

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

VOL. XVII.—No. 182.

NOVEMBER, 1903.

MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

THE COMING REVIVAL OF SOCIALISM.

IV.

The revival of Socialism which took place in the sixties, under the banner of the International Working Men's Association, left deep traces amongst the Continental nations. It determined the lines of their future development.

In France it had culminated, after the unfortunate Franco-German War, in the Paris Commune. Of course, this uprising, which lived only seventy days—under the guns of the Germans, ready to be turned against it—had not had the time to produce all it was capable of giving. A popular revolution, beginning, as it usually does, upon some event of secondary importance, always requires some time before it finds the proper expression of the leading ideas which underlie popular discontent. With all that, the Commune gave us something very important. It indicated the political form which the coming social revolution will have to take, the form which will render the revolution possible. Not the form of a centralised "Popular State," but that of independent Communes, more or less communistic. The most advanced cities taking the lead in the working out of new forms of communistic life, accomplishing the social revolution themselves, in various degrees, on their own territories,—instead of trying to find in a central parliament a sort of *average* for the nation,—an average which would compromise with the past, and, satisfying nobody, would only hamper the future without avoiding the violent opposition of the dispossessed ones. Acting, in a word, as the cities of the eleventh and twelfth centuries acted, when they opened by their revolts a new era for European civilisation.

This was the lesson of the Paris Commune, the beacon it planted for the future. And it must not be forgotten that attempts at proclaiming the Commune were also made (even during the war) at Lyons and Marseilles; and that the example of Paris was followed by St. Etienne in France, and by Carthagena and Alcoy, in Spain. It is certain that the idea of the revolutionary Commune taking the lead in the social revolution has become familiar in Latin countries.

Another consequence of the revival of the sixties was, that it conquered more or less all European nations for Socialism. Till then, Socialism was limited to France and partly to England. Now it spread to Germany and all other countries of Europe.

France had had Fourier, Saint-Simon, Babeuf, and these three had originated quite a phalanx of Socialists: Considérant, Cabet, Pierre Leroux, and so on. She had produced, moreover, that original and powerful Anarchist and "Mutuellist" writer, Proudhon. Even the novel in France was deeply imbued (by Eugène Sue, George Sand, &c.) with Socialist and revolutionary ideas. Besides, the secret Communistic societies exercised a deep influence on general politics; and the insurrections at Lyons and elsewhere, followed by the great insurrection of the Paris proletarians in June, 1848, had definitively traced a gulf between middle-class and working man politics. In this country we have Robert Owen and his theoretical followers, the Christian Socialists (corresponding to Lamennais in France) and a strongly organised, semi-secret, Labour movement.

But Germany remained deaf to the Socialist ideas which so deeply agitated France. The few German Communists, like Weitling or Grün, had been unable to awaken Socialist or Communist thought in Germany itself; and it was only in the sixties that Lassalle started on Teuton soil a short lived Radical-Socialist movement.

The first impulse for the awakening of Socialist thought in Germany was given by the International Working Men's Asso-

ciation, which was joined by a few German leaders (Liebknecht, Bebel) and to which were affiliated—in principle—a few German working men's organisations.

Now, after the war, Marx, Engels and Liebknecht began in Germany itself a large propaganda of the ideas of the French Socialists (chiefly of the Saint-Simonians in their theories, and of Louis Blanc in practice), clothed then, however, in a metaphysical garb, which apparently suited German educated minds; while Bebel, a devoted Fourierist, who had also retained the comprehensible and elegant style of his French masters, especially contributed to familiarise the German working men with the Fourierist aspects of French Socialism.

It was immediately after the war that the German Social-Democratic party was formed, taking since then its well-known development—the result being that Germany stands now where France stood before 1848. She is on the eve of a Republican revolution, in which some concessions will be made to the workers in the sense of a State regulation of capitalist production, so as to mitigate some of its worst effects, but as bitterly opposed to any attempt at a real social revolution (by which we mean, of course, the expropriation of capitalists) as the French Republic of 1848 was, to any step in this direction.

