

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

THE COMING REVIVAL OF SOCIALISM.

III.

The International Working Men's Association was a vast organisation of trades unions, which it was intended to spread all over the world, and which would have carried on, with international support, the **direct** struggle of Labour against Capital. This was its leading idea, in which the Paris Proudhonians and the English Owenites united when they founded the Association in the years 1862-1864.

Therefore its fundamental principle, inscribed at the head of its program was:—"The emancipation of the working men must be the work of the working men themselves," and its other principle, so fiercely advocated by Proudhon, was, that "economical agitation must be the main object, and all political agitation must be subordinated to it." Consequently, during the first six years of its existence, until the Franco-German war, strikes supported internationally were its main means of action. Its sections were trade unions, to which one "section of propaganda," consisting of members of different trades, or of no trade, was added in each important city; and the "federations" were all the sections of a given industrial region grouped together—sometimes irrespective of national frontiers, as was, for instance, the Jura Federation, which comprised both French and Swiss sections belonging to the same industrial region of the Jura Mountains. *

At the same time the sections of the International Association became permanent schools of social economy for the working men. Every question submitted to the next congress of the federation, and next to the yearly congress of the whole Association, had to be discussed first in the sections, whether it was a question of the day, or a question of future organisation; and in this way thought and research were stimulated in a thousand centres, and the discussions went on amongst the working men themselves or under their control, and with the aid of their special knowledge of each trade.

Three different schemes of Socialistic reconstruction of society had been proposed, and were under discussion amongst social reformers at the time when the International was founded:—(1). The authoritarian Communism of Cabet, Leroux, and Considerant (Marx had advocated it, in 1848, before the Germans in his "Manifesto"); (2). Collectivism, which had been worked out in 1848-1850 by Pecqueur and Vidal, in serious elaborate works,—the former insisting that the French Republican Assembly should legislate to introduce Collectivism, now vulgarised by the German and French Collectivists under the pompous name of "scientific Socialism"; and (3). the most favourite teaching amongst the French founders of the International was Proudhon's "Mutuelism," that is the exchange of produce among working men's associations by means of labour cheques issued by the National Bank, this new form of economic life being brought into existence, partly by the operations of the Bank itself, which would render capital unproductive, and partly in consequence of a social revolution, which was described then as a "Social Liquidation."

To these fundamental currents of thought various others of less importance ought to be added. As, for instance, the idea of Louis Blanc, advocated later on by Lassalle in Germany, of State aid to the labour associations, which would thus become the owners of the factories, the mines, etc.; or the idea so popular in England, of co-operative societies permitting the working men to save the necessary capital for becoming the owners of the factories, the mines, etc.; or, again, the teachings of Collectivism of Collins, which laid stress upon the nationalisation of land, and were especially popular amongst the Belgians. However, the two main currents were; the State Communism, advocated formerly by Cabet, Weitling, etc., and now advocated by Marx and the Germans, and the various currents originating from Fourier's "free associations," variously combined with Mutuelism and Collectivism.

The eminently practical and democratic minds of the Paris working men, who were the leading spirits of the International at the time of its foundation, perfectly well realised that it would be foolish to expect that some genius should find for them the best forms of a future economical organisation of society. All that men of genius could foresee was already known to the Fourierists, the Saint Simonians and Robert Owen. But that only would have any chance of *realisation* in life, which would appear as realisable and practical to the working men; consequently the working men had themselves to come to certain general conceptions as to the general lines upon which the social revolution was to take its first steps; all a thinker could do would be to find later on a more distinct expression of these aspirations, after they had been outlined by the labourers themselves.

Unfortunately, it was only in the Latin countries that the International Working Men's Association really developed and worked in the way just described. All that could be done in Germany was to start a secret organisation, in which the adherence, in a body and in general terms, of a few labour organisations could be assured. This impossibility of acting openly, and the necessity of being led by a handful of leaders, necessarily laid their stamp upon the whole of the subsequent Socialistic movement in Germany. It may seem paradoxical to say so, but the reality is, that Socialism in its various currents has never been properly discussed in Germany. The Marxist expression of it was taken on faith, and all others were suppressed. Even the criticisms which Marx wrote of the program of the party, both in its theoretical and practical portions, were not allowed to be printed until their existence became known many years later on, through indiscretion. A serious discussion of the principles of Socialism, Collectivism, Communism, Mutuelism, Anarchism, and so on, has yet to be made by the German workers, in the same way as it has been done in Latin countries. Till now, even the facts, the elements of a serious discussion, have not yet been laid before them.

