

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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MONTHLY: ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

A Workers' Demonstration.

The demonstration in Hyde Park on Sunday, March 1st, to welcome the nine deportees from South Africa, was one of the grandest sights on record and a cheerful eye-opener indeed to even the most disconsolate of fighters for freedom. The significant feature of the huge procession, which marched from the Embankment over the ground covered by so many demonstrators in many and varied causes, was the remarkable personnel which made up this large army. Determined and serious, the whole of organised Labour was represented, each industry beneath its own banner, together with Socialists of all shades. Even the capitalist press could not fail to pay tribute to the earnestness of these processionists, and each and all could not but declare that some attention must be paid to such a demonstration. This was not an ordinary protest meeting of frothy orators and agitators; all felt and realised that this might be made the beginning of a fight for a principle, unless, of course, the splendid spirit shown be lost in vague promises of something later on at Westminster. The workers must realise, and are realising, that solidarity and determination to better their conditions will strike more terror into the hearts of their oppressors than all the Labour M.P.'s they can ever produce. Botha and Smuts have shown how far laws are sacred when they do not meet the capitalists' desires. We must show how far laws will affect us when we are determined to get what is ours. There is a mass of rebel thought, as evidenced in Sunday's demonstration, which needs moulding into conscious Anarchist revolt; and maybe the task will be lessened considerably when the Iron Heel and the High Hand get well started here as well as in South Africa.

Prison or Parliament?

The Labour Party would have us believe that Parliament is the only cure for social ills. Now Sir James Barr, in opening a tuberculosis exhibition at Preston, took occasion to tell us that prisons are the best sanatoria in the Kingdom, and that their death-rate was lower than that of the House of Commons. The question arises, then, whether it would not be better to send our Labour M.P.'s to prison instead of to Parliament. Ought we to stand by and see them sacrificed to the pestilential influences of that unhealthy institution? If prisons, as Sir James Barr says (it is not clear whether he speaks from experience or from observation), really prolong life, and if our Labour M.P.'s are as indispensable to the cause of progress as they seem to think, is it not our duty to send them to prison to prolong their lives, and at the same time keep them out of mischief? But we are afraid Sir James Barr was in a jocular vein, and not by any means disposed to take his own prescription. And if he only meant, as we suspect was the case, that prisons are one way of escaping from the worse tortures of the capitalist system, he is a little late in giving the information, since hardly a month passes without some unhappy victim asking to be sent to prison to save himself from the slow starvation to which the system condemns him—when it doesn't require his services to enrich the capitalist. Still, we believe there is an increasing number of people who would be really glad to see our M.P.'s undergoing the "prison cure."

"The Little Commonwealth."

The root evils of authority, coercion, and punishment, while as strenuously defended as ever by a class of mind that sees no way out of a difficulty except by the use of the whip and the scourge, are sometimes, fortunately enough, shown in their true colours as brutal and anti-social by small experiments in more enlightened methods. The experiment in reformatory treatment being carried on at Batcombe, Dorsetshire, in the "Little

Commonwealth," has an interest in this connection. Mr. Cecil Chapman, a magistrate with an outlook, explained some of the methods adopted. "The right to live in the community is based upon work"—a revolutionary principle which needs to be applied to the larger community outside. The pay of the "citizens" is poor enough—3d. per hour. But then they are retaining the wage system for fear of going "too far." The so-called self-government idea is an imitation of the plan followed in the George Junior Republic in America. They had a legislative assembly, but the little prisoners—boys and girls—lied, just as we grown-ups do in our society. We have no right to blame them. But they are better than us in so far as amongst them no accusations are brought as a result of spying. So mutual confidence prevails, and one boy aged eleven having told his comrades frankly of his faults, proposed his own punishment—a hard week's work with no wages—and "is now the most popular boy in the community." We are told: "Many people expected evil to come from close relationship of the sexes. Exactly the opposite had resulted. The boys and girls were like brothers and sisters." Well there it is—a wonderful little object lesson! But the stupid outside world will take no notice of it.

Gains and Losses.

Two remarkable strike victories have to be recorded this month: that of the school teachers in Herefordshire, and that of the chairmakers in High Wycombe. The teachers' strike is noteworthy because they belong to a class that is not easily aroused to take such drastic and direct action in fighting a public authority. Their success is one that should encourage the postal and telegraph workers to press forward for gaining some of the improvements in their own service, long overdue. High Wycombe was a most stubbornly fought battle and a most remarkable instance of what the workers will endure to gain even a small modicum of economic improvement. If all these good people only had the revolution in view, only realised how bountiful life would be toward them if it was organised for humanity instead of for capital, they could not fail to strike the decisive blow, and they would hardly suffer more in winning the whole than in contenting themselves with a mere fraction. After this the Parliamentary contests at Poplar and Bethnal Green read like mere midsummer madness and we can do no more than leave the Parliamentary Socialists and the Labour Party to their own reflections.

Points for Discussion.

In another column will be found an interesting and suggestive article by our comrade M. Nettelau dealing with the question in dispute between Anarchists as to the soundest economic basis for ensuring a really free life. The subject has been discussed many times before, but is constantly recurring. This is partly due to the fact that the early ideas of Communism were so deeply tainted with authoritarianism that the conception of a free communal organisation, as advocated by Anarchist Communists, became quite impossible for those who were more concerned with discussing individual freedom as an ideal than the ways and means by which it could be attained and—more important still—maintained against the ever-present danger lurking in human nature for the stronger will to impose itself on the weaker. The Free Communists have always felt that so long as the individual was sure of economic freedom in an equalitarian commune, he would be saved from the danger of exploitation by those who by superior strength or intelligence might be tempted to take advantage of those powers. It is useless to say that people will not do these things. They will, or some will, if they can. And that is why the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, and that is why our friend Nettelau may be quite sure that in any and every community the Anarchist spirit will always have to be active and alert. But it would be of great interest to hear the views of comrades who are thinking these questions out.

The Modern State.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

IV.

TAXATION A MEANS OF ENRICHING THE RICH. (Continued.)

It was shown in our preceding number how merely by means of taxation the State succeeds in constituting formidable land monopolies in the large towns, such as Chicago and Woolwich.

But, without going for our illustrations so far as that, don't we see in every city how the State, merely by putting a heavier tax on the six-storied house inhabited by the workers than upon the private residence of a rich man, constitutes a formidable privilege in favour of the latter. It allows him to pocket the surplus value given to his house by the growth and embellishment of the city—especially by the growth of the working-class population, who enrich the cities, working for a beggar's wage.

People often wonder at the growth of the towns and the depopulation of the country. And they do not realise that all the financial policy of the nineteenth century was to load with taxes those who work on the soil, and to lighten the burden of the taxes falling on the bankers, the lawyers, the traders, and all the band of parasites of the governing class, who swarm in the towns.

Another striking illustration of the use made of taxation for crushing the poor was given quite lately in South Africa. It is known that one of the chief aims of the Boer War was to abolish the Boer law which prevented the blacks being forced to work in the gold mines. The companies that had been floated in England to exploit the gold mines of the Rand did not make the profits they had promised their subscribers. And this was how Earl Grey explained the cause of it to the British Parliament:—"You must abandon for ever the idea," he said, "of developing your mines through white labour. The means must be found to enrol the coloured population. . . . It might be done, for instance, by means of a tax of £1 on each hut of the blacks, as we do it already in Basutoland; and also by means of a small tax of 15s. levied upon each black who could not produce a certificate of having worked four months for the whites" (Hobson, "The War in South Africa," p. 234).