The pernicious effects which the military triumph of Germany on the battlefield has had in Europe—by reviving faith in a centralised State, supposed to be benevolent towards the exploited masses, and by making of Europe a military camp—these effects of the war of 1871 have often been mentioned in these pages. So also the effects of the bitter opposition to the Latin revolutionary spirit, and the passionate condemnation of all attempts at revolt, which came for the last thirty years from the German Social-Democratic camp. It must be owned that through this policy something was certainly gained in making adepts to some innocent sort of State Socialism amongst the middle classes. This has certainly been done and need not be minimised. But whether this gain compensates the losses made in the energy of the revolutionary spirit amongst the workers, and in the precision of the Socialist conception—is more than doubtful. At any rate, the fact must be noted that since the revival of the sixties a considerable number of the German working men have been won over to some sort of vague Socialism and moderate Radicalism, while formerly Germany stood outside the movement.

Spain and Italy, Switzerland, Belgium and Holland, Austria and Hungary, and even Servia, were also during these years won over to the Socialist movement. Before the sixties, their part in the great movement of Socialistic thought was nearly nil. Belgium had had Collins, but his ideas were known only in a very narrow circle. Spain, and especially Italy, had powerfully contributed to the Democratic, Republican and revolutionary movement in the forties. The secret societies of the French Communists, which flourished before and after 1848, certainly had numerous adepts in Italy. But in none of these countries was there any movement in any way comparable to that of France, and nowhere had it enveloped large masses of working men who would understand that on the social question they are separated from, and hostile to, the middle classes. Now they joined the International and gave to it its most active federations, which continued its work even when France became closed for the great Association.

Nay, even Russia felt the influence of the great movement of the International. The movement towards the people was largely due to it and the Commune.

Britain alone remained quite isolated. The great wave of thought which had rolled over Europe, and had inspired its working men populations, broke on the shores of these islands.

Never, for a long succession of years, had English manufacturers, money-lenders, and shipping agents realised such

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NOTES.

PRESIDENT OR CZAR?

The arrest of our Comrade John Turner, in New York, places the final stigma of infamous tyranny on the so-called Republic of the United States, and puts this form of government before the world in its true light. If the people would only understand that all modern States are ruled by the big financiers, and that presidents, Kaisers, and Czars are only the figure-heads, something would be gained. Such an honest and courageous opponent of capitalism as John Turner is not a welcome guest in a country that is swindled night and day by Rockefellers, Vanderbilts and Morgans. Nevertheless their attack on Turner will recoil on themselves, for his long and arduous efforts in the cause of labour have made him friends wherever a trades union exists. The more they inquire into his career the more he will be respected and they detested.

What we might have to endure under a Social Democratic state—if that evil should unhappily befall mankind—may perhaps be imagined by those who are aware of the inquisitorial spirit even now discernable in the treatment of their tenants by the Borough Councils.

Listen to this from the form of application:—

"I, the undersigned applicant, desire to become a weekly tenant of a tenement containing rooms in the above buildings, at a weekly rent of per week, payable weekly in advance, and I agree on taking possession to be bound by, and comply in every respect with, the Councils' conditions of occupation and general rules."

Then follows a list of questions to be answered, too long to be quoted here but whose indecency would make a school-boy blush. For instance:—Where were you born? Reasons for leaving present address? Married, single, widower, or widow? Have all been re-vaccinated? Whether in receipt of parish relief? Weekly wages earned, employer's name and address, &c.

We are not aware that these questions are put to the occupants of mansions in Park Lane, although their unsavoury lives would certainly not bear scrutiny as would the life of an ordinary working man. It is another one of the many penalties suffered for being poor, and it seems to us a foretaste of what Anarchists and rebels might expect under a beautifully ordered system of State Socialism, in which, let us say, such Fabian snobs as Shaw and Webb held office.

The following resolution was carried unanimously at the public meeting held in South Place Institute on Oct. 24th, 1903:—

That this meeting assembled to protest against the atrocities committed by the Russian Government, voices its emphatic protest against the American Government in their arbitrary arrest of our comrade, John Turner, in New York yesterday.

The following telegram was also sent by the same meeting to Italian comrades:—

Avanti, Rome.

Public meeting of Anarchists and Socialists assembled in London to protest against brutalities in Russia, conveys hearty appreciation of your courageous move against Russian tyranny. Bravo, Italian Comrades!

IMPORTANT!