The same has to be said to a great extent about the mass of the English working men, even though something was done in that direction during the next revival of the eighties. In England, too, the International Working Men's Association existed only in name. The trade unions had adhered in principle and in a body to the International Association, but they never took a lively part in it, apart from the support of a few strikes; and as they took no part in the discussions of the reform questions in which the Latin working men took such an intense interest, the great and wholesome educational influence of the International was lost to them. The penetration of Socialist thought (and by "Socialist" we mean, of course, in its entirety, including Anarchist Communism) did not take place in England as it did in France, Spain, Belgium, Italy, and French-speaking Switzerland. Consequently the revival of the sixties was Radical in politics, and even Republican, free-thought, trade unionist, and vaguely revolutionist; but the Socialist conception—the necessity of getting hold of everything required for producing wealth—remained almost even more remote than it was in 1840.

The English agitators of the sixties remained mainly Jacobinists in the French sense of the word (like Félix Pyat or Ledru Rollin), without trying to understand Socialism; while the trade unionists, moderately Radical in temper, did not want to look further than the struggle for better wages and shorter hours. To drive the capitalist out of the factory and the mine, seemed to them so far off that they did not care to discuss this eventuality.

Besides, the Radicals of those years looked upon the Socialists with suspicion. In 1840-1848 the Socialists were, to a great extent, religious—"Christ a Socialist" and "Socialism

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NOTES.

"THEY NEVER WILL BE MISSED."

The *Star* has discovered that chaos does not necessarily result when the "seats of the mighty" become vacant. The resignation of the principal rascal in the gang of rascals who have been working untold mischief in this country for the last few years only leaves the impression how happy we might be if all the rest would follow, and society, pursuing some Gilbertian line of evolution, might begin to develop its economic life on Socialist principles, and the exploiting classes might be gently but firmly transformed into useful members of the community founded on justice and equality.

As, however, the end of governments will not be that way we can only hope that some of the people will be able to follow out this lesson to its logical conclusion. As the *Star* says, "Slowly we come to realise how few of us are indispensable." How few, indeed! save those who toil in misery and bear the burdens of the world—the exploited masses of every nation, the docile, willing prey of the capitalist and the State. For the ambitions of a Chamberlain or the wealth of a Rothschild these are always indispensable.

MORE LIGHT ON "LEADERS."

The deplorable position of some of the so-called labour leaders at the present moment is really a crying evil in the labour movement. The rank and file will have to bestir themselves if they wish to save their unions not only from the onslaughts of the employers, but also from the trickery and treachery of the men they have placed in official positions. We at any rate will not be accused of serving any personal ambitions or indulging in any spite if we say that recent events prove some of these individuals are too discredited to remain in positions of trust in the labour movement. But independently of this fact the squabbling and recriminations of ambitious "leaders" on the down grade of political compromise will, we should imagine, hardly encourage even those who may honestly believe in political action. The promised land viewed from this point seems to recede more and more the further you go on the road.

"THE GENERAL STRIKE."

This is the title of a new paper advocating the General Strike in a clear and forcible manner. This benighted country sorely needs waking up in this respect, and we heartily wish *The General Strike* every success in its educational sense. "Watch your Leaders" is a very caustic and timely criticism of events now passing in the trade unions, and readers will find interesting and reliable information of strike movements abroad not generally vouchsafed by Reuter.

We hope this much-needed advocate of the workers' most powerful weapon will receive all the support comrades can give. It is at present appearing monthly, but hopes later to have a weekly issue. All contributions and subscriptions should be sent to the Manager, 12, Dean Street, Oxford Street, London, W.