Here we have, then, serfdom which they did not dare to introduce openly, but introduced *by means of taxation*. It was sufficient to impose upon every miserable hut of the coloured population an annual tax of one sovereign—and serfdom was established through that. In fact, Rudd, the agent of Rhodes, stated it quite frankly. "Once," he wrote, "under the pretext of civilisation, having exterminated with our Maxim guns from ten to twenty thousand Dervishes, there will surely be no harm in forcing the natives of South Africa to give three months to honest work." Always, as you see, the two or three days per week! We cannot get rid of them. As to paying for the "honest work," Rudd was quite outspoken. To pay the natives 50s. to 60s. per month would have been "morbid sentimentalism." One-fourth of that would be amply sufficient ("The War in South Africa," p. 235). Quite sufficient, of course, to prevent the black from growing fat, and to make him a real serf to the white. Take from him, in the shape of a capitation tax, whatever he earns as a salary, and serfdom is introduced.

So it was; and since the British have become the masters in the Transvaal the extraction of gold grew from £12,000,000 to £35,000,000 per annum. Nearly 200,000 blacks are now forced to slave in the mines to enrich the mining companies, in whose interest the Boer War was waged.*

But what was done by the British in South Africa, all European States have done during the last three centuries in Europe itself with the peasants. And this continues to be done to impose forced labour upon the workmen in the cities.

And yet, if you talk about that with University people, they will attribute it to "the immutable laws of political economy"! They call that "learning."

* * *

Remaining still in the domain of recent history, we might tell another story which could bear the title of "How the British Government took £184,000 from the Pockets of the Nation and Gave it to the Great Tea Merchants: a Farce in one Act."

On Saturday, March 3, 1900, it was made known in London that the Government were going to augment by 2d. the Customs duty on tea. Immediately, on the Saturday itself and on the Monday following, 22,000,000 lb. of tea which had been lying Customs bound in London were taken out by the tea merchants, on the payment of the previous duty; and on Tuesday the price of tea in all the shops was raised by 2d. per lb.

If we reckon only the 22,000,000 lb. taken on Saturday and Monday, that would make a profit of 44,000,000 pence—that is, £183,333 taken out of the pockets of the citizens and given as

* These lines were written two years ago; the figures have increased since. As to how the imported Hindus, and the British workers too, are treated—we saw it lately. Slavery breeds slavery.

a free gift to the tea merchants. But the same thing was done in Liverpool, in Scotland, and elsewhere—to say nothing of the tea that was taken out of bond a few days before.

The same thing happened with tobacco, beer, spirits, wine; and so you have something like a million pounds taken chiefly from the poor and given to the rich. "Long live Taxation! Long live the State!"

And you, children of the poor, you will be taught in the elementary schools (different things will be taught to the children of the rich in the Universities, but you must not know them)—you will be taught that Taxation has been introduced to relieve the poor peasants from statute labour; and on returning from school to your poor, destitute homes, don't forget to tell your parents that they teach you at school such a nice, such a useful science—Political Economy!

* * *

Take, indeed, education. We have made such progress since those times when the village community itself used to build the schoolhouse and to find the teacher, or when the learned man, the philosopher, used to gather round himself those to whom he transmitted his knowledge and thoughts. We have now the so-called free (but costly) education, organised by the State: schools, high schools, Universities, academies, learned societies supported entirely or partly by the State, and so on.

The State being always pleased to enlarge the sphere of its activities, and the citizen being always delighted to "emancipate himself" from the affairs of his co-citizen—all goes splendidly. "You speak of education," says the State; "we are delighted, ladies and gentlemen, to educate your children! So delighted, that, in order to relieve you from that burden, we are going to forbid your taking any part in it. We shall settle all the programmes, and—no criticisms, please! First of all, we shall 'discipline' your children's minds by teaching them dead languages and extolling the virtues of Roman Law. That will make them pliable and obedient. Then we shall weed out of them all spirit of revolt by preaching to them about the virtues of the rulers and the crimes of the ruled ones—and flogging them if they are not pliable enough. Then we shall persuade them that since they have learned Latin and studied Roman Law, and learned to despise manual work, they have become the salt of the Earth, the leaven of progress. You will be flattered to learn that, and they will become ridiculously vain, just what we need them to be. We shall teach them that the misery of the masses is a 'law of Nature,' and they will be delighted to learn it, and to repeat it like parrots. All our education will aim at proving to them that, apart from the State and the Government of that 'salt of the earth,' of which they are such perfect representatives, there is no salvation for the poor. And you—the parents—of course, you will loudly approve of our teaching.

"Then, after having made the people pay the costs of all education—elementary, intermediate, and University—we shall manage so as to keep the best places in the Administration for your sons, ladies and gentlemen of the middle classes. And the workmen will not even notice that: they will have learned that they are 'the Unfit.' You see now the trick. If we told them abruptly that they will be governed, tried, condemned, accused and defended, educated and rendered stupid by the rich, in the interest of the rich—they might kick. But with Taxation and some nice little laws purporting to be very democratic, all will run quite smoothly."

And so it has happened that the government of the people by the landlords and the richer middle classes is now reconstituted in full, *with the consent of the masses*.

* * *

We need not talk about the taxation for military purposes. By this time every one ought to understand what armies and navies are kept for. Evidently not for the defence of the country, but for the conquest of new markets and new territory, to exploit them in the interest of the few.

But take any other taxes—direct or indirect, on the land, on incomes, or on spirits, imported food, and so on; take the taxes imposed for making new loans, or under the pretext of paying the old ones (in reality, State loans are never paid). Think over each of them—and you will be amazed at the formidable powers you have handed over to your rulers.

Taxation is the surest means of keeping the masses destitute. It is also the most perfect means for making of the governing trade an eternal monopoly of the rich. The best means also for forging the arms by means of which a popular revolt can be crushed.

And so long as the State, armed with its formidable power of Taxation, continues to exist, the liberation of the proletariat, either by means of reforms or by means of a revolution, will remain impossible. Because the Revolution, if it does not cut off the arms and the suckers of this octopus, will be strangled by the beast. The Revolution itself will become the means of creating new monopolies, as happened with the Great French Revolution.

(To be continued.)

A General View of Anarchism.

By G. BARRETT.

IV.

THE NEW SOCIETY.

"Master and man! Some up and some down! It always has been so and it always will be. You cannot alter human nature."

It is so easy to talk like that, and, if you are of a contented disposition, it is so comforting; but, of course, it is absolute nonsense. Man himself has developed from the lower animals, and surely there are few who would care to boast of any particular resemblance to the cave-dwellers of prehistoric days even. The fact is, human nature is never alike in two parts of the world or in two different ages. As to the master-and-man relationship, it has been so pulled about and buffeted in a comparatively short period of history that to-day many people seem to have a difficulty in recognising it to be the same thing as the more crude slavery of the past. Soon Time will so beat it out of shape that it will become the relationship of man-to-man. The last blow that will reforge it into this form will be the Anarchist Revolution.

What is this Anarchist Revolution?

So that this question may be answered fully, let us suppose that we are agreed on all that has been said in the previous chapters. Let it be granted that we are robbed by the capitalists and the ruling class; that there is no hope of reform from the Government, which is inherently a reactionary force; and that this capitalist and governing class is entirely dependent on us, and hopelessly in our power.

Even so it may be questioned: "What can we do? Smash up the institutions of to-day, and what have we? Simply chaos until something similar is put in their place."

This is true in one sense, but it is an argument that cannot be used against us. It is true that the various institutions of slavery which exist to-day are there because people upon whom they depend are slavish in their thoughts. If, therefore, some great hurricane swept through the country, destroying all such institutions and their leaders, it is quite certain that the people who still believed in such things would set to work to rebuild them. On the contrary, if this "hurricane" took the form of a movement of the people themselves, who had outgrown their slavish attitude of mind, then there would be no restoration of the old, but a reconstruction on new and revolutionary lines.

"But what would those lines be?" is the natural question. It is no use knowing our power to overthrow and to build unless we have some idea of the structural outline of the new society.