Comrades and Friends are informed that *Freedom* is printed and published at its own office, and having a plant that can turn out all kinds of work, an appeal is made to those who may have printing to do to forward it to this office and thus prevent it getting into the hands of capitalists. The work is done at a price consistent with trade union labour and a small margin of profit, which surplus is devoted to the production of propagandist literature. Address J. TURNER, 127, Ossulston Street, London, N.W.

(Continued from front page.)

immense profits as they had realised during and immediately after the war of 1870-71 (by the way, this is precisely what the protectionist swindlers of now-a-day do not say in the campaign they have started for the benefit of the landlords and the company promoters). Speak to any manufacturer in Lancashire or in the Birmingham region, and he will tell you with gleaming eyes of the profits he made in those years. The industries of France had been ruined. Alsace—a great centre for cottons and all sorts of textiles—was laid waste, the Lyons and the St. Etienne iron districts were totally ruined. This was England's time! As to loans, they were concluded in such quantities and at such rates of interest and "realisation" that no stock exchange shark had ever dreamt before of anything of the sort.

Immense fortunes were made in those years by the middle classes; but it hardly need be said that mere trifles, mere crumbs of this enrichment reached the workers; and yet, even these crumbs were capable of perceptibly improving the conditions of those who had work, to an extent that made of the seventies an epoch in the history of wages and earnings.

As to Socialism, it made no progress in Great Britain "Socialism, and all that sort of nonsense, is only good for hungry Frenchies or for stupid Germans. We, the British nation, need nothing of the sort. Where others lose, we make money! Only you, workers, must not hinder us: you, too, will have some share in the loot."

This is the language we have heard in those years,—the language we hear again in Birmingham. The few leaders of the Labour movement or of the agricultural labourers' revival passed like comets on the horizon and were soon buried in the lobbies of Westminster. The Labour movement that was beginning then, and seemed to take such a serious character during the Law Courts' strike, or during the campaign of Arch, fell flat. All that intellectual wave which passed over Europe, and by lifting the intelligence of the worker and widening his intellectual horizon has done more for the success of industries on the Continent than whatever the States would have done otherwise for education—all that movement went past this country. And this is why at the present moment we find it so backward all along the line, and so ready to run after any impostor who promises it to be a saviour.

A PUBLIC MEETING

will be held

On WEDNESDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 11th,

At 8 p.m., at the

ALEXANDRA HALL, Jubilee Street, Mile End Road,

To Commemorate the 15th Anniversary of

THE DEATH OF THE CHICAGO MARTYRS.

SPEAKERS:

LOUISE MICHEL, E. MALETESTA, S. MAINWARING, T. DEL MARMOL, E. SHEPHERD, R. ROCKER, F. KITZ, W. TCHERKESOV, H. KELLY, and others.

Admission Free.

For convenience sake the receipts and expenses of the social at the Food Reform Restaurant and the lecture at South Place were put together, and the following is the balance-sheet for same:—

Contributions.	Expenses.
T. del Marmol ... 0 2 6	Food Reform Reform Res-
L. Withington ... 0 5 0	tuarant (rent) ... 0 7 6
E. Malatesta (List) ... 0 13 6	Teas, at 9d. each for 66
W. Jago (List) ... 0 10 0	persons ... 2 9 6
E. Shepherd ... 0 2 0	Waitresses ... 0 3 6
W. Wess ... 0 16 0	Piano, Social ... 0 5 0
N. W. Tchaykovsky ... 0 3 0	Fruit, extra ... 0 4 0
J. Turner ... 0 10 0	Stamps and Stationery ... 0 12 8½
P. Kropotkin ... 0 10 0	Rent, South Place ... 3 3 0
G. David (Workers Friend) ... 0 11 0	Plants, ditto ... 0 3 0
L. Baron (Liberty Group) ... 0 6 0	Caretaker, ditto ... 0 2 6
M. B. (for piano) ... 0 1 0	Handbills ... 0 9 0
Received for Teas ... 3 3 0	Railway fare ... 0 3 6
Collection at South Place ... 2 0 2½	Towards railway fare from
	Glasgow ... 1 10 0
Total 9 13 2½	Total 9 13 2½

In addition to the social and lecture at South Place, which were mentioned in last issue, our comrade also spoke at a Social and concert arranged by the "Workers' Friend Group," a New Year's (Jewish) meeting, held at the Communist Club, under the auspices of the "Liberty Group," and delivered two very successful lectures at Liberty Hall and the Pharos Club on "Anarchism: Its Aims and Methods," and "Anarchist Ideals." There were excellent discussions after both lectures, and our comrade handled her opponents in splendid style. True, the Theosophical Herbert Burrows was not satisfied—but what of that? In addition to these lectures and meetings our comrade paid a visit to Portsmouth and lectured there.