Comrade H. Glasse, of Droxford Villa, Cape Road, Port Elizabeth, South Africa, will be glad to hear from any friends interested in Socialist and Anarchist propaganda living in South Africa. He will also be glad to supply explanatory literature to any inquirer who will apply to him.

(Continued from front page.)

true Christianity" were favourite sayings,—while owing to the general awakening of natural science in the early sixties scientific materialism was rapidly gaining ground, even in England, and the hostile attitude of all the Christians towards the great scientific conquests of those years (Darwinism, Physical Psychology, Indestructibility of Motion, etc.) rendered a conciliatory attitude quite impossible.

There was, however, a still deeper cause of distrust towards the Socialists. They attached too little importance to the political liberties and the democratisation of English institutions that had been won in this country after a bitter fight that had lasted all the century; while the working men saw, quite rightly, in these Radical conquests a necessary guarantee for their further struggle against capital. It is known that both Fourier and Robert Owen were not free from the idea that benevolent despots, even a Nicholas I., might aid them in spreading their schemes of Communistic settlements. On the other side, many Socialists dreamed of an enlightened autocrat who would give State support to labour associations, and thus make a beginning for Louis Blanc's scheme of social reform. The friendship of Lassalle with Bismarck, and the friendly relations he retained at the same time with the German refugees in London, and the fact that one of these refugees (Max Bucher) had become before that a secretary to Bismarck, were not made to dissipate the suspicions of Caesarism which weighed upon the Continental Socialists. Still less so the flirtations in which Napoleon III. indulged with regard to the Paris proletarians, and even with the founders of the International, to whom he promised his support, on the condition that they should insert a few words of trust in his devotion to the cause of the proletarians. Many more traces of "Caesarism" will surely be found one day, and one can guess why the Republican wing of the refugees in London (Mazzini, Herzen, Ledru Rollin) were so distrustful of many of their Socialist contemporaries, and why the English Radicals had no trust at all in the English Socialists.

These were the faults of the Socialists. As to the Radicals themselves, their Radicalism, as well as their "freethought," went only half-way. Most of the freethinkers, even the few of them who had the courage of their opinions, were half deists; while in their economical conceptions they did not go beyond free trade, Malthusianism, and the hope that with some freedom of combination for the workers and plenty of freedom in the exploitation of the less industrially advanced countries, the well-being of the workers would so much increase that they would drop all their "dreams" about becoming the owners of the factories, the mines and the land.

This is why the revival of the sixties, which had such a formidable effect in Europe on the Continent (the Commune of Paris, the Communalist movements in Spain, the growth of Social Democracy in Germany, the development of international solidarity, etc.), left relatively so few traces in Britain. It certainly brought about a further democratisation of institutions as well as half-hearted but not to be neglected reforms in education. But the very same progress, and relatively even more, was accomplished in Germany and France; while all that educational influence which the few years of the existence of the International had had on the Continent was still missing in England. We thus have to come to the next revival of the Labour Movement in the eighties, to find anything similar to what had been done on the Continent in the sixties.

This third revival we shall analyse in our next issue.

Voltarine de Cleyre in London.

A very successful social was held, on September 12th, at the Food Reform Restaurant, Holborn, to welcome Comrade V. de Cleyre on this her second visit to London. The event brought many old friends together again, and, over a very enjoyable and well-served tea friendly converse held the sway. Later Voltarine gave a humorous account of her journey to Norway and her adventures there, in which the antics of bewildered detectives played a comic part. A touching letter, from Kropotkin, of friendly welcome and esteem was read, and after some hearty words of greeting were spoken by Turner, Macpherson, Miss Bonfield, Tchaykovsky and Tcherkosov, with some charming songs by Miss Jeannie Atkinson, a most successful evening was concluded. As organiser, H. Kelly may congratulate himself on the result of his efforts.

On September 17th, at South Place Institute, Comrade de Cleyre gave a very interesting and thoughtful lecture on "Crime and Punishment," in which she pointed out that if people would only look deeply and humanly into this question they would find that punishment was a failure from all points of view. She particularly emphasised how false Christianity had been to the better part of its own teachings in this matter, and after pointing out some of the absurdities apparent in Lombroso's theories, she made manifest that after all the Anarchist principle of no punishment for crime—a principle she has so splendidly adhered to herself—was the highest morality as well as the most practical solution, since it substituted science and humanitarian sentiments in place of the degrading doctrine of revenge.

