

Freedom

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NOTES.

Lever's Soft Soap.

Many have been the conjectures as to what would finally be left in the melting pot after the welter of war shall have passed away. Many have been the prophets that have conjured up rosy visions of a free England. Not least among the wise men has been Lord Leverhulme, who, speaking at a recent meeting, gave it as his opinion that the enormous taxation of three millions sterling per day could only be met by abolishing "the idle rich and the ca' canny poor." To this end he suggests a working day of six hours for all, "with equal rights, duties, and opportunities for all, and with favours for none." The labour of all classes working freely together in co-partnership he considers will introduce the golden age into this heathen country, and then, too, because war is immoral and must be abolished from the earth, he urges the necessity of military training for national defence. In other words, he foretells the day of the Servile State where the worker shall be kept in a very beautiful slave compound, the golden key of which shall be kept by the masters of industry in conjunction with the State. In painting his rosy picture of the workers' England he was forgetful enough to omit to mention that the right to be exploited should still be possessed by the brawny sons of toil, and the ancient right to ride on the backs of these same brawny ones would remain undisputed.

The Co-Partnership Bait.

Much talk is heard to-day concerning the passing of the old rule-of-thumb methods of industry, and many associations and corporations have come into being, having as their objective the development of industry along scientific lines. The usual clap-trap has been indulged in about meeting the "just aspirations of labour." The one-time libelled worker is appealed to to support these schemes, and he is promised a fair share of the profits. As usual, the results aimed at are greater economy of production, and to this end the help of Labour leaders and politicians has been invoked. It would seem superfluous to urge upon all workers the necessity for combating all those schemes of co-partnership which have sprung up like mushrooms since the beginning of the war. Co-partnership can only spell one thing—the abject and entire fettering of the co-partnered worker. Only one form of industrial organisation can successfully supersede the present chaotic system. Co-operation is the one star to which we can safely hitch our waggon. Industrial organisation will continue to impose slavery upon the masses so long as our present economic structure remains. Free association and co-operative production would mean the re-birth of industry, and only on such a basis can a society of free and happy human beings be built, for desperate maladies require desperate remedies, and to attempt to cure with the quack medicine of co-partnership is sheer folly born only of ignorance and credulity.

Preparing for Commercial Warfare.

Equality is the word to conjure with these days, for it is on the lips of all the mighty of the earth—the politicians, the place-hunters, patriots and profiteers, men of ancient pedigree, and self-made men of low degree unite in paying lip service to the great chained beast of Labour with this one mystic word. Caught by the popular phrase, Mr. Fisher, President of the Board of Education, has been discoursing on the present inequalities of education, and the necessity for saving the waste of human life that is going on. In unburdening his mind on this subject, Mr. Fisher apparently did not allude to the murder daily being enacted throughout Europe. He, in common with other statesmen, has contemplated the prospect of a more or less depopulated Empire, and so he declares that: "We had far too many sick, crippled, defective, unclean and ignorant and undeveloped children. . . . The employment of children and young persons for profit ought to be carefully circumscribed in the interests of the race, and the State should use its power to prevent

the physical strength of its young citizens being prematurely used up in the industrial machine." Now, it is very patent to everyone that if the youthful citizen is used up in the industrial machine, he surely will not be available for the military machine. So in order to produce a really useful article the legislative machine will be set in motion, and the potential cannon fodder of this country drilled and moulded into just that shape which will make him ultimately a really useful automaton. On the surface all the talk of equality of opportunity through education sounds very fine, but we know only too well that any system of education under the present regime will only have the effect of buying the most useful brains from among the children of the workers, and training them to become sheep dogs to their class. Therefore, we distrust the equality-mongers and all their schemes, for real equality in education can only be possible when privilege and private property are abolished.

Slums Manufacture Criminals.

According to a recent press report, every reformatory in the kingdom is full, and the increasing number of juvenile offenders places the law-dispensers in a sore predicament. The *Daily News*, in commenting upon this increase, quotes an authority as saying:

"The want of proper supervision, combined with bad housing conditions, were the main causes of unruliness among boys. Where families occupied single-room tenements the children had nowhere to play, except in the streets. . . . I have every hope that the number of juvenile offenders will be considerably reduced when we can prevent overcrowding by removing slum property, and provide more open spaces. Give a boy facilities for playing games, and you will keep him out of mischief."

But the hard-headed and practical Britisher will evidently go on believing that cure is better than prevention, and it certainly is more spectacular.