H. M. K.

THE FOLLY OF VOTING.

I shall not vote in the coming General Election.

I am fully aware that this will be of little consequence so far as the result of the contest is concerned, and that is one of my reasons for not voting. But I have other reasons, chief among them being that I do not believe in government by the majority, nor by the minority either.

I do not believe in government at all.

The ballot system of government is a dismal failure, even supposing it, for a moment, to be right in theory.

Thus, some of those who seek election do so either for the direct emoluments they hope to gain, or indirectly to advance their own interests and satisfy their vanity. Such men will not sacrifice their own ends for the public weal.

Many candidates are, however, in the beginning, fairly honest in their motives and intentions. But a man who enters the political world soon finds out that fraud, cunning, hypocrisy, and trickery are freely used by his opponents, and to successfully cope with them he must adopt their tactics. He thinks he is justified by expediency in doing this, and perhaps honestly believes that he can use these weapons to gain victory for an honest cause. But he is mistaken. Fraud and falsehood can never serve a righteous end. The man who uses trickery, even to vanquish wrong, is already a trickster, and is no better, morally, than he who uses trickery for avowedly dishonourable purposes.

But, unfortunately for the honest candidate, zealous for the public good, who refuses to sully himself with deception and fraud—all the political forces are against him. By refusing to be all things to all men, and failing to pander to popular prejudice and ignorance, he fails to secure the favour of the mass, and the unscrupulous demagogue, who makes many vain promises, wins. The really honest man who falls into the snare of politics ever figures as the unsuccessful candidate.

Political corruption and dishonesty is so notoriously apparent that even believers in government, advocates of political action, are fully conscious of it. Yet they go on voting, with the vague hope that, in some mysterious way, conditions will be changed, and that, after a while, enough pure men will be elected to ensure an honest administration of public affairs.

Their hopes are never realised. New men are put in and new parties assume control, but the same results ensue. The real trouble is with the system, not with those who administer it. The very nature and principle of government, of human authority, is demoralising, corrupting and wrong. As long as human nature is what it is, we cannot expect men in power to disregard their individual interests, nor to escape the damning influences of power over their better self.

The man who votes, even though he votes for the defeated candidate, gives his sanction to the whole scheme and process of election, authority, coercion.

I do not wish to be governed, I do not acknowledge and will not admit the right of any man or body of men to rule over me; I do not wish to govern others. I know of no moral or social right that I have to do so, and consequently I decline to impose my views upon others through the agency of the ballot, and thus set in motion the whole paraphernalia of force and violence—policemen, judges, executioners, soldiers, tax-gatherers, etc.—used to coerce others into doing as I think they ought to do.

I want for every man, woman and child the right to govern themselves, to direct their own affairs, to live their own lives. This can never be whilst private property, the be-all and end-all of government, exists.

Think, workers, and you will acknowledge that it is for the defence of property that all this electioneering, this legislating, this making and unmaking of laws, whose name is legion, takes place. To defend the property you have created, the houses you have built, the food you have grown, the clothes you have made—from you, their rightful owners. And you maffick and lose time and quarrel with one another and act like lunatics generally because your masters generously allow you to make a cross upon a piece of paper; and if you have been good and voted as they wish you to, they throw you a crumb from the loaf you have toiled to make and which they have stolen from you, and you smugly return them thanks.

Learn to be men, Free men, who depend upon no master, who feed no idle, gilded loafers, who cower not beneath oppression, but who assert their right to life, liberty, and all the pursuits of happiness.

I believe you can become this; I believe you can, if you will, attain a free life, socially, economically, industrially; that is why I beg you to leave off following the red herring of politics, and instead, to refuse to obey the dictates of the gabblers of St. Stephen's and to support the lazy thieves of the thrice-damned Trinity—Landowners, Capitalists, Parsons.