There was a very good and attentive audience and a substantial collection was made.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND FATALISM.

Many attacks have been directed by Anarchist writers against the theories of Karl Marx and his followers, but one point in them, perhaps the most vital, seems to have been insufficiently attended to. I refer to the "materialistic theory of history," and the attitude of fatalism to which it logically leads. Readers of *Freedom* will recall Tcherkesoff's treatment of the subject in "Pages of Socialist History"; but it seems to me that our comrade has not given this factor the emphasis it deserves, so that his treatment is in this respect incomplete. Perhaps this article may be useful as a supplement to his very effective pamphlet.

Let us define as clearly as possible what is implied in the "materialistic theory of history." We must remember that Marx made his start from Hegel's philosophy; and Hegel sees in history merely the inevitable unfolding of a pre-determined sequence. According to this theory, all change, including social change, is automatic, pursuing a course irrevocably fixed; history is reduced to a puppet show, in which we, men and women, are the puppets, and are at the mercy of the unseen wire-pullers,—according to Marx—blind, inexorable "economic forces." These forces tyrannically govern every act of every man; man is powerless to hinder or advance in any degree the movement of society they compel; and the only relief allowed him is this—that if he accepts the enlightenment of the Marxian faith, he may enjoy a Pisgah-sight into the promised land of the Social-Democratic State towards which he is borne!

It would be impossible in a short article to give at length any argument on the real forces which determine social progress. But I think we shall all agree to the following propositions:—

Any change in social organisation is necessarily preceded by a change in men's ideas—so that we may call the change in ideas the cause of the change in organisation. Now, the new ideas can only arise in the way common to all ideas, namely, as the result of thought in the minds of individuals. Of course a Social Democrat, with an ounce or so of wit, would retort that these new ideas are in the first instance caused by "economic forces,"—hunger, injustice, defeat. This, in fact, as I make it out, is the position of Marx himself. As a complete account of the matter it is, however, evidently fallacious. It is true that economic theories must have their origin in thinking about economic conditions. The conditions must exist in order to be known, and must be known in order to cause dissatisfaction; and such dissatisfaction alone can give rise to a wish to alter the conditions. In this way the economic conditions may be indicated as at any rate one cause of their ultimate change. Yet I imagine that there are many men with an exhaustive knowledge of modern economic conditions who, unless they had heard of Socialism, would never have dreamt of wishing for change. Something else is needed; and this something else is the power of individual thought and individual will. If Marx had never lived and thought should we have had Marxian Social Democracy? And was Marx's intellect solely the result of economic forces? And if this is to be applied to all great intellects, let it be explained how economic conditions produced a Shakespeare or a Beethoven. The position, upon analysis, turns out to be absurd.

But it is the second factor,—the part played by the individual in social movement—which Anarchism fully recognises and indeed depends upon. The whole spirit of Marxianism lies in this:—That, do what we may, the change from capitalism to collectivism is inevitable, and will be brought about by the forces of capitalism itself. We can at most foresee the change and prepare ourselves for it. Anarchism on the other hand holds no such fatalist doctrine. It declares that the new society cannot come of itself—it must be made. It sees that social evolution is the result of nothing else than the determined efforts of individuals, each working steadfastly towards what he holds to be the best. Its faith is in man and in man's strength, and not in the metaphysical fiction of impersonal non-human forces.

In their demands from human nature and their effects upon it, the two theories stand in strong opposition. Anarchism requires and fosters the active virtues: self-reliance, initiative, courage, and energy. To Social Democracy corresponds rather the virtues of the passive kind such as patience, resignation, and submission. In his book, "German Social Democracy," Mr. Russell speaks of "the daily support, in the midst of the most wretched social conditions, which the more intelligent working men and women derive from their fervent and religious belief in the advent of the Socialist state, and from their conviction that historical development is controlled by irresistible forces, . . . by whose action the diminution and final extinction of the capitalist class is an inevitable decree of fate," and says that "this fatalism more than all else gives to Social Democracy its religious faith and power; this inspires patience and controls the natural inclination to forcible revolution."