The material out of which we must build the new society is that of the old. The institutions of to-day—our parliaments, town councils, factories, etc.—are all run on government principles. That element of government—a relic of the past—which enters into the composition of the whole thing, must be cut out. So far our mission is destructive, but we shall see that it is the necessary step to be taken for the construction of a truly social life.

Since, then, the new is to be but a development of the old, the easiest way to understand it will be to start, where the revolution will start, with existing institutions, and see what we intend doing with them. For example, we will take such an important matter as bread making and supplying. Let us examine this institution as it is to-day and as it will be after the revolution.

The baker who goes to his nightly task is probably making bread according to the recipe of another man. He may know such stuff is almost poison; but it is no business of his, he must do as he is told, and the responsibility rests elsewhere. Perhaps the conditions under which he works are ruining his health and are equally bad for the purity of the bread. It does not matter; the means of life belong to another, and if he would make use of them he must do as he is told. In addition to this, he is robbed of a portion of the fruits of his labour, which we have already agree disappears as *profits*. The most striking fact of all, however, about this matter of the bread supply is that it is not suited to the needs of the people. There are many who actually lack this common necessity of life. Should they remedy this by taking a loaf, the present society can do nothing better or more relevant to their case than locking them up in prison.

Here, then, in one of the essential institutions of society we have traced some of the evils due to the authoritarian form of its organisation.

What is the remedy? "Municipalisation, and put our men on the Council," say most of the Socialists and their friends. This, however, obviously does not fill the bill. At the best it would mean that the conditions of labour and the class and quantity of bread produced should be settled by the majority, while there seems no reason to believe that the Council would give up their profit any more willingly than the capitalist or any other dominating class has ever done. No; the revolutionary

change must be brought about by an overthrow of the controlling power, not by changing its personnel. The future bread supply will spring up from below in direct response to the need for it. It will not be bossed from above.

What, then, will be the change which the Anarchist Revolution will bring into being? In a free society the baker must be allowed to bake what he believes to be good bread; he must be granted conditions that he judges to be fit for his work. Instead of being robbed of a portion of the fruits of his labour, he will enjoy the full benefits of social life. Finally, the bread supply must be of such a nature that the needs and the tastes of all will be satisfied.

Let us imagine now that the great revolt of the workers has taken place, that their direct action has made them masters of the situation. Is it not easy to see that some man in a street that grew hungry would soon draw up a list of the loaves that were needed, and take it to the bakery where the strikers were in possession? Is there any difficulty in supposing that the necessary amount would then be baked according to this list? By this time the bakers would know what carts and delivery vans were needed to send the bread out to the people, and if they let the carters and vanmen know of this, would these not do their utmost to supply the vehicles, just as the bakers set to work to make the bread? If, as things settled down, more benches were needed on which to knead the bread, in just the same way is it not easy to see that the carpenters would supply them? If an intimation were given to the engineers that machinery were wanted, would they not see that this received their immediate attention? The engineers in their turn would apply to the draughtsmen for designs, and to the foundrymen for castings. In turn, again, the draughtsmen apply to the paper-makers for paper, and to the workers in the pencil factories for pencils. The foundrymen, in the meantime, apply to the furnacemen, and these in their turn to the miners for more iron ore and coal. So the endless continuity goes on—a well-balanced interdependence of parts is guaranteed, because *need* is the motive force behind it all.

Who bosses, who regulates all this? No one! It starts from below, not from above. Like an organism, this free society grows into being, from the simple unit up to the complex structure. The need for bread, hunger—or, in other words, the individual struggle to live, in its most simple and elementary form—is, as we have seen, sufficient to set the whole complex social machinery in motion. Society is the result of the individual struggle for existence; it is not, as many suppose, opposed to it.

In the same way that each free individual has associated with his brothers to produce bread, machinery, and all that was necessary for life, driven by no other force than his desire for the full enjoyment of life, so each institution is free and self-contained, and co-operates and enters into agreements with others because by so doing it extends its own possibilities. There is no centralised State exploiting or dictating, but the complete structure is supported because each part is dependent on the whole. The bakers, as we have seen, need the carpenters and engineers, and these would be no use if they were not supplied by other workers, who in their turn are just as dependent on yet another branch. What folly if the engineers should presume to dictate to the bakers the conditions of their labour, and it would be equally without reason if a committee, styling itself the Government, should become boss of all these industries and begin to *control* their production and interchange, which must in the nature of things already be well adjusted and orderly. Those who control production in this manner are invariably those who enjoy the larger part of that which is produced; that is why the politicians try to insist upon the necessity of such control. Alas! that they should be so tamely followed by so many workers who have not yet cleared their minds of the old slavish instincts.

The structure of this future society, then, must not be centralised; but, growing ever more closely bound together and interwoven by free and mutual agreements, it will be for the first time in human history a society of *representative* institutions, each of which is brought into being and grows or dies out as a direct result of the need for it. It will be a society responsive to the wants of the people; it will supply their everyday needs as quickly as it will respond to their highest aspirations. Its changing forms will be the passing expressions of humanity.

(To be continued.)

THE TORCH.

We would like to draw the attention of comrades to the February issue of the *Torch*, a bright and brisk little sheet, a notice concerning which appeared in January *FREEDOM*. Copies can be had from The Manager, The *Torch*, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N.W., at 1s. 6d. per 100, postage extra, or 3d. per dozen post free. The March issue, which will be ready shortly, will contain an interesting announcement concerning the proposed weekly paper, the *Voice of Labour*.

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The Greatest Scourge.

The passing of the White Slave Act, with its flogging clause, the Commission of Inquiry into the long-boycotted question of venereal disease, together with the appearance of Miss Christabel Pankhurst's book, "The Great Scourge"—these are indications that one more effort is to be made to cope with the evil of sexual prostitution. It will be seen that the measures proposed or actually at work are all associated with Parliamentary action, since Miss Pankhurst affirms her reliance on the ballot-box, combined with enforced celibacy, as the certain cure. As the latter point is dealt with in another column, it may be left for the moment to consider a far more important question: What constitutes prostitution, and what are its root causes?

Now, prostitution as generally defined is to undertake* for payment or hire to do such things as are known to have a bad and degrading effect upon ourselves and others. Understood in this sense, we see how misleading it is to confine the term simply to the sexual side of this evil. Indeed, it may be said that while we keep both eyes on this phase of our social degradation, we shall never trace the underlying cause, nor rise strong enough to sweep the evil away. There is, in fact, no honest and sincere attitude to the whole question of social prostitution other than that of a revolutionary one. And if we accept that attitude, we shall speedily realise that nothing less than a complete reorganisation of society economically will protect men as well as women from this cancer of "civilisation."

For let us admit without prejudice that the present system relies for its maintenance upon whole armies of prostitutes, who have become obviously enough the "pillars of society." And now we can begin to understand what is the greatest scourge of all—a scourge that meets us on every side—wasting life and labour, and devastating humanity to a degree that makes the ravages of venereal disease pale in comparison. That scourge is the capitalist system, whose watchword is Exploitation, from which infamy all evils flow. Yes, the exploitation of the great mass of mankind by a minority of monopolists of wealth is the poisoned source of poverty, misery, crime, and all the smaller scourges of which this one is the fruitful mother.

Learn the lesson that the multitude of scandals arising on every side, in every country, are ready to teach us. We see the prostitutes of the Press spreading the venom of war scares and fostering evils that will decimate whole communities. And these wretches have not the excuse of the poor unfortunate women who are disowned by their "sisters" and outlawed by society. On the contrary, they move in the charmed circles of the élite. There we shall find them side by side with men who have prostituted themselves to the art of war as a profession, and cheek by jowl with those who are in the lowest depths of the abyss—political spies and secret service agents.

But we may go further and ask: Are not those whose labour is devoted to printing the lies, to adulterating our food, to manufacturing the engines of destruction that are to protect and support this capitalist system—are not these inadvertently playing the part of prostitutes, driven though they may be by the threat of hunger? In other words, is not the whole circle of wage-slavery one vast field of conscious and unconscious prostitution? Will it ever be otherwise till man is free? And to this end must we strive ever and always to end this exploitation, this Frankenstein stalking through every land and treading down human lives, human hopes, human progress.