Russia's Struggle for Freedom.

The events in Russia go far to prove the real meaning of the phrase "revolutionary government." It has been demonstrated quite clearly that government always means reaction, and the term "revolutionary" can have no place beside it. The present Russian Government has only succeeded in holding office by compromising and invoking all the military and civil forces at its disposal. To Anarchists it need awaken no surprise that some members of the Council of Workmens' and Soldiers' Delegates, including "revolutionary" Socialists, have issued a proclamation on the present Russian situation, in which they appeal to Russians to show a spirit of complete unity, "so as to save Russia from civil war, and at the same time to check Anarchic elements on the one hand and the forces of reaction on the other." We are reminded of the description given to civic affairs in Russia after the upheaval of the revolution. The *Daily News* Petrograd correspondent coined the phrases, "Stable Chaos" and "Orderly Anarchy," and showed plainly that Anarchy was quite compatible with an orderly condition of society. To us it seems natural that the revolution should leave its aftermath, for many vicious conditions have been inherited from the old regime; but the point which the so-called revolutionary Socialists will not grasp is that government is a disease left by the old regime, that it is fatal to the welfare of a free society of human beings, that social and economic affairs can be managed infinitely better without it, all the needs of the people being supplied by means of co-operation. No Government can possibly do well those things which the individual should do for himself. When the Russian people can firmly lay hold of these facts, it is true they will have to try conclusions with the financiers and place-hunters, for those who would seek and win freedom will always first have to slay these monsters of the capitalist era.

I entered Parliament with what I thought to be the lowest possible opinion of the average Member; I came out with one still lower.—*John Stuart Mill*.

REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT.*

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

PART II.

The dangers to which the Revolution is exposed when it allows itself to be controlled by an elected government are so evident that a whole school of Revolutionists renounce entirely the idea of it. They understand that it is impossible for a people in insurrection to give themselves, by means of elections, any government but one that represents the past, and which must be like leaden shoes on the feet of the people, above all when it is necessary to accomplish that immense regeneration, economic, political and moral which we understand by the Social Revolution. They renounce then the idea of "legal" government at least during that period which is a revolt against legality, and they advocate a "revolutionary dictatorship."

"The party," say they, "which will have overturned the government will take the place of it, of course. It will seize upon power and proceed in a revolutionary manner. It will take the measures necessary to secure the success of the insurrection; it will demolish the old institutions; it will organise the defence of the country. As for those who will not recognise its authority, why the guillotine will settle them, whether they belong to the people or the middle class, if they refuse to obey the orders necessary for the advance of the Revolution." The guillotine still in action! See how these budding Robespierres argue, who know nothing of the grand epic of the century but its period of decline, men who have never learned anything about it except from speeches of the hangers-on of the Republic.

For us Anarchists the dictatorship of an individual or of a party (at bottom the very same thing) has been finally condemned. We know that Revolution and Government are incompatible; one must destroy the other, no matter what name is given to government, whether dictatorship, royalty, or parliament. We know that what makes the strength and the truth of our party is contained in this formula—"Nothing good or durable can be done except by the free initiative of the people, and every government tends to destroy it"; and so the very best among us, if their ideas had not to pass through the crucible of the popular mind before being put into execution, and if they should become masters of that formidable machine—the government—and could thus act as they chose, would become in a week fit only for the gallows. We know whither every dictatorship leads, even the best intentioned—namely, to the death of all revolutionary movement. We know also, in fine, that this idea of dictatorship is never anything more than a sickly product of governmental fetish-worship, which, like religious fetish-worship, has always served to perpetuate slavery.

But we do not now address ourselves to Anarchists. We speak to those governmental Revolutionists who, led astray by the prejudices of their education, honestly deceive themselves, and ask nothing better than to discuss the question. We therefore speak to them from their own point of view.

And to begin with one general observation; those who preach dictatorship do not in general perceive that in sustaining this prejudice they only prepare the way for those who later on will cut their throats. There is, however, one word of Robespierre's which his admirers would do well to remember. He did not deny the dictatorship in principle; but "have good care about it," he answered abruptly to Mandar when he spoke to him of it, "Brissot would be the Dictator!" Yes, Brissot, the crafty Girondin, deadly enemy of the levelling tendencies of the people, furious defender of property (though he once called it theft), Brissot, who would coolly have consigned to the Abbaye Prison Hebert, Marat, and all the moderate Jacobins!