The Anarchist holds it a fault in Marxianism that by teaching men to rely on forces outside themselves it saps the energy of the strong and gives a comfort to the weak that is wholly illusory. His is a nobler faith that urges him not to resignation but to active resistance. The duty that Anarchism holds out to each man is one of ceaseless effort of thought and will, in striving to perfect his grasp of the ideal of liberty, the goal of true human progress, and the ordering of his life in accordance with the ideal. It offers him the bracing assurance that in working for the coming of the new society he must look for the help of no "forces" but his own faithfulness and steadfastness, and the faithfulness and steadfastness and sympathy of his comrades. It will not be deluded with a false assurance of security. It reco-

gnises that the wished for change will need the strenuous effort of many men united by a common hope and a common determination that it shall come. "What stronger motive," said Maeterlinck, "can men find for moral action than the conviction of the absolute immorality of 'Fate'?"

C. SALAGNAC.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

Our Italian comrades are publishing a review of sociology, art and literature, which has reached its fourth number. They call it *Il Pensiero* (Thought), and the programme with which they came before the public two months ago was summed up thus: *a movement towards truth by means of freedom*. Their pages are open to honest thinkers of all opinions, and what they demand for their ideas above all things is the test of discussion.

They meant to begin modestly, and they have certainly begun well; their criticism of plays, books and the reviews are bright and sympathetic. They are publishing works of Kropotkin and Elisée Reclus hitherto unknown to Italian readers, interesting articles on the questions of the hour by Gori, Falbri, Grave, Faure and others, together with exhaustive correspondence from Southern America and France.

The controversial element they had hoped for is, so far, lacking. Silence and indifference are the toughest adversaries of the pioneer, but we can hope that the intelligent breadth of spirit displayed by *Il Pensiero's* editors will beat them.

France, England and the Anarchy of Europe, by Jean Finot, editor of *La Revue*, in *Contemporary Review* for September.

The reasoning contained in this article is interesting for its strength of criticism and weakness of reconstruction. M. Finot gives us a masterly sketch of the place England and France have taken in European affairs and the development of arbitration, dating from the negotiations between Edward IV. and Louis IX. He then describes the state of universal terror to which we have attained, and proceeds to draw a lesson from history.

The author compares internal conditions to international. On the one hand he sees law and relative security, on the other anarchy and disorder. Arguing a causal connection between the autonomy of nations and their exceedingly unfriendly intercourse, he pleads for legal arbitration. It is here that we cannot follow him. M. Finot explains the mutual relations of a group of units regardless of their individual character. The foreign affairs of nations are determined by their governments. If they be determined for evil this depends not on the freedom but on the irresponsible greed of rulers, and will be modified by a revolution of internal conditions, not by the constitution of still one more irresponsible power.

G. B.

P. S. POLIVANOFF.

We are grieved to confirm the sad news announced some three weeks ago by the French press, and doubted at the time, that Polivanoff had shot himself at Lorient, on the west coast of France, in a public garden. He was one of the very few remaining heroes of the old Narodna Valia. After having withstood twenty years of imprisonment in the terrible Schlüsselberg fortress, and being transported on the expiration of the term to Siberia, he found enough strength of body and of the spirit in himself to escape from there abroad. He seemed to be at the time full of energy and of passionate determination to return to Russia for continuing the unfinished deadly fight against autocracy. And then this quite unexpected news. A letter which he left behind to his comrades explains the actual cause of this tragedy. He wrote:—

Dear Comrades,—The disease of the heart which I contracted in the course of the last few years of my prison life has made a remarkably rapid progress since my escape. Consequently, I have become merely an invalid, unable to withstand the hardships of the outlaw life if I returned to Russia. Thus the dream which sustained me in my escape vanished, and my return to the active revolutionary fight became impossible for me. I wish you to live long enough to see the downfall of this disgrace to our mother country—the autocracy and all the immense evils it causes. Oh, how happy I should be to share your heroic fight for freedom, the fight, not by words alone but by facts. But, alas! I am not fit now to be either a terrorist or a rebel, I am a man with broken-down health. And as the life outside the active work for the cause, outside the struggle, is unbearable for me—I destroy myself.