He who would be free,

Himself must strike the blow.

ANARCHIST

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Political Social Democracy never won a greater victory than when, at the German elections the Socialist vote rose from 2,107,076 votes, in 1898, to 3,010,472 votes, in 1903, all cast for avowed members of the Social Democratic party, of whom eighty-one were elected. One might conclude that this means a considerable step forward towards the much-praised conquest of political power, but in reality the contrary almost is the case, as closer examination will explain. For the idea of revolutionary action is more pooh-poohed than ever, the leaders feeling quite comfortable in their choice place in the ever growing network of organisation and the masses of electors contenting themselves with such platonic demonstrations as casting a vote once in five years. On the other hand the desire for some tangible results grows, and this fatally leads to compromises with the present system. Where one might expect an enthusiastic rush forwards, studied moderation, so-called statesmanship carries the day and glory to him who in the most plausible way will effect this backward evolution, saving, of course, appearances, that is the "revolutionary" and "scientific" character of the old Marxist party. These faculties Edward Bernstein evidently does not possess, but he has a most awkward talent to raise unwelcome questions and to hit in the wrong place, and so he benefited his party with the discovery that the German Empire is theoretically almost a Republic, and that a Socialist vice-president of parliament would therefore be true to his programme in rendering homage to the Emperor, appearing before him in the official Court dress, knee breeches, silk stockings, &c.; of course Paul Singer, the well-known chairman of Socialist congresses, would be an ideal person for this elevated post. Bernstein's suggestion was not quite appreciated, in fact there was a great row over it, and the old orthodoxy rose in protest, embodied before all in A. Bebel,

the fiery orator, K. Kautsky, the keenest impersonation of the Marxist dogma in all its purity, and F. Mehring, the implacable henchman who unveils and destroys everybody's character save his own (which latter work others have since done for him, and he is, politically, a dead man now). Bebel swore that terrible judgment would be held over the Revisionists (as the less orthodox section is called) at the annual conference, at Dresden, in September. This conference has taken place, and what are its results? Bebel threw himself into the fight with an ardour and a frenzy which, if at times pathetic were most painful to witness; he unveiled depths of hatred and despotic sentiments, and yet his onslaughts were ineffective. Vollmar, the Bavarian leader, explained calmly that the Social Democratic party from its beginning had never been a revolutionary party, that it had always followed Opportunist tactics, &c. Whereupon a resolution was drawn up for which all, the accused and the accusers, voted with equal eagerness, Bernstein excepted, who lacks the sense of humour.

I ought to add that with all this the fact remains that up till now the German Social Democratic party has been separated from other parties, not to speak of the Governmental spheres, by a greater gulf than any similar party in other countries. The enmity of the monarchical and military cast which governs and of the capitalists and landed aristocracy who exploit, is absolute and unmitigated, and the connecting links of "Socialist Radicalism" and the like which we see flourishing in France or in Italy are quiet missing, all parties maintaining towards Social Democracy the attitude of orthodox old Tories. Only quiet recently political discontent brought many Radicals in closer sympathy with the anti-monarchical Social Democrats and Social reformers begin to endeavour to smooth over some class differences, palliate some evils, &c. They find favour with the younger and less orthodox Socialists, those who have not lived through the twelve years of persecution, 1878 to 1890, and who have seen the structure of Marxism tottering in the course of the criticism of most of its dogmas. The millions of voters are evidently with those advocates of moderation and compromise, and so the bitter disappointment of the old Socialist who by their fallacious hope in politics brought, themselves, about all these crisis and disaster—this disappointment, I say, may lead for a while, as it does, to endless, passionate, and spiteful quarreling—it will end (as it ended in France) in the definite transformation of political Socialism into governmental Socialism, ministerial Socialism, which is only a hair's breadth apart from governmentalism pure and simple,—a change of masters, that is all!

We regret this waste of energy on the treacherous political struggle, in which victory spells defeat, consequently we are glad the quicker that part of the working classes who chose to go this way passes through this phase of error, for afterwards their eyes may be more open to their real interests. So the Social Democratic decadence may serve as an object lesson; the more intelligent will see through it soon, for the others there is no help until they all have been ministers or the lacqueys of ministers.