Society is diseased. How shall we cure it? Reformers are failing, and, earnest and sincere as they may be, they cannot

hide this fact from the people. Lloyd George would ensure us from some of the lesser evils Capitalism inflicts. But the attempt brings other evils in its train, and the capitalist once more escapes. John Burns would fight consumption. But while he is curing a few, exploitation is producing its fresh victims. The Single-Taxer, the apostles of free banking, profit-sharing, and the rest—all see one side of an evil which in reality attacks us from every quarter.

It is a revolution that is needed, a revolution that must be Communistic so that *all* may be secure against the hydra-headed evils of exploitation. Anarchism insists that if we are to be free, if the future society is to mean the glorious reign of liberty, equality, and fraternity we dream of, every form of exploitation must cease; and with this will end that canker of prostitution which meets us in every walk of life.

Anarchism: Communist or Individualist?—Both.

Anarchism is no longer young, and it may be time to ask ourselves why, with all the energy devoted to its propaganda, it does not spread more rapidly. For even where local activity is strongest, the results are limited, whilst immense spheres are as yet hardly touched by any propaganda at all. In discussing this question, I will not deal with the problem of Syndicalism, which, by absorbing so much of Anarchist activity and sympathies, cannot by that very fact be considered to advance the cause of Anarchism proper, whatever its other merits may be. I will also try not to repeat what I put forward in other articles in years gone by as possible means of increasing the activity of Anarchists. As my advice was not heeded, it cannot, in any case, be considered to have hampered the progress of our ideas.

I will consider the theories of Anarchism only; and here I have been struck for a long time by the contrast between the largeness of the aims of Anarchism—the greatest possible realisation of freedom and well-being for all—and the narrowness, so to speak, of the economic programme of Anarchism, be it Individualist or Communist. I am inclined to think that the feeling of the inadequacy of this economic basis—exclusive Communism or exclusive Individualism, according to the school—hinders people from acquiring practical confidence in Anarchism, the general aims of which appeal as a beautiful ideal to many. I feel myself that neither Communism nor Individualism, if it became the sole economic form, would realise freedom, which always demands a choice of ways, a plurality of possibilities. I know that Communists, when asked pointedly, will say that they should have no objection to Individualists who wished to live in their own way without creating new monopolies or authority, and *vice versa*. But this is seldom said in a really open and friendly way; both sections are far too much convinced that freedom is only possible if *their* particular scheme is carried out. I quite admit that there are Communists and Individualists to whom their respective doctrines, and these alone, give complete satisfaction and leave no problem unsolved (in their opinion); these would not be interfered with, in any case, in their lifelong constancy to *one* economic ideal. But they must not imagine that all people are constituted after their model and likely to come round to their views or remain "unreclaimed" adversaries on whom no sympathy is to be wasted. Let them but look on real life, which is bearable at all only by being varied and differentiated, in spite of all official uniformity. We all see the survivals of earlier Communism, the manifold workings of present-day solidarity, from which new forms of future Communism may develop—all this in the teeth of the cutthroat capitalist Individualism which predominates. But this miserable bourgeois Individualism, if it created a desire for solidarity, leading to Communism, certainly also created a desire for a genuine, free, unselfish Individualism, where freedom of action would no longer be misused to crush the weaker and to form monopolies, as to-day.

Neither Communism nor Individualism will ever disappear; and if by some mass action the foundations of some rough form of Communism were laid, Individualism would grow stronger than ever in opposition to this. Whenever a uniform system prevails, Anarchists, if they have their ideas at heart, will go ahead of it and never permit themselves to become fossilised upholders of a given system, be it that of the purest Communism.

Will they, then, be always dissatisfied, always struggling, never enjoying rest? They might feel at ease in a state of society where all economic possibilities had full scope, and then their energy might be applied to peaceful emulation and no longer to continuous struggle and demolition. This desirable state of things could be prepared from now, if it were once for all frankly understood among Anarchists that both Communism and Individualism are equally important, equally permanent; and that the exclusive predominance of either of them would be the greatest misfortune that could befall mankind. From isolation we take refuge in solidarity, from too much society we seek relief in isolation: both solidarity and isolation are, each at the right moment, freedom and help to us. All human life vibrates between these two poles in endless varieties of oscillations.

Let me imagine myself for a moment living in a free society. I should certainly have different occupations, manual and mental, requiring strength or skill. It would be very monotonous if the three or four groups with whom I would work (for I hope there will be no Syndicates

then!) would be organised on exactly the same lines; I rather think that different degrees or forms of Communism will prevail in them. But might I not become tired of this, and wish for a spell of relative isolation, of Individualism? So I might turn to one of the many possible forms of "equal exchange" Individualism. Perhaps people will do one thing when they are young and another thing when they grow older. Those who are but indifferent workers may continue with their groups; those who are efficient will lose patience at always working with beginners and will go ahead by themselves, unless a very altruist disposition makes it a pleasure to them to act as teachers or advisers to younger people. I also think that at the beginning I should adopt Communism with friends and Individualism with strangers, and shape my future life according to experience. Thus, a free and easy change from one variety of Communism to another, thence to any variety of Individualism, and so on, would be the most obvious and elementary thing in a really free society; and if any group of people tried to check this, to make one system predominant, they would be as bitterly fought as revolutionists fight the present system.

Why, then, was Anarchism cut up into the two hostile sections of Communists and Individualists? I believe the ordinary factor of human shortcomings, from which nobody is exempt, accounts for this. It is quite natural that Communism should appeal more to some, Individualism to others. So each section would work out their economic hypothesis with full ardour and conviction, and by-and-by, strengthened in their belief by opposition, consider it the *only* solution, and remain faithful to it in the face of all. Hence the Individualist theories for about a century, the Collectivist and Communist theories for about fifty years, acquired a degree of settledness, certitude, apparent permanency, which they never ought to have assumed, for stagnation—this is the word—is the death of progress. Hardly any effort was made in favour of dropping the differences of schools; thus both had full freedom to grow, to become generalised, if they could. With what result?

Neither of them could vanquish the other. Wherever Communists are, Individualists will originate from their very midst; whilst no Individualist wave can overthrow the Communist strongholds. Whilst here aversion or enmity exists between people who are so near each other, we see Communist Anarchism almost effacing itself before Syndicalism, no longer scorning compromise by accepting more or less the Syndicalist solution as an inevitable stepping-stone. On the other hand, we see Individualists almost relapse into bourgeois fallacies—all this at a time when the misdeeds of authority, the growth of State encroachments, present a better occasion and a wider field than ever for real and outspoken Anarchist propaganda.

It has come to this, that at the French Communist Anarchist Congress held in Paris last year Individualism was regularly stigmatised and placed outside the pale of Anarchism by a formal resolution. If ever an international Anarchist Congress was held on these lines, endorsing a similar attitude, I should say good-bye to all hopes placed in this kind of sectarian Anarchism.

By this I intend neither to defend nor to combat Communism or Individualism. Personally, I see much good in Communism; but the idea of seeing it generalised makes me protest. I should not like to pledge my own future beforehand, much less that of anybody else. The question remains entirely open for me; experience will show which of the extreme and of the many intermediate possibilities will be the best on each occasion, at each time. Anarchism is too dear to me that I should care to see it tied to an economic hypothesis, however plausible it may look to-day. Unique solutions will never do, and whilst everybody is free to believe in and to propagate his own cherished ideas, he ought not to feel it right to spread them except in the form of the merest hypothesis, and every one knows that the literature of Communist and Individualist Anarchism is far from keeping within these limits; we have all sinned in this respect.