Long live freedom! Long live the Bolvaia Organisation!

P. POLIVANOFF.

P.S.—I earnestly request those who promised to preserve my memoirs to deliver them to the "Revolutionary Russia" with all due care and precaution.

Owing to the energetic and hearty participation of the local Amalgamated Organisation of Port Workers, of the Socialist party of France (N.S.R.), and Republicans, the funeral of our comrade has been turned into a true and magnificent demonstration against the autocracy of "our Ally."

REPORT.

BIRMINGHAM.

A group has been formed in Birmingham for the discussion of Anarchism. It consists at present of about fifteen members, mostly Yiddish; while amongst the English comrades are two who lately belonged to the Liverpool Group, whose activity we all remember. Propaganda is carried on vigorously by Comrade Kavanagh on Sunday evenings in the Bull Ring. The reception he receives seems to me, who witnessed his debate with a Social Democrat, to be somewhat disappointing. But the group is only just formed, and I shall be very surprised if our comrades' vigorous efforts do not result in something. The group will shortly take a room to be used as a club and for discussion. We wish them good luck. Stout hearts they have.

The Birmingham Group will be pleased to see any comrade at 60, Ashley Street, Birmingham.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Germany.

No. 27 of *Neues Leben*, Berlin, was confiscated, and our comrade Grunwald, the editor, is still in prison, "awaiting investigation." It appears he has to wait rather an uncomfortable time, as the judges are away on their holidays. Besides the weekly *Neues Leben*, our Berlin comrades publish monthly *Der Anarchist*, which hopes to become a weekly, and Geneva has a new fortnightly paper, in German, *Der Weckruf*. *Der Arme Teufel* seems to have disappeared, we hope only temporarily. It is hopeful to see the movement taking life again in Germany in this way. The idea of the General Strike is making many converts. Dr. Friedeberg, a Social Democrat, recently upheld it at a meeting of Social Democrats, in Berlin, and was supported by several of our comrades. At Leipzig, Tolstoy has been convicted of insulting the Emperor by a book called "Thou shalt not Kill." We do not know the contents, but the title alone is enough to insult William, the ally of the Turk in Macedonia.

Russia.

The Czar has been attempting to dupe with "labour laws" the workers whom he found he could not subdue with bullets and Cossack's whips. First, a law has been put forward allowing the workers of a certain craft, in a given district, to group themselves and elect a delegate to represent the group in certain circumstances, as for instance in negotiations between workers and masters on the question of wages. This is only a primitive and very insufficient beginning of the trade union; for example, these groups cannot join together to form a trades federation; they cannot, moreover, according to the law, join with groups of the same industry to form a national federation.

Second. The 15th of August a law was put forward on workers' compensation for accidents. Naturally, it is just as laughable as the law on trade unions, for example, a certain number of industries are—why? a mystery—excluded. Amongst these exceptions are the workmen engaged in constructing railways, so numerous in Russia, employees of steamboat companies, etc.

The Russian workers have no need to rejoice exuberantly over these concessions, but they are able by it to become aware of the changes produced in the feelings of their masters towards them by the growing menace of an approaching revolution.—*Les Temps Nouveaux*.

Switzerland.

In Geneva yet another strike—of masons this time. The strike is noteworthy in several ways. The strikers have organised a common kitchen, and in this way they and their families obtain good food at small expense. The Government has done its worst in the way of expulsions, arrests, prohibitions of meetings, and by prohibiting the strikers from publishing anything about the strike. Yet the strike goes bravely on. The worst feature, as usual, is the interference of the Social Democrats. Certain of their leaders have declared that the strike is rendered illegal by the recently passed Socialist law on "collective conflicts." The lawyers of the Federal State, however, declare that the law does not apply in this sense. So the Social Democrats are doubly defeated, both in their attempt to stop the strike, to the detriment of those engaged in it, and also in their attempt of February to make a law which should take from the worker his only weapon of economic warfare.