A small sign that things change and that the spell of castiron Marxism is broken anyhow, also in Germany is the publication of a satirical paper *The Great Misunderstanding*, which was distributed among the Dresden delegates at their social evening. For the first time a sense of humour pervades the dullness of dogmatism. Marx and Engels yet escape all criticism, it is true, but havoc is played in that paper with the demigods and minor deities of the party, from Bebel downwards, the calm and reserved Bebel, the energetic and reserved Bernstein, the hot revolutionist Vollmar, the meek and gentle Clara Zetkin, the beautiful Rose Luxemburg, the large-minded and tolerant Kautsky, none of them escape the scathing and intimately mischievous criticism; a Social Democratic community, consisting of the eighty-one elected members of parliament, is very well described, and the leading papers and reviews are most properly characterised in many respects. I doubt whether this clever satire from within the party will be made accessible to large masses of the party, if so, so much the better.

* * *

While those well to do Social Democrats are running after the phantom of political power—and declining to discuss the General Strike question, which, for the first time, was raised in their midst by a delegate from a Berlin suburb—elsewhere hard labour struggles take place; the Geneva bricklayers strike is over; the Bilbao (Spain) miners and workers in general are now on strike and the scenes of fierce violence there are known to all from the daily press. These workers have had enough of politics, and resort to what is now called in France "*l'action directe*" (direct action),—a proper term to describe their self reliant and spontaneous way of action,—how different from the roundabout and fraudulent played out game of politics. It is for the workers themselves to shape the course of events—will they content themselves with placing some renegades from their own ranks in the place of their present masters,—this is where Social Democracy leads to—or will they take matters into their own hands, by direct action, which, if it does not lead to Anarchism, at any rate is no absolute waste of enthusiasm and energy.

MEMOIRS OF JOHN MOST.

Part I.

These have been published in New York, at present only in German. They contain a graphic account of the youth and early life of this indefatigable worker. Born in Augsburg, Bavaria, 1846, he describes his education in the primary school, interrupted by a very long illness, his apprenticeship to a bookbinder, which ended in his dismissal because he refused to attend Sunday-school, and confession enforced by means of the stick. Then came wanderings all over Germany in search of work, with short intervals of comfort and many hardships. Owing to "hard times" in Germany, he left that country and settled in Switzerland in 1867, taking up the work of a watch-case maker. In "*La Chaux de Fonds*" a section of the International (which afterwards became the Tura Federation) had just come into being. "What I heard there," says the writer, "I could endorse fully. It was all perfectly logical. Such thoughts had often passed through my head, only I had not known how to put them together, how to systematise them. And this simple teaching was Socialism! From that time I began really to feel myself a human being; there was an aim before me, which went beyond the bare struggle for existence and the satisfaction of momentary individual wants; I began to live in the realm of ideals. The cause of humanity became my cause, and each step in advance that could be recorded of it filled me with the greatest joy." He began to take part in the workers' movement, particularly in Zurich, and in 1869 in Vienna, where it had assumed large proportions. For denouncing the church, the army, and officialism generally, at a workers' demonstration, Most was imprisoned for a month; but, of course, the imprisonment of the chief ring-leaders in the popular movement had the contrary effect desired by the Austrian Government. It continued to grow. A mass meeting was summoned to hand in a petition demanding of Parliament freedom of the press and of speech. The committee formed to present the petition were looked upon as revolutionists, and put on their trial for treason.

The account of the Vienna "Treason Case" will follow in Part 2.

HENRY D. LLOYD.

Henry D. Lloyd, perhaps the ablest exponent of Socialism in America, has just died at his home in Chicago, and the advanced movement has sustained a severe loss, all the more keen to ourselves, as he was a non-party man and possessed of wide libertarian views. A man of culture, scholarly attainments, deep insight, and high moral qualities, his death leaves a void hard to fill.

The author of many works on the social question, he is best known by his powerful indictment of capitalism in general, and the Standard Oil Company in particular, in that monument of research *Wealth v. Commonwealth*. In this work he proved by official documents that Rockefeller and his associates were guilty of almost every crime in the calendar, not excepting murder; as in the early days of their existence, before they had money and power enough to squeeze out the competitors, they actually blew—or caused to be blown—up a rival oil well.