In the above I have used the terms "Communist" and "Individualist" in a general way, wishing to show the useless and disastrous character of sectional exclusiveness among Anarchists. If any Individualists have said or done absurd things (are Communists impeccable?), to show these up would not mean to refute me. All I want is to see all those who revolt against authority work on lines of general solidarity instead of being divided into little chapels because each one is convinced he possesses a correct *economic* solution of the social problem. To fight authority in the capitalist system and in the coming system of State Socialism, or Syndicalism, or of both, or all the three combined, an immense wave of real Anarchist feeling is wanted, before ever the question of economic remedies comes in. Only recognise this, and a large sphere of solidarity will be created, which will make Communist Anarchism stand stronger and shine brighter before the world than it does now—borrowing light from the rays of Syndicalist mass action, whilst its own light, like that of a dying planet, is waning and slowly nearing extinction.

M. N.

P.S. Since writing the above I have found an early French Anarchist pamphlet, from which I translate the following:—

"Thus, those who feel so inclined will unite for common life, duties, and work, whilst those to whom the slightest act of submission would give umbrage will remain individually independent. The real principle [of Anarchism] is thus far from demanding integral Communism. But it is evident that for the benefit of certain kinds of work many producers will unite, enjoying the advantages of co-operation. But I say once more, Communism will never be a fundamental [meaning

unique and obligatory] principle, on account of the diversity of our intellectual faculties, of our needs, and of our will."

This quotation (the words in brackets are mine) is taken from p. 72 of what may be one of the scarcest Anarchist publications, on which my eye lit on a bookstall ten days after writing the above article: "Philosophie de l'Insoumission ou Pardon à Caïn", par Félix P. (New York, 1854, iv. 74 pp., 12mo)—that is, "Philosophy of Non-Submission", the author's term for Anarchy. I do not know who Félix P. was; apparently one of the few French Socialists, like Déjacque, Bellegarrigue, Cœurderoy, and Claude Pelletier, whom the lessons of 1848 and other experiences caused to make a bold step forward and arrive at Anarchism by various ways and independent of Proudhon. In the passage quoted he put things into a nutshell, leaving an even balance between the claims of Communism and Individualism. This is exactly what I feel in 1914, sixty years after. The personal predilections of everybody would remain unchanged and unhurt, but exclusivism would be banished, the two vital principles of life allied instead of looking askance at each other.

Authority and ordinary selfishness are far too powerful and common enemies to all of us that we can afford to waste energy on internal struggles which, by establishing dogmatism, would sap the very roots of Anarchism.

M. N.

January 29.

WILL VOTES CURE VICE?

Miss Pankhurst, in her book, "The Great Scourge," has tried to turn one of the great evils of society into an argument favouring votes for women. As a consequence, the book which might have been valuable if it had been written with intelligence, knowledge, and sympathy, repels by its narrow-minded prejudice, mis-statements, and erroneous conclusions.

The keynote to the whole book is sounded in the Introduction by the remark that the cure for prostitution and venereal disease, "briefly stated, is Votes for Women and Chastity for Men." After this, the readers may know what to expect—and they get it. Miss Pankhurst quotes the opinions of some medical men. But she forgets that medical men, like other human creatures, can be classed as those who have sincerity and those who have not; these latter playing up to the hypocrisy and ignorance of Mrs. Grundy, thereby gaining a snug income and an inflated importance. As a matter of fact, very few sincere books have been written on this subject; but there happens to be one, which, of course, Miss Pankhurst does not quote, but which forms a landmark in the treatment of this great subject. "The Elements of Social Science," written by Dr. George Drysdale in 1859, stands to this day unapproached for the deep knowledge, the sincere conviction, the high moral courage and humanity that animate its pages. Let all who would understand this subject read this book.

Let us hear some of the conclusions Miss Pankhurst arrives at with the aid of aforesaid "medical opinions." "Chastity for men is not only morally imperative, but also physiologically imperative." It is a pity she does not define chastity, but it is clear she means absolute continence. Now this form of chastity has been practised by some men sustained by great ideals and filled with a spirit of self-renunciation. But Miss Pankhurst ignores the fact that all through history we find that the practice of so-called celibacy has always bred the most awful sexual vices and perversions. Priests have been the worst of debauchees, and the Holy Father Pope Leo X. himself suffered from syphilis!

On this point of continence Dr. Drysdale says:—

"But the nutrition of each organ affects that of all the others. It is stated as a law by Mr. Paget, Dr. Carpenter, and other eminent authorities that 'each organ, by the very fact of nourishing itself, acts as an excretory organ to the rest of the body.' That is, every organ selects from the blood the proper materials for its own nutrition, and in so doing, it renders the blood more fit to nourish the others."

And again: "Sexual love is a requirement of our being so essential that it should be included among the *necessaries of life*." People who dare to speak honestly know this to be the simple truth. But over and above the merely physical or physiological effects of celibacy, let us note an all-important moral effect. It is best stated by the finely philosophical and poetical mind of M. Guyau in his "Morality Independent of Obligation or Sanction":—

"Sexuality is of capital importance in moral life. If against all possibility a non-sexual generation had been prevalent among the animal species, and finally among human beings, society would hardly exist. It was noticed long since that spinsters, bachelors, and eunuchs fall into the habit of being more selfish. Their centre has always remained in the depths of themselves without ever fluctuating. Children also are selfish; they do not yet possess a surplus of life to pour forth from themselves; it is about the period of puberty that their characters transform themselves. The young man is full of enthusiasm; he is ready for every sacrifice because, in point of fact, it is necessary that he should sacrifice something of himself—that he should diminish himself to a certain extent; he is too full of life to live only for himself. The period of generation is also that of generosity."

Again, how true! Society worthy the name certainly could not exist without the exuberant passion of youth.

As a further instance of misstatement, prejudice, and superficiality, we quote this: "The men who profess to be incapable of it [self-control], should remember that in prisons men, constituted as they are, have medicine administered by the medical officers. If prostitution can thus be abolished in prisons, it can be so in the world of free men." This in spite of the well-known fact that prisons are the hotbeds of

sexual perversions. We recommend Miss Pankhurst to read Berkman's "Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist."

Another ridiculous statement which should be thrown into the limbo of other absurdities is, that Nature had willed "that there should be no way of escape from this scourge except one, and that one way the way of purity." The good lady does not seem to be aware that the "scourge" was not known in Europe till the end of the fifteenth century, and that the impurity rampant before that time, especially in the monasteries, went unpunished by Nature! But a glimpse at the lives of some primitive peoples also proves the absurdity of the punishment idea. Says Elie Reclus: "Let us dwell upon the more interesting aspects of this Malabar family, still so primitive; inheritance from mother to daughter, and from the uncle to the children of the eldest sister; the household directed by the mother or the eldest girl; polyandry or polygamy side by side or inextricably mixed, thanks to the institution of 'associated homes.' Thus each woman is the wife of several men, each of whom has in his turn several mistresses" ("Primitive Folk," p. 164). And this under the rule of the Matriarchate with the splendid race of the Nairs. And no syphilis till "civilization" spread its bane amongst them. What does Miss Pankhurst think of that?

But really this book is only of use for some very educational criticisms it has called forth. These will do more than counterbalance all the errors and absurdities therein contained—except, of course, in the case of those mistaken ladies with whom Votes for Women is to be the universal panacea for all the ills that flesh is heir to.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Italy.

Cipriani, the veteran revolutionist who for many years has been obliged to live in France in order to keep outside the grip of his paternal Government, was elected by Milan as Member of Parliament. As is known, this sort of election is often used by the Italian people in order to obtain the safe return of a rebel. But Cipriani, though thanking the Milanese for their kindness, refuses to accept the honour, as he would be obliged to take the oath of fidelity to the monarchy. "I am outside the law, and prefer to remain there," wrote the old revolutionist to his constituents. His logical and honest point of view renders the attitude of another Deputy, De Ambris, elected in the same way, all the more reprehensible. As a revolutionary Syndicalist, De Ambris is anti-Parliamentarian; and his entering Parliament, even if only as a subterfuge for returning to Italy (he had left the country because he had been condemned to one year's imprisonment), can but bring confusion in the minds of the Syndicalists. As Malatesta said in *Volonta*, formerly revolutionists were saved, by their election as Deputy, from ten to twenty years of exile or hard labour; but to enter Parliament in order to escape a year's imprisonment is a new departure among anti-Parliamentary comrades, which seems strange.

The authorities have been watching with lynx eyes our comrade Malatesta's propaganda, and their vigils are rewarded; by word and writing he is found to have incited to disobedience of and rebellion to the Government! And six prosecutions have been begun against him. This has not deterred Malatesta from vigorously pushing on his work, holding meetings, giving lectures, and editing *Volonta*, which is proving a great success.

The campaign for the liberation of Masetti, the soldier who during the Tripoli war showed his feelings by shooting at his colonel, has been so far successful that Masetti has been removed to another and a better asylum. The military doctors' declaration that he is mad is entirely disproved by impartial witnesses, and the Italian Anarchists will not rest until this really "brave" soldier has been snatched from the claws of military "justice," and Maria Rygier released from prison, to which she had been sent for defending Masetti and his deed.

Japan.

In Japan no Trade Unions exist as in European countries. The Government objects to workers' organisations, and uses force if an attempt is made at united action by the working men. Strikes are looked upon as conspiracies, and those who instigate to strike are imprisoned (of course, progressive countries like New Zealand and Australia never do such a thing!). Wages are extremely low, those of a factory worker rarely being more than £2 a month. The young girls working in the silk factories have a 13 or 14 hour day, and in the weaving sheds even 14 to 16 hours a day are worked by the girls. Two years ago the Japanese Diet passed a factory law, but took care to decide that it should begin to act only in 1915, though the tremendous development of industry has made it more than necessary that labour should be protected at least a little against the relentless exploitation of the capitalists.

On the other hand, regulations and laws for the press have become numerous enough after the recent political attempts. When one of the high officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was assassinated, the Public Prosecutor prohibited the press from publishing anything about that fact. At the same time, a new law was made which limited the liberty of the press; within a few days eighteen newspapers were sentenced to fines of 200 to 800 yen (2 shillings = 1 yen), which is quite a heavy fine for Japan. The publishers of the fined newspapers

held a meeting and strongly protested against the attitude of the authorities, and decided to use all possible means to get the press law amended.

The Navy scandal, coming so shortly after the Army scandal, and revealing that corruption and fraud have entered together with modern military "civilisation," is causing serious disorders and great agitation in Japan. Let us hope that the discovery and the discussion of these frauds committed by the high officials will help to open the eyes of the people to the true nature of military glory and modern State organisation. Perhaps the Japanese working people are not so blind as we think to the evils of Western civilisation, which has been dumped down on them; but it is difficult for us to know the real state of things over there, as we have nearly exclusively to rely on news agencies, which, as Reuter at present in Japan, receive all information from governmental circles, leaving us to read between the lines and to guess what the people really are thinking and striving for.

Servia.

The Servian Government, triumphant from their glorious crusade of the Cross for the liberation of their downtrodden Christian brethren, is busy sentencing and imprisoning a number of men belonging to the Nazarene sect, who in the simplicity of their souls thought that the tenets of Christ should be practised at home. A priest of the State Church accused them before the Courts, and they were condemned to nine months' imprisonment each, whilst others are still awaiting their trial. Their "crimes" show better than books the shameless hypocrisy and brutality of our Christian Governments. The Nazarenes were imprisoned because: They prayed not in a church, but everywhere; they object to a church marriage; they will not swear an oath; and last, but not least, because they refuse to carry arms and kill people. Where are the sanctimonious peace societies? Why do they not support the only people who really and sincerely work for peace? Why are they not helping soldiers who refuse to fire on the enemy, and especially on their own brothers and sisters? Surely our present society is the most hypocritical in the annals of history!

INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CONGRESS.

LONDON, SEPTEMBER, 1914.

COMRADES—At the Amsterdam Congress in 1907, a decision was arrived at for a second Anarchist Congress to be held in 1909. But the state of mind of our comrades at that time was opposed to it, and the question of a future Congress was left for a more propitious period.

Since then, fresh life seems to have entered the Anarchist movement in all countries; an activity, becoming daily more marked, is being felt, and everywhere an earnest attempt is being made to put into practice our federalist principles of Anarchist organisation, through the creation of living organs of propaganda and agitation.

The formation at Amsterdam of an international organ of inter-communication may have been, perhaps, premature. For such an organ to have its *raison d'être* and to have the success that it could have had, it was necessary to lay the main stress on local and national organisations. Only the existence of these could be the guarantee and the chief condition for the existence and the activity of an international organism. The existence of the International Bureau has, nevertheless, indicated to a certain degree the dangers to be guarded against, as well as the qualities to be kept, when one intends to undertake the organisation of an international link among the Anarchists.

The year that has just closed has been, from many points of view, a remarkable and historical year for the Labour movement in general and for the Anarchist movement in particular. Everywhere a spirit of revolt, increasing in consciousness, breaks through the fog by which the exploited were always surrounded by politicians of all shades; and, coinciding with these revolutionary signs within the masses themselves, the Anarchists feel everywhere an increasing necessity, more urgent, as each day raises new problems, new tactics, to constantly be in touch with each other with reference to future activities. It is, therefore, of great importance, at the present hour, for the Anarchists of all countries to meet again, to discuss anew problems already before us, but not yet solved, on the basis of the experience of the last few years; to raise the fresh problems that life has placed before us, and, if possible, to concert ourselves on common action, shoulder to shoulder, strong in our ideal and decided to continue relentlessly, but with greater energy and more unity, the work of emancipation of the exploited from all yoke.

It is with this idea in view that the Anarchist Federation of Germany issued, a few months ago, a first appeal, with the purpose of sounding the comrades on the question of an International Congress. The answers received—either directly by the German comrades, or through articles in the Anarchist press—give us reason to believe that the desire for such a Congress is almost unanimous.

The three federations undersigned have therefore decided, after due consideration, to convene the next International Anarchist Congress for the autumn of the current year. The Congress will be held in London, from August 29 to September 6.

We invite Anarchists the world over to come to the London

Congress, and formulate their ideas, their plans of action, their experiences of the past, their hopes for the future.

A new era seems to open itself before the oppressed; we must see each other, we must agree on our future activities; this is why we firmly hope that our invitation will everywhere be received with enthusiasm.

It is chiefly in your hands—Anarchist organisations the world over—that the success of the Congress lies. You, who have already begun the work of organisation, don't leave it unfinished. We await your adhesion. Set immediately to work; every country should be well represented; prepare your reports on the state of the movement in your locality and on any other subject which you think important.

We await your early reply—there is no time to lose.

Anarchists from all countries! Set immediately to work, and in the interval we send you our fraternal greetings. Long live Anarchy!

THE ANARCHIST FEDERATION OF GERMANY

(Sek.: R. OESTREICH, Petershagen a. d. Ostbahn).

THE ANARCHIST COMMUNIST FEDERATION OF FRANCE

(Sec.: LECRAM, 121, rue de la Rouquette, Paris XI.).

THE LONDON ANARCHIST FEDERATION

(Sec.: F. W. DUNN, 127, Ossulston Street, London, N.W.)

The General Secretary of the Organising Committee of the Congress is

A. SCHAPIRO, 163, JUBILEE STREET, LONDON, E.,

to whom all matter concerning the Congress should be sent: subscriptions, affiliations, reports, agenda, etc. A special "Bulletin" will be published at intervals, giving all details *re* the Congress. It will be sent to all organisations, to all Anarchist papers, and to all those who express a wish to receive it.

SIDELIGHTS ON SOCIAL SUBJECTS.

The British Committee of the Anglo-American Peace Centenary seems desperately anxious to raise £50,000 for the purpose of creating "worthy memorials of the century of unbroken peace, for the contemplation of all the world and of the generations to come." Thus the *Standard* of February 18. Think of it, ye peace-loving Britishers! What has that century of peace meant to these English-speaking peoples? Years of unparalleled advancement to the capitalists of the two most economically developed countries in the world. Peace at the price of thousands of lives yearly broken on the wheel of industrialism. Peace, with Pinkerton detectives carrying terrorism amongst the workers, and the right to starve when, too old at forty, the worker is flung upon the scrapheap.

Only the smug, the comfortable, the unimaginative of the earth could have seen in the past century matter for thanksgiving; and yet there is talk of pilgrimages to the birthplace of Washington in Northamptonshire. Yes, by all means let there be pilgrimages (although their efficacy may be doubted); but let them be to the rabbit-warrens of the poor—the heated, hellish factory, or wherever human life is in process of being crushed and degraded. Peace! Let those that prate of peace understand the mockery of the word, and straightway go home and put their own house in order before the mighty forces of revolution are let loose to demonstrate that peace cannot be propitiated with cunning words and lofty monuments, but will only dwell with us when the workers have themselves destroyed the last stronghold of poverty and oppression. But in those days there will be no need for costly monuments to peace, for it will manifest itself in the happy, healthful lives of free human beings.

There is something quite fascinating about the term "compassionate allowance." It implies so much not actually expressed. Who would connect it, not with workhouse inmates, but with those dispensers of the law known as County Court judges? The *Standard* cites a case of one such gentleman having been granted a yearly pension of £500 after only twenty weeks' service, on account of permanent infirmity. It appears that on appointment no certificate of physical fitness is necessary, and the Lord Chancellor makes his appointments from his own personal knowledge of members of the Bar. A yearly salary of £1,500 is commuted to a pension of two-thirds when the recipient is "incapacitated from further public service." The Lord Chancellor seems to possess the power to make a grant on the ground of "permanent physical infirmity."

The same paper also gives the interesting particulars of a County Court judge who "retired owing to ill-health some years ago on the full pension of £1,000, but afterwards recovered sufficient 'physical fitness' to be able to become chairman of an important public company." Yet the average man in his blindness upholds our British legal system, evidently thinking the dispensers of the law cheap at the price paid for them. Morality and law are so essential to the comfort and well-being of the virtuous Briton that even the little wages and pension bills must be paid with gratitude to the able upholders of the Constitution of our land.

In view of the foregoing it is interesting to read what Max Nordau says in his "Conventional Lies of Our Civilisation":—

"It is not true that all our existing police regulations are needed to protect our life and property. . . . It is not true that all our legal squabbling and janglings are needed to have justice properly administered. In those primitive

communities to which I refer, a public and private right was recognised, which ensured to the first possessor his legal title to his 'claim' and to all the fruits of his labour, and this without courts, magistrates, and records, due solely to the common sentiment of what is equitable and proper, which civilisation has developed in mankind. . . . If nine-tenths of the existing laws and regulations, courts and magistrates, decrees and records were entirely done away with, the security in regard to life and property would remain the same as at present, every human being would continue to enjoy his rights unmolested, not one of the genuine advantages of civilisation would be diminished in the slightest, and yet the individual would acquire by it a liberty of action unknown before, he would appreciate and live up to his individuality with a delightful intensity of which he can now form no conception, hemmed in as he is on all sides by the present inherited conditions of existence."

When we really understand the true function of the Law, we may find it necessary to give our "compassionate allowances" in quite other directions.

But let those who imagine the Treasury to be too prone to generous impulses and inclined to gross extravagance in these matters give thought to the recent case of the London woman telegraphist, at one time an established officer of the Post Office Department. She was compulsorily retired on marriage, but eventually re-entered the service on the death of her husband, at the magnificent salary of £1 weekly. The grateful Treasury gave material expression to its appreciation of her 40 years' service at the age limit of 65 years, by rewarding her upon retirement with a bonus of £49 and a testimonial to her long and faithful service. Although we doubt the spending capacity of the bonus as a means of sustaining her in comfort for the rest of her life, we are however consoled with the thought that the vital interests of the taxpayers are in this instance so well safeguarded by the inexorable Treasury.

It is refreshing to come across at least one magistrate possessed of intelligence. Mr. Cecil Chapman has been saying some wise things, as, "that the State owed its people happiness as well as justice. Institutions were made for man, and not man for institutions." Such an ideal, carried to its logical conclusion, must mean that the State in the very act of payment of such a debt to its people would cease to exist. The concession of happiness would, of course, result in its suicide—an impossible occurrence. Spencer, in his "Right to Ignore the State," has shown that it can only exist by means of violence, which is quite incompatible with human happiness. He says: "That moral sense whose supremacy will make society harmonious and government unnecessary is the same moral sense which will then make each man assert his freedom even to the extent of ignoring the State, is the same moral sense which, by deterring the majority from coercing the minority, will eventually render government impossible." How many of us, I wonder, have the moral courage to take the first step towards giving the State the "happy despatch"!

We are glad to see that Mr. Josiah Wedgwood has had the courage to oppose the second reading of the Children (Employment and School Attendance) Bill, on the ground that it means, not education, but regimentation. He contends that such a Bill will only assist in the training of useful machines for farmers and dividend-hunters. We see in this Bill only another instance of a highly organised bureaucracy acting on behalf of those who run industry, and a further step towards the Servile State. What a fine record the great Liberal Government has already to its credit—the registration of the unemployed, the compulsory Insurance Act, the attempt at eugenic legislation, and now the Children's Regimentation Bill! Is it not time that we insisted on giving the parents of the children the material means that will enable them to care for their children without the coercion implied in this Bill by fine and imprisonment? But that would require the granting to the worker the full produce of his labour and the abolition of profit-making. This would, of course, mean the eventual unemployment of our hard-working legislators, a condition of things which we in our wisdom are evidently not yet prepared to face.

M. B. HOPE.

Against Repression.

The growing repression, more and more tyrannical, which the Governments of most European nations and of America practise against every element daring to uphold, by speech or writing, Truth and Justice, and against others who, driven by necessity and misery, are obliged to defend themselves from the aggressor by acting directly on the most sensitive point of our common enemy, Capitalism, and its mediums of defence, the State, Magistracy, the Army—this ferocious persecution, which, for the most part, is directed against us, the Anarchists, must have a stopping point. This stopping point depends on our action, and that action must come from our understanding. It is, therefore, necessary that we should begin this business with enthusiasm, diligence, and energy, and come to the help of our comrades who have fallen defending the ideas which we have in common.

In every prison there are some rebels who have suffered from the severity of a society of lies and tyranny. They need our aid, and we must not be lacking in the finest of our duties—Solidarity. For this purpose, a number of groups, from every nationality living in Paris, have formed an International Committee, with a view of undertaking, in common accord with our friends in every country, an energetic and simultaneous campaign of agitation, in order to release our comrades.

France has her modern Bastilles, where at all times are imprisoned a great number of the most militant Anarchists and revolutionary Syndicalists. Russia has Siberia, the garden of anguish of Russian revolutionaries, and of

all those who, without being revolutionary, dared to think otherwise than the murderous Tsar. We can count by thousands the human beings who perish annually in the prisons. Spain continues the story; her prisons are full of rebels, whose gaolers render their lives unbearable. Woe betide those who claim even a slight mitigation of the terrible treatment they endure. These persecutions are also continued in great numbers in the young Portuguese Republic. And in a lunatic asylum in Italy there is our comrade Masetti, who at the time of the war in Tripoli fired at his colonel, who was exhorting his soldiers to go to the slaughter of the Arabs.

In the Western hemisphere we find the same tragedies. In the dungeons of Camaguey (Cuba) are Vasquez and Estevez, for having justifiably defended themselves against an exploiter, who, revolver in hand, so taunted and provoked them at their work, when they had asked simply the price of their labour, that at last, their patience exhausted, they were obliged to retaliate (after one of them had been shot in the hand), and snatching the revolver from the exploiter, returned shot for shot. They are likely to be sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Our comrades Antilli, Barrera, and Gonzales are also imprisoned by the "nice" federal Argentine Republic for having expressed their ideas in the journals *La Protesta* and *El Combate*. Many others have been thrown into prison by this Republican Government.

Thus men suffer and die in every land, victims of Capitalism and Governments. At the same time it is certain that we are in ignorance of a great deal of the sufferings of many more victims. To make known, all over the world, even to the remotest villages, the crimes which are continually being committed, for which everywhere a cry of protest shall be raised, and, so that each one may help as much as possible, either financially or morally, we have formed a committee in Paris. This committee is not a centre of action, it is simply the central address of the thousand committees which must be formed everywhere. Let each man of heart who feels the sufferings of the victims form a committee with some friends in his district, with a view of agitating by themselves, and to work with us to obtain all information. For, as soon as a complaint reaches us, from no matter which land, we will draw up circulars in order to inform the other committees. Thus, in each country, in each province, town, or village, in all places where comrades are willing, they may constitute committees and will be constantly advised of the misdeeds, and of that which must be done to protest and agitate against the Governments.

We wish to avoid the danger of centralisation. The committee in Paris is, in short, not a bureau to direct the movement. That the groups should organise to protest against some special misdeed, that the groups draw up the circulars, arrange meetings, etc., is, therefore, what we wish; so as to let the whole world know, by means of the Press, and every means of protestation, all the crimes, all the injustice, and all the persecutions of which all Governments are guilty. That is how we intend to organise our useful and necessary work; let each one help us according to his means and ability. We invite every Anarchist and Labour paper to reproduce this manifesto.

Address adherence and correspondence to *Les Temps Nouveaux*, 4, Rue Broca, Paris; or to *Le Libertaire*, 15, Rue d'Orsel, Paris.

LE COMITE ANARCHISTE INTERNATIONAL CONTRE LES REPRESSIONS.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

[Reports of the Movement are specially invited, and should be sent in not later than the 25th of each month.]

GLASGOW.—In spite of the extremely bad weather experienced during the month, the Glasgow Anarchist Group have put in some hard work. Our meetings have been well patronised and, from a propaganda point of view, most successful. I should like to refer in especial to the Sunday evening meetings at the foot of Buchanan Street. They are a great success and a tribute to the excellence of our speakers and the attraction of our philosophy and ideals. Week by week the crowd is increasing in number; in fact, if we continue to draw the people as we have been doing lately, we shall require to set about getting the roadway enlarged. The S.L.P.—who run a dull publication misnamed the *Socialist*—in which they state that Socialism has nothing in common with Anarchy, and countenances Anarchy at its peril—Anarchy is described as a cancer which eats out the vitals of the Labour movement, and places it in the hands of its enemies—this party have been in the habit of holding P.S.E. meetings there; but since the advent of the Anarchists things have altered considerably to their disadvantage. They find it impossible to proceed against such opposition as we offer, and it is only when we repair to our rooms for the lecture that they have anything like a show. Having circulated all "The Military Ideal" leaflets sent by unknown comrades, we are running off a few thousands for distribution in this city, where at the present time great efforts are being made to entice young men to join the ranks of the hired assassins. Militarism is growing to such an extent that there is a movement to form a strong and representative Anti-Militarist Committee. Any comrade who is in a position to aid in this regard is requested to communicate with me. Two new members during the month of February, but the cry is still for more.

Readers of FREEDOM are asked to pay us a visit with a view to making our existence as Anarchists a force in this city and neighbourhood, and by the time the fine weather comes arranging some effective propaganda and distribution of literature over a wide area. Meetings during March:—

Sunday, March 15, 7 p.m., meeting in Union Halls, West Nile Street, to commemorate the Paris Commune.

Sundays—3 p.m., Glasgow Green; 6.30 p.m., foot of Buchanan Street.
7.30 p.m. 74, Buchanan Street.

Tuesdays—Group Meeting, 74, Buchanan Street.

Wednesdays, 8 p.m., Education Circle, 74, Buchanan Street.

GEORGE M. TRAQUAIR.

CHOPWELL (CO. DURHAM).—There is no mistake about the eagerness of the workers to hear our message. Now that our house is in order, friend or foe will be equally welcome within its precincts. Good meetings have been held this month. Our comrade Warren (Newcastle) on February 15 gave a fine address on Anarchism and Trade Unionism, which gave rise to a fine discussion. On the 21st, Miss Mary McNeill, B.Sc. (South Shields), gave a paper on Edward Carpenter. This opened out a new aspect for the majority of those who were present. Our comrade showed how Carpenter, having seen through the hollow shams of to-day, seeks for a real, sane view of life, and finds it by living and working amidst those who are "the salt of the earth." A meeting in the Labour Hall, South Shields, on February 1, was addressed by Will Lawther

on "The Need for Revolution." There were plenty of questions from the worshippers of the deities of the Labour Party, and a good sale of literature. We thank the comrades who sent us the leaflet by Jack London; good use has been made of it, all the local "Terriers" being handed a copy. Study circles are in full operation, and much good will come forth. We are all looking eagerly forward to the Conference in Newcastle at Easter, when we hope that many of the comrades will pay a visit to Chopwell. They will then have an opportunity of meeting with rebels, who have forsaken all gods for the clear and clean message of Anarchy.

E. C. H. O.

INTERNATIONAL MODERN SCHOOL (146, Stepney Green, E.).—Our new paper, "The Modern School," has achieved quite a success. Quite a number of congratulations have been received. We intend to print our next number during March. Order your copies at once.

JIMMY DICK.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(February 5—March 4.)

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—Essex 2s 3d, S. Corio 1s 6d, H. C. Donovan £1, H. Okeleigh 2s, Anon £1, H. Glaspe 6s.

FREEDOM Subscriptions.—J. Blundell 1s 6d, W. Lagsding 3s, H. F. Miller 1s 6d, E. D. Hunt 1s 6d, S. Davis 1s. 6d, P. D. Howell 1s. 6d.

Pamphlet Printing Fund.—B. Black 4s, Chopwell Group (per W. Lawther), 7s.

Dublin Strike Fund.—F.S. 1s, Comp 1s.

Angus Mackay Fund.—Prize draw on behalf of the family of our late comrade, Angus Mackay:—First Prize, £1 1s.; Second Prize, 10s. 6d.; Third Prize, 7s. 6d.; Fourth Prize, 5s.; Fifth Prize, a Book. Tickets, 6d. each. The drawing will take place on Saturday, March 14, at 74 Buchanan Street, Glasgow. Tickets for above may be had of G. Traquair or W. Ponder, 74 Buchanan Street, Glasgow.

FREE on payment of carriage.—The Glasgow Anarchist Group have a number of copies of the *Anarchist* on hand, which would be willingly sent to comrades on payment of carriage. The following are the rates:—1 quire, 4d.; 2 quires, 6d.—Address, 74 Buchanan Street, Glasgow.

BIRMINGHAM.—Group meetings (Comrades only) will be held at the Coffee House, 7 High Street, Bull Ring, on March 15 and 29 and April 5, at 6.30 p.m. Lectures on March 15 and 29 only at 7.30 p.m., when all will be welcome.—C. MARTENS, 355 Lower High Street, West Bromwich.

West London Anarchist Communist Group.—Sunday morning, 11.45 a.m., Putney Bridge (Putney side). Will any comrade having vacant Sunday mornings and wishing to speak please communicate?—P. L. MEACHEM, 9 Hildyard Road, Fulham.

MOTHER EARTH.

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