Portugal.

We have received the following letter from a Portuguese comrade:—
Dear Comrades,—In the 178th number of your review I saw a note on Portugal, and therefore I send the following news that you may give your readers more information. I left Portugal nearly two years ago, but have closely followed the labour and revolutionary movements of my country.

O Amigo do Povo that used to be published at Portalegre now appears no longer. It was not, properly speaking, an Anarchist organ, but it accepted libertarian articles, and had some Anarchists on its staff. This can be said of many Republican papers, even among the dailies, and it is a proof of the way Portugal is penetrated by the Anarchist ideal.

The properly Anarchist periodicals are two, published weekly: *A Obra* (The Task), of Lisbon, concerned principally with the labour movement; and *Despertar* (The Awakening), of Porto, decidedly Anarchist in tone, given entirely to libertarian propaganda, and succeeding the other Porto weekly, *Aurora*, which has been suppressed. The same fate has befallen a weekly of Funchal (Madeira Islands), abolished by the police, who are headed by the all-powerful Veiga—powerful because Portugal is an unknown corner of Europe where unknown Monjuichs flourish. A student friend publishes a small review at Coimbra, the *Revista Livre* (Free Review), but as I have not received it for some time back I fear it must have come to an end.

Anarchists are already numerous, especially at Porto and Lisbon; not so at Coimbra where the students, especially those of theology and law, are the most reactionary in Portugal, and give at most a small Republican majority.

They are the sons of middle-class people, politicians and civil servants; some noblemen, too, Catholics with *Miguelistas* sympathies, partisans of Miguel, the absolute King that the Liberals have dethroned. Together with all the middle-class of the town, they joined the workers on occasion of a strike, in a half-hearted manner. No student was killed; the dead and wounded were all workers.

In Lisbon, too, the students are rather backward—a small anti-Catholic and Republic majority. It is in Porto that they are most revolutionary—Republicans and Anarchists; if there be Monarchists amongst them they are not to be seen.

The Porto students are always expressing their views, and those of the medical school declared principles so imbued with a broad libertarian spirit that the Coimbra students, in discussion, called them Anarchists. Amongst the young people of the Republican Party, many have libertarian tendencies and manifest publicly their sympathy with our ideal. It is, however, the workers that constitute the main body of our force. I know Porto, and there Anarchy has conquered the greater part of the healthy and awakened labour elements.

The labour movement develops likewise. Recently a great strike was declared by the weavers (25,000), and it has almost become a general strike. The results have been rather poor, in part the strikers have been clearly duped; nevertheless it was a cheering symptom. I believe our friends will now know how to profit by circumstances to paralyse the game of the Republicans, their *arbitrage*, their *protection laws*, etc.

N. VASCO.

AN APPEAL FOR CANTWELL.

All amounts will be acknowledged in *Freedom*.

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LITERARY NOTES.

Modern Science and Anarchism. By P. Kropotkin. Social Science Club, Philadelphia. Price 25 cents. 1903.

We are very pleased to see the English version of this thoroughly scientific and brilliant sketch of Modern Positive, Inductive Science of the evolutionist doctrine of synthetic philosophy.

Our friend Kropotkin is certainly one of the best qualified to treat such a subject. The reader will find in this small book a clear survey of the general evolution of modern thought towards the realisation of a social order free from the principle of the supernatural or deity as well as of authority. The book is brought out carefully and neatly. The translation, by a Modell, is done very conscientiously, for this reason we are sorry to observe some incorrect renderings of the Russian original. For instance, "It is true that the feudal obligations abolished by the Republican armies of Italy and Spain were restored in these countries" gives the reader the idea that the Spanish and Italian revolutionary armies abolished the feudal obligations in these countries, whereas the original, true to history, says that the army of the Revolution (the Great French Revolution) abolished feudal obligations in Spain and Italy.

We hope that in the next edition, which should follow soon, similar mistakes will be avoided.

FOR THE VICTIMS OF THE GENERAL STRIKE IN HOLLAND.

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