Apart from his work as a writer and agitator, Lloyd is endeared to us for his whole-hearted support of our martyred comrades in 1887. He threw himself into the movement for their release with such energy and sincerity that his father-in-law threatened to disinherit Mrs. Lloyd, who was his only child, unless Lloyd desisted in his efforts on behalf of the Anarchists and gave up his public advocacy of Socialism. To his eternal credit, Lloyd refused to sell his manhood for gold, even though the price was some three million dollars. Another time when he was part-proprietor of the Chicago *Tribune*, one of the leading dailies of that city, Lloyd visited Spring Valley, Ill., and wrote a series of articles concerning a strike in progress there. The articles created such a storm in capitalistic circles that Lloyd was given the alternative of revoking his articles, buying up the rest of the shares of the *Tribune*, or selling his own. He refused the first, and as he had not money enough to buy the paper he had to sell out his interest.

He was a widely travelled man, and was known and admired in many countries besides his own. He believed in Communism and Anarchism as ideals, but thought that we must go through State Socialism first. We extend our sympathy to his grief-stricken sister, Mrs. Withington, who is well known to many comrades in London.

H. M. K.

AN APPEAL TO ALL SOCIALISTS.

Is it not high time that all Socialists who really desire a change in our social system should seriously consider whether devotion to political methods is not an obstacle, or at least a grave hindrance, to the attainment of the end they have in view?

I appeal to them to consider the nature of the majority which opposes them at the poll; and to ask themselves whether they are not necessarily under a great disadvantage in the political arena, where their courage, energy, and honesty are weapons which are less effective than they might be elsewhere, and where one hundred blockheads or curs have the mastery over ninety-nine men.

It is evident that among a large section of opponents of social revolution there is no real enthusiasm for the existing order of things; nevertheless, this thoughtless, cowardly, or simply ignorant section gives its support to the minority which really is warmly interested in the maintenance of social iniquities, and thereby constitutes that political majority against which so many hopes in turn have been shattered. Yet, though these people will vote for their oppressors because there is no danger and little trouble in so doing, they cannot be relied on to take any further action, and still less to make any sacrifice for any party or principle except rarely under the temporary influence of some passing excitement. Though the vote of these individuals carries as much weight as that of any others, yet they are little to be feared in any other matters, and as honest revolutionists are already superior, both in numbers and energy, to the members of the ruling classes and those few who still fanatically believe in them. If they would but unite outside of and away from parliamentarism and politics they would hold that position of advantage in the conflict which they never can have so long as they consent to fight under rules and conditions approved and accepted by their enemies precisely because these know them to be admirably adapted to their sinister purposes.

HENRY GLASSE.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

La Répartition en Régimes Communiste et Collectiviste, by Alfred Naquet. *L'Humanité Nouvelle* for September.

The lightness of this article is our excuse for dealing with the statements of such a man on such a subject in a very few lines.

The author criticises Anarchist Communism, as formulated by Kropotkin, in five pages, and he meets with two forbidding difficulties: the lack of a distributing authority for goods limited in quantity, and the impossibility of adapting an equal distribution to individual needs without admitting such freedom of exchange as would lead back to capitalism.

The authority competent to decide when things are insufficient to all needs and what proportion of them is to fall to each individual is, for all Anarchist Communists, the people, in its assemblies—the group, the Commune, the Federation of Communes, as the case may be. As to the second difficulty, we can in no wise see how freedom of exchange need lead to capitalism. The whole of production is but a rearrange-

ment of materials, exchange is part of the process. The people employed in it should be treated as all other workers of the community.

When the author has disposed of Communism he passes to Collectivism, and there he can hardly be called a critic. He raises no objections, although he alludes to a few of those most easily dealt with. His tone has grown apologetic and his method of enquiry lax, to say the least.

To each man the full return of his labour. What of the man who has passed his prime, the woman, the invalid, and the child? May these not be, or have been, members of the community, as useful as any? Will a State pension guarantee their independence and their dignity? What, again, of the State official? Where are the limits to the value of his labours to be placed, and who will place them?

Surely a full investigation should consider these questions?

G. B.

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