Now this was said in 1792! At this time France had already been three years in Revolution! In fact, Royalty no longer existed; it only awaited its death stroke; the feudal régime was actually abolished. And yet even at this time, when the Revolution rolled its waves untrammelled, it was still the counter-revolutionist Brissot who had the best chance to be made dictator! And who would it have been previously, in 1789? Mirabeau is the man who would have been acknowledged as the head of the government! The man who made a bargain with the king to sell him his eloquence—this is the man who would have been thrust into power at this time, if the insurgent people had not imposed its sovereignty, sustained by its pikes, and if it had not proceeded, by the accomplished facts of the Jacquerie, in making illusory every government constituted at Paris or in the departments.

But governmental prejudice blinds so thoroughly those who speak of dictatorship, that they prefer the dictatorship of a new Brissot or a Napoleon to abandoning the idea of giving another

master to men who are breaking the chains of their slavery!

The secret societies of the time of the Restoration and of Louis-Philippe contributed powerfully to maintain this prejudice of dictatorship. The middle-class Republicans of the time, aided by the workers, made a long series of conspiracies, with the object of overturning Royalty and proclaiming the Republic. Not understanding the profound change that would have to be effected in France before even a Republican régime could be established, they imagined that by means of a vast conspiracy they would some day overturn Royalty, take possession of power and proclaim the Republic. For more than thirty years these secret societies never ceased to work with a devotion unlimited, and a heroic courage and perseverance. If the Republic resulted from the insurrection of 1848, it was thanks to these societies, and thanks to the propaganda by deed made by them for thirty years. Without their noble efforts the Republic would, up to the present, have been impossible.

The end they had in view was to get possession of power themselves, and to instal a Republican Dictatorship. But, of course, they never succeeded. As ever, from the very nature of things, a conspiracy could not overturn Royalty. The conspirators had indeed prepared the way for its fall. They had spread widely the Republican idea; their martyrs had made it the ideal of the people. But the final effort which definitely overturned the king of the bourgeoisie was much greater and stronger than any that could come from a secret society; it came from the mass of the people.

The result is known. The party which had prepared the way for the fall of Royalty found itself thrust aside from the steps of the Government House. Others, too prudent to run the risks of conspiracy, but better known, more moderate also, lying in wait for the opportunity of grasping power, took the place which the conspirators hoped to conquer at the point of the bayonet. Journalists, lawyers, good talkers who worked hard to make a name for themselves while the true Republicans forged weapons or expired in jail, took possession of power. Some of them, already well known, were acclaimed by the people; others pushed themselves forward and were accepted because their name represented nothing more than a programme of agreement with everybody.

It is useless to tell us that this happened because of a want of practical spirit in the party of action, and that others will be able to do better in future. No, a thousand times no! It is a law as immutable as that which governs the movement of the stars, that the party of action must be thrown aside, and the intriguers and talkers seize upon power. They are always better known to the great mass that makes the final effort. They get more votes, because with or without voting papers, by acclamation or by the ballot-box, at the bottom it is always a kind of tacit election which is made in such cases by acclamation. They are acclaimed by everybody and above all by the enemies of the Revolution, who prefer to put forward nobodies, and thus by acclamation those men are accepted as rulers who are really either enemies of the movement or indifferent toward it.

The man who more than any other was the incarnation of this system of conspiracy, the man who by a life spent in prison paid for his devotion to this system, on the eve of his death uttered these words, which of themselves make an entire programme—"Neither God nor Master!"

(To be concluded.)

WAR OR PEACE?

Blood—the youthful blood of manhood,

Bathes the ripened corn in crimson,

Soaks the pasture lands of Europe,

But who has bettered?

Fire—the furious fire of battle,

Devastates the sun-kissed blossoms,

Fiercely brands the dew-weighed meadows,

But what is gained by it?

Death—the satellite of Warfare,

Grimly laughs at Europe's folly,

He has culled a million corpses,

In clay tombs sleeping.

Teuton totters with exhaustion,

Magyar raves with shattered mind,

Islam's plains are swept with famine,

Slav and Roman starve to death.

Prussia swoons o'erpowered with blood-lust,

Albion writhes 'neath Moloch's breath,

Half the world is drowned in death-blood,

But who has conquered?

ERIC VERNEY.

* This series of articles, though written over twenty years ago, accurately foretold the progress of a "Revolutionary Government," as shown by the Russian Provisional Government and the Dictatorship of Kerensky. Comrades will find the articles excellent propaganda among Revolutionary Socialists.

THE LABOURER'S HIRE.

(Continued.)

In reviewing the economic history of the past few centuries we see how agriculture was gradually separated from industrial work. The manufacturers of the sixteenth century and onwards have naturally enough divorced the two. Even up to the eighteenth century we find that many citizens engaged in business in London actually contrived to give two days per week to farming. Bye-industries were the order of the day. Speaking of this period, Arthur Young tells us that "the farming tribe is now made up of all ranks, from a duke to an apprentice." But with the advance of machinery all this was changed, and the Manchester School of economists, with their ideal of England as the workshop of the world, won the day. This had the result of making England far too dependent upon other countries for raw material and food products, until to-day we have the deplorable spectacle of the worker utterly devoid of initiative—a machine minder—an automaton, a mere producer of profit for his master. As Kropotkin says in his admirable little book, "Fields, Factories, and Workshops":

"The modern worker is without conception of any knowledge of the industry in which he or she is employed, and is only capable of making all day long and for a whole life the same infinitesimal part of something . . . mere servants to some machine of a given description—mere flesh and bone parts of some immense machinery—having no idea how and why the machinery performs its rhythmical movements."

All because the worker is educated to believe that we are destined by Nature to be the world's workshop! Kropotkin rightly enough insists that nations refuse to be specialised: "Each nation is a compound aggregate of tastes and inclinations, of wants and resources, of capacities and inventive powers." It is true that our whole social and economic structure has done its best to reduce us to one dead level, and the process has been so gradual that it has of itself occasioned no violent revolutionary struggle against it. Men have fought to combat physical starvation, but mental and moral starvation has unfortunately been tacitly accepted.

To trace the "annals of the poor" back through the ages is a humiliating task. Even though such research may make us realise that certain periods claimed as "the Golden Age" were in reality dark with ignorance, credulity and despair, we come across beacons of light that throw their beams far out through the centuries. These have been the revolt of the labourer against his lot—the protest against the inhuman, degraded life that has been forced upon him.

Although perhaps one of the chief economic landmarks of our history can hardly fall into this category—I refer to the Black Death of 1349—yet this event is certainly one of the most important as far as the condition of the labourer is concerned. From early Saxon times we catch glimpses of him as serf, cottier, villein—always working to support the lord of the manor and his retainers—always with back bent to the soil, yet finding time to follow some handicraft, and wresting a goodly sufficiency from Mother Earth. It is true that he was tied to the soil, and could be brought back if he attempted flight, but the arduous toil and ghastly starvation of later centuries appears to have been unknown to him. The Black Death by its alarming death roll caused a great dearth of labourers, broke down the old feudal conditions of work, and was the direct cause of wage-slavery. The labourer thus became permanently divorced from the soil. With the demand for labour exceeding the supply, one may wonder why the labourer did not reap a golden harvest. But then, as ever, the propertied classes conspired to rob him, and forbade under severe penalties the payment of wages above a certain fixed sum. Judges at Quarter Sessions were given power to fix wages, and they did not err on the side of generosity towards the workers. Commenting on this pernicious law, Thorold Rogers says: "The English law attempted to carry out the theory [that the State should regulate prices] with regard to labour, as I have shown, for centuries, and with the most mischievous results to land, produce and labour." And again: "The progress of human liberty is always connected with the restraint of Government interference." Legislation has always aimed at keeping wages down, and our present-day Government in fixing a minimum wage of 25s. weekly for farm labourers is merely obeying time-honoured tradition. In the past, as in the present, the master class thought that if wages were raised to meet the rise in prices they would not be easily reduced during a period of comparative cheapness, and it may well be that here is the explanation for the present-day payment of war bonuses, rather than fixed additions to wages.

Thus it was that the labourer divorced from the land became more than ever the degraded exploited creature which the study of economic history reveals to us. He being more isolated than the town artisan, was, therefore, more impotent, whereas the worker in the towns and cities could at least form guilds, by means of which they partially protected themselves from the rapacity of their masters.

(To be continued.)

NEWS FROM FRANCE.

The Parisian revolutionary paper, *Ce qu'il faut dire*, edited by Sébastien Faure, fell foul of Anastasie (the French Censor) recently. The consequence was that all its group meetings were interdicted, and the paper itself suspended for two months. It has now reappeared, still kicking. Faure, in making a protest against the imbecilities of the censorship, which is much the same under Painlevé as it was under M. Ribot, makes a frank proposal. Stating that the Censor suppressed, among other things, a definition of Anarchism in a critical article on so-called "Anarchists," he offers to show any reader calling at the offices of "C.Q.F.D." the censored passages. He says these cannot in any way assist the enemy, and do not give away any naval or military secrets: a nasty dig at the Censor.

The French peace-propagandists are being strictly repressed, in fact, one paper represents it as "pacifist baiting." Continual raids are made on their "nests," and it is not unusual for the police to play the part of agent-provocateur.

Louis Lecoin, of the long-suppressed *Libertaire*, was released a week or two ago, after having served twelve months for anti-patriotism. He was rearrested a few days later as an absentee from the army, and will be court-martialled. He served a sentence in 1910 for refusing to obey military commands at the time of the great railway strike, when Briand tried to force the strikers to do as soldiers what they refused to do as workers. Three years later he received a sentence for Anarchist and anti-militarist propaganda.

The Royalist paper, *L'Action Française*, in a recent issue, indulged in fulsome phrases congratulating Hervé, the *soi-disant* anti-militarist, author of "My Country Right or Wrong." This was on account of his attacks on the revolutionaries in Russia who were "upsetting the stability of our sacred union" in the fight for freedom, honour, etc. Says Daudet, the editor of *L'Action*: "When Hervé changes his opinions, he does not do it by halves. Witness the hymn which he intones in honour of the sabre and the knout, those things which he suggests for Russia in a time like this, and the Cossacks who are fittest to wield them. It is by means of the sabre, the knout, and military dictatorship that it only is possible to raise grain, to pile up the munitions, to run locomotives and waggons in countries given over to anarchy, for the first essential for economic stability is the re-establishment of order."

The Anarchist-Individualist paper, *Par delà la mêlée*, published by E. Armand in Orleans, continues to appear, but reduced in size. The articles are mostly of the Max Stirner school, with a heavy flavouring of sexual philosophy, most of the poetry belonging to the latter class. The paper is almost singularly free of war actualities, most of the writers apparently living in, say, the planet Venus. In a recent number, however, there was an excellent article on "Communist Colonies," by our comrade Gassy Marin, joint author of the FREEDOM pamphlet, "Anarchists and Esperanto." Readers who know our comrade will regret to hear that he was recently practically kidnapped from the White-way Colony and taken to the Belgian Military Hospital at Highgate. He has been found unfit for the army, but the Home Office has ordered him to be deported on account of his propagandist activities. The police made a raid on his quarters at Whiteway some time ago, and found a few copies of "A Knock-Out Blow," of which, needless to say, he is not the author. As Gassy cannot very well be deported to Belgium, he is to be sent to Switzerland. And yet there is a war on—for freedom and the rights of small nationalities!

No class of men who have possessed authority have been able to avoid abusing it.—T. H. Buckle.

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"TIMES" AND REVOLUTION.

In a series of articles headed "The Ferment of Revolution," published in the *Times* (September 25-28), a correspondent deals with the revolutionary movement inside the Labour movement, which he defines as follows:

"It is a ferment working within the area of British organised Labour, claiming for the 'proletariat' self-direction and enjoyment of the whole product of industry, indifferent to the successful conduct of the war, and irreconcilably hostile to the existing order of society. . . . It disowns every practical theory of reconstruction, and its policy is that of 'demand upon demand, strike upon strike, blow upon blow, until the 'Capitalistic State' is destroyed."

The writer says it is now time to estimate the danger that this movement portends from the standpoint of loyal and patriotic citizens. He says it is not true that society is based upon the two constituents of Capital and Labour, but the people of Great Britain are divided into two parts or nations of almost equal size, organised Labour on one hand, and the rest of the community on the other. And so as to make his calculations agree, in the latter section of the people he includes agriculture, the textile industry, and the earthenware industry of Staffordshire. So much for his two "nations." If he studies Trade Union reports he will find the textile and agricultural industries are both represented at Trade Union Congresses, the former especially carrying great voting power.

However, the writer's desire is to rally the anti-Labour classes—commercial, political, and social—to the support of the State in resisting further demands for wage increases, and thus check the terrible "ferment of revolution." He admits that organised Labour has the right to strike in support of its demands, but if the rest of the nation refuse its demands it also has the right to organise itself to do the work which Labour refuses to do. So now, perhaps, we can understand the recent activity of Sir Auckland Geddes in his National Service scheme, and the inspired paragraphs in the papers on the subject. It is probable that a determined stand will be made against any further increase of wages for miners and railwaymen, and other great bodies of workers. In refusing to reconsider the recent award of 3s. to the ironmoulders, it was stated that this refusal had the support of the whole of the Cabinet.

We heartily welcome this attitude on the part of the Government, as it will direct the attention of the workers more towards real revolutionary work. There is nothing revolutionary about an increase in wages, as it still leaves the capitalist a capitalist, and the worker a wage-slave. A number of Socialists and Labour men have been asking for a lower and a fixed price for bread. Well, now the price of the 4lb. loaf has been reduced from 1s. to 9d., the Government paying the difference in price, which is estimated to cost about £40,000,000 a year. But as the people will have to provide the £40,000,000 which is necessary, they really pay 1s. for their loaf as formerly! And yet Socialists and others waste their energies in working for "cheaper" food. In the same way the increases to the railwaymen and others are to be paid, not by the shareholders of the railway companies, but by the Government out of the money raised by taxation.

While we think the *Times* writer overestimates the strength of the revolutionary element in the ranks of organised Labour, at the same time we know there is a growing minority in favour of the abolition of the wage system, with its enslavement of the workers, and the substitution of co-operation and free association. This implies the abolition of Landlordism and Capitalism, and in all revolutionary propaganda this fact should be clearly stated. Much harm has been done in the past by Socialists trying to get

the support of timid people by saying that really the revolution was only an extension of the system of national ownership and control, as in the case of the Post Office, and municipal gas and water. A Social Revolution is nothing of the kind. It means the total abolition of the system of society which now exists, under which, owing to their control of the land, one section of the community has the power to force the others to work for them, and also decides the conditions of life for millions of men and women. A successful Social Revolution, therefore, means first and foremost free access to and use of the land for those willing to work on it, and free association in social, economic, and sexual matters. The basis of all freedom is a free earth. To read many Socialist papers nowadays, one would think all that was necessary was a change of Government, and this is what the *Times* writer implies by revolutionary ferment, but to the Anarchist a change of Government means merely a change of masters. So to those who wish for freedom in the full sense of the word we would repeat, a free people can only grow on a free earth. The great struggle in Russia really centres round the land question, of which very little is mentioned in the press, but in reality it is the cause of many of the changes which have taken place in the political struggle in that country. The peasants want the land, and are determined to have it.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.*

Many books have been written on the Russian Revolution, but for simplicity and clearness in a small compass it would be hard to better this booklet by Michael Farbman, whose articles on the Revolution in the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Herald* have been notable for their insight into and sympathy with the Revolutionary movement. The writer begins by showing how the Revolution was made possible by the utter rottenness of the Monarchy and the Government, a rottenness which was exposed to the world by the war. This brought together all who were opposed to the Tsar's régime—the Capitalists and the workers' organisations. The Capitalists thought they could use the workers to get rid of the Tsar's Government and put their own in its place. The Provisional Government when first formed had a majority of the wealthy and commercial classes, but the "Soviet" (the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates) has proved too strong, and has kept the Government from straying very far from the programme originally mapped out. The expropriation of the landed proprietors is demanded by the peasants, who form the overwhelming mass of the people, and the whole of the landed and Capitalist classes are united in resisting this demand.

The Russian Revolutionists expected to get the support of Revolutionists in other countries to help them to stop the war, knowing that if the war continues the Revolution will be defeated, but the Socialists and the workers of the world are so busy blowing each other to pieces that the noise of their guns prevented them hearing the appeal of their brothers in Russia. Many pious resolutions of sympathy were carried unanimously at Labour and Socialist Conferences, but always with a proviso that the Russians must continue to fight the Central Powers. The Allied Governments are also helping to kill the Revolution by monetary assistance to the Russian Government on condition that they prosecute the war to the end—the Allies' end.

In these circumstances the hope of a successful Revolution lies not in the great cities, but in the attitude of the peasants. If they could be induced to seize the land and work it in co-operation, refusing to pay taxes or support the Government, the war, as far as Russia was concerned, would come to an end, and the Revolution be saved from reaction. This, of course, implies that the Russian peasants realise the strength of their position, and have intelligence enough to withstand the schemes of the politicians.

Mr. Farbman pins his faith to a strong democratic Government, but no Government can ever be revolutionary, and if it becomes strong and "stable," then the Revolution is defeated. Government and liberty can never exist together. Kerensky has been forced by his position to draw away from the so-called "Extremists," who put him in power, and is now relying on the support of the "Moderates" of all parties, which means that he has dropped his revolutionary ideals—"trampled on his dreams," as he expressed it—and thinks that the Government and not the Revolution must be saved. The essay, published in another page, on "Revolutionary Government," written by Kropotkin many years ago, shows how this must necessarily be the evolution of those who support what they call a "Revolutionary Government."

* The Russian Revolution and the War. By Michael Farbman. 6d. net. London: National Council for Civil Liberties.

WANTED—A VISION.

The camp fires wane low. There are no songs, save the depressing murmur of that absurd poem, "The people is a beast of muddy brain." In the flickering of the dying flames some pessimist repeats with a kind of joyous misery those lines from one of Carlyle's books anent that crowd "mostly fools." As another poet has it, "The darkness and the dread and the despair lie thick and heavy o'er the human heart."

Our gallant colonists are pessimistic. In last month's *FREEDOM* Mabel Hope asserts most dolorously that she is more than ever convinced that Labour lacks breadth of vision. She says it is "unthinkable" that wholesale expropriation is possible whilst people are worrying over sticking plaster reforms. Maurice, in an equally doleful mood, whilst agreeing that the people cannot afford to experiment in colonies, adds the remark that "neither can they understand Anarchism." God save the people!

I put my money on the people. I say it is easy to get the fuller joy of comradeship in colonies where you prune and select those who are to your taste, but I also say that it is not Anarchism. I say it is easy to be selfishly happy in colonies or in the South Sea Islands, but it does not hasten the revolution. People in High Society are also selfishly happy, people in snobbish suburban circles, in Bohemian groups, select and exclusive, are also selfishly happy. I say preserve us from such happiness.

I will be told again, as I have been told constantly, that these colonies, these experiments are practical things of everyday life; that I am talking the merest Utopese when I refer to wholesale expropriation, "because expropriation is one thing, and reconstruction after expropriation is another."

What does this amount to? It means that we Anarchists are and have been extremely foolish, that we have been impractically telling the people to take over the land without putting any postscript to our remarks; and that when the people get hold of the land they will not know what to do with it. These colonists have laid their finger on the fatal spot, and intend triumphantly to show us how to do things. And yet most successful farmers are not Anarchists.

These colonists, convinced of the utter pig-headedness of the people, intend to retire gracefully to some rustic spot, the world forgetting and by the world forgot to forge the iron while it is yet hot. And to resume, in prose, they will leave the unenlightened people in the hands of the Utopists, until presently they can show the inhabitants of Petticoat Lane the literal fruits of their labour.

Mabel Hope has told us in her pamphlet that the success of the co-operative (or communist) colony can best be assured by the colonists being Freethinkers, Free Lovers and Anarchists. Another supporter of the scheme, Harold Banks, insists that there be careful pruning, and that only those who have the enlightened ideas set out above, plus an even temper, a broadmindedness, and a sense of give-and-take, should be admitted. Maurice will, no doubt, heavily underline these conditions, and perhaps add, as one French comrade suggested, that they should be vegetarians, teetotallers and non-smokers.

I say this colonism is not Anarchism. I say it is absurd to select a group of stained-glass angels for an experiment, and then go to the people and say that is the way to do things. Who am I to form myself into a High Court of Judgment and admit to my colony a set of irreproachable, carefully-creased intellectuals in sports suits and long hair? We want Anarchism for the people, for Bill Smith and Susan Elizabeth. We want to save the people from their ignorance, from their folly, from their mistaken patriotism. The people are suffering from too much misplaced kindness; the people magnify the good spots in rogues, politicians, and other sorts of showy villains; they have too much heart and not enough head. We want to teach them, not by setting ourselves apart, parading our sobriety, our atheism, our intellects, but by working side by side with them. It is not enough merely to prove that a colony can be run successfully, for the mere fact of the colonists being on such a superior plane will militate against convincing the mass of the people who do not pretend to such intellect, sobriety and what not. If I am accused of waiting till all the people are convinced (which is an absurd proposition) I might equally accuse the colonists of waiting till all the people are vegetarians, free-lovers, non-smokers, and other general nuisances.

But I wish, most insistently, to point out that my original idea was not merely to criticise this colonism. After all, a