will never gain the workers what they really want, namely, justice and the management of their own affairs. These will be gained in another way. I am not against the principle of striking; on the contrary, it is the great Anarchist

method on the negative side. What are the two Anarchist principles? (1) Negative: that we should not do what we do not ourselves choose to do. (2) Positive: that we should do what we ourselves choose to do. I suggest, therefore, that the workers should strike on principles which have an effect obviously wider than themselves as workers, on principles that affect consumers, that affect mankind at large. Then they will strike because they do not choose that one of their number should do dishonest or scamping work; because they do not choose to supply munitions of war; because they do not choose to supply a country, for instance, with coal when the colliers of that country are on strike. They might, also, by strikes gradually get more of the management of their industries in their own hands, and see that they were conducted more for the benefit of the community. At present in some trades they seem to have achieved this: that they are losing the art of honest work. Take as instance the building trade of London.

So it seems to me that, except where matters of wide principle involving obviously the public interest are concerned, it would be better for the workers to cultivate harmonious relations with their employers, and in the meantime devote their scraped up resources to preparations for independence and the taking over of the industrial organisation into their own hands. This preparation might consist in experiments in their own education and their own industry in a small way.

Propaganda in these directions might be of some use to the workers.

The workers have not nearly the moral influence they ought to have in the community. Why? Economics apart, because they have not the moral superiority which they ought to have. They are hardly any better than the politicians, parsons, lawyers, loafers and exploiters who lead them by the nose. To establish this moral superiority is the great requirement. It must, I suppose, be done not by setting one against another, not by increasing class-consciousness, but by co-operation of all those, from all classes, who want to lead useful and sensible lives and who are determined to do so without consulting the blind leaders of the blind, the politicians, the parsons or even the rich.

What are the best measures to this end? This is the constant problem over which Anarchists should put their heads together—so it seems to me.

ARTHUR ST. JOHN.

Comments.

I have been asked to express my opinion upon the foregoing article. But for this, I should have remained silent; for I find so much with which I can agree and, comparatively speaking, so little with which to disagree.

In a movement, such as ours, which has for its first object the liberty of the individual, there always will be disagreement with regard to details and with regard to methods for the realisation of the basic principles which all alike embrace.

To people of the S.D.F. type of mind this is regarded as a source of weakness; but to men who have gone a little deeper, it must always be regarded as a source of strength; for where there is difference there is individuality, and in the full expression of that individuality lies the strength of any movement which has freedom for its objective.

Now, I really cannot say I have any great desire to criticise comrade St. John's *Methods of Propaganda*. What I do wish to say to him is this: All right, go ahead; travel the road which you deem best—we shall all arrive!

But still I should like to say a word or two myself. First of all, with regard to lectures, outdoor speaking, which, by implication, comrade St. John places on the lowest stage of Anarchist development. Now, while off and on I have been speaking and lecturing upon Anarchism for the last ten years, indoor and outdoor, and while at the same time I am not quite so sanguine of the results obtained as once, still from experience I am bound to say that a vast amount of good can be done by this method of propaganda. I don't wish to insinuate that the speeches delivered are likely to cause an accession to our ranks; but this I do say, that in many cases they awaken interest, they gain sympathy and they stimulate inquiry into the ideas and principles which we propagate. But the principal good of this form of propaganda is, that it allows us to dispose of that journal, that pamphlet, that book which St. John considers belongs to a more advanced stage of development. I must say that, were it not for this, were it not for the fact that meetings (open-air and other) enable us to place our literature in the hands of people impossible to reach otherwise, the mere airing of our opinions by word of mouth would have comparatively little effect upon the course of events. I quite agree with comrade St. John that "the end of all Anarchist propaganda must be to develop practical Anarchists, capable of building up the new society, etc." But thought and its utterance must always precede action; and the utterances may require to be iterated and reiterated many times ere we generate spontaneous action upon the part of the masses.

I can sympathise with comrade St. John in his desire to live his Anarchism *today*. I also want to live my Anarchism *now*, and so far as we have the strength and faith in our principles each one of us will. Perhaps one of the weaknesses of the Anarchist movement is that there is a lack of this faith among many who call themselves Anarchists today. But let us recognise the difficulties in their way, and also recognise that by endeavoring to lead public opinion in our direction we are removing these difficulties day by day.

If we desire to live communistically as a colony, then for such a colony to survive it must offer a greater amount of liberty and comfort than the outside world; otherwise it will fail. And that has been the great blot upon the many attempts to live Anarchism—there was too much martyrdom required. Anarchism promises liberty and happiness for all, not the slavery and unhappiness which were the lot of many of

the colonists in this and other countries. But still we may learn something from these failures of the past. I should be only too happy to join comrade St. John in an endeavor to live Anarchism; for I believe that a community, or a group of individuals successfully living their own lives in this fashion, would be the best form of propaganda which could be adopted.

With regard to Trade Unions, I am certainly of the opinion that Anarchists should endeavor so far as they possibly can to work inside them. I think, however, it is a mistake for Anarchists to become officials or to use their time and energy in the pettifogging routine work of a union. There are enough of men ready and willing to undertake this work, and able to do it. The Anarchist will serve the movement best, I think, by attempting to broaden the ideals of Unionism, endeavoring to make the aim of Trade Unionists the complete abolition of the wage system. Where I disagree with St. John is with regard to class-consciousness.

I am of the opinion that no real forward movement in this country will be possible without a development of the class-conscious feeling. I am aware that this system of today exercises its baneful effects upon the middle classes as well as the worker. I know that the gaoler is degraded and brutalised as well as the gaol-bird. And while I would rather be robbed than be a robber, still I think the robbery can only come to an end when the robbed are thoroughly alive to the *fact* of the robbery and *who* are the robbers.

The aim of Anarchism is to realise an ideal society in which there shall be but one class; in which all alike, in some form or another, shall be producers as well as consumers; in a word, where *all* shall be workers.

The middle-class man who joins our ranks is no longer a middle-class man—that is, if he has recognised like Kropotkin, Tolstoy and others that the first duty of a middle-class man is to get off the back of the worker. He has become one of us.

Now, I desire to cultivate a healthy antagonism towards those who are merely exploiters; for only by the development of public opinion directed against those who do not work (comrade St. John will understand that I speak in no narrow sense) will the true dignity of labor be recognised, and the workers gain that moral superiority which St. John says they lack today.

Once we have created a sound, healthy feeling among the workers (which they have not today) that he who lives upon the labor of others is a robber, a moral invalid if you like, but still upon a lower scale of moral development than the worker, then it will be possible for the worker to take his true place in society. When the worker finds his true level the difficulty of classes will be solved.

There are many more matters upon which I should like to speak, but this article, like Topsy, has "grewed," so I must draw to a close.

After all, our differences are not so great, and St. John and I can each pursue our different paths within sight of each other; we will, I hope, arrive at the same goal. Possibly in the next issue of *Freedom* I may state some methods of propaganda which recommend themselves to me, and St. John will no doubt (like me now) find much to homologate, as well as something to disagree with.

J. BLAIR SMITH.

Society moves in two different and opposing ways. In one, it is towards a human and co-operative ideal; one of equal opportunity for all, of comfort, of culture, of personal dignity and freedom. This tendency shows itself—very partially, of course, in most cases—in co-operative movements, labor movements, municipal enterprise, even (though a forced growth) in State Collectivism, and especially in the many reform and revolutionary associations and movements.

The other tendency is towards militarism and authority, plutocracy and the subjection of the masses to an iron yoke. This is seen in all States, growing as they do more military and autocratic year by year, in the tendency of capital to combine in trusts and syndicates for the greater plunder of the consumer and the crushing of labor, in the wars and rumours of war which grow upon us, and in the Clerical and Jingo propaganda.

Now it is clear, the first tendency is the best and ultimately the triumphant one; for it includes the idea of Right, of Justice and Solidarity, towards which human society inevitably tends because in the nature of things these are the only stable bases of a healthy, happy and complete social life.

But it does not follow it will conquer this year, or this generation, or even this century, or that existing societies will survive to see it. Still we live in hope; far better to live and die fighting for Right than to sink into stagnant stupor of contented slavery. In the one case we live our life; in the other, we endure it.

Yet there are grounds for hope. The past century has seen such wonderful achievements in the world of thought and ideas that it seems incredible that social life can lag behind for long. Surely the energy of that progress will be carried forward into actual social reconstruction.

Then there is a negative reason. Existing society is an exceedingly unstable one by its own nature. It lives by speculation, competition and "new markets" for its expansion. Sooner or later the latter must fall short, and the other forces will bring a financial smash and probably a military one as well. Will the result be chaos or fraternity? It will surely depend on the strength, the intelligence and the steadfastness of the minority who hold up the bright torch of ideal Justice, of Reason and of Right for the generations of the future to take from their hands.

What can we do? Spread a knowledge of the causes of social wrongs, enlightenment of all descriptions, and especially gratuitous literature written in the simplest, clearest and most striking language possible, and cartoons and pictures where possible, for in spite of Board School

education the masses are not inclined to deep reading and only know of our existence by the lies of the Jingo press.

Co-operation, trade unionism; these are no doubt good for those willing to work to lead them out of their narrow and material way of looking at things. Personal life; by all means; a sweet, dignified and noble character helps all, even under present conditions. Finally, propaganda with a view to effective revolutionary action.

For my part, I cannot see the likelihood of success for popular revolt in this country, even if one could conceive it happening. (Of course, other countries have their special conditions.)

Nor is terrorism a policy to be carried out with any hope of success. It is rather a policy of despair and a last resort. Individuals may feel themselves forced to use it, and it may at times have a salutary effect on the powers that be; but it carries too great risks with it.

The alternative is passive resistance. Say a No Rent and No Tax movement. This would be a popular movement and yet other classes could join in; for the line of progress and reaction in thought is not drawn by any means between workers and non-workers. It would not require strict organisation and would tend to spread by contagion. It would not require fighting, but courage to go to gaol if necessary. If carried out over a large area, nothing could harass the government more; military could do nothing against it. It would keep everything, especially people's brains, in a revolutionary ferment and agitation. Every week it lasted would be a loss of prestige to the authorities, increasing agitation and discontent amongst people of all classes, and even the military would tend to get affected. If it lasted long enough it would certainly end in a general strike or revolution, and in great strides towards freedom. But, for it to be well carried out, two conditions are needful. First, a fairly large minority of people with enthusiasm and clear anti-State principles to initiate it and keep it going; and, second, a situation such as would be created by a great commercial depression to carry the lesson home to the thousands of unthinking but discontented workers.

REDCAP.

Re the Freedom Group discussion on propaganda, I think that St. John is right, we ought to live up to our principles, which would bring us into closer relationships with our fellow men. It would help to refine us, to drive the brutal element out and to replace it by a friendly spirit towards men in general. I find that Anarchists as well as other men are sadly in need of self-reform; petty quarrels, malice and the conceit of some individuals often break up groups which should be united in the strongest bonds of human sympathy and brotherhood.

We shall have to throw all conceit and enmity from us. Let us start by forgetting each others little faults, and being friendly with each other. Let us teach the principles of Brotherhood by action as well as by words, and then we shall be doing some good. Although it is good to spread the propaganda by any and every possible means, actions always go a deal farther than words.

I will end by hoping, not so much for a speedy revolution, which in the present uneducated state of the people would bring reaction, but for a pure and intellectual revolution which would found a society based on love and intelligence. I think if we had more self-reformed reformers and less tin gods on wheels, this would be possible.

HENRY F. CHIVERTON.

It seems to me that St. John makes a number of statements which he has not taken the trouble to demonstrate to himself. He says that "more pay and shorter hours follow prosperous trade." Now, if he will just see the note on Dowlais in this issue or look up the condition of child workers in Lancashire in the palmy days of its cotton trade, he will see it is not so, and I don't understand how he imagines it. Strikes, etc., may divert trade, but what is badly wanted gets made. It appears to me that the employers are class-conscious, and the worker must leave them—as such—out of his schemes for a better life; they will improve as the worker demonstrates his will and ability to do without them. I believe his two propositions, positive and negative, involve the policy of resistance, and that must be the outcome of greater self-respect in the people.

T. CANTWELL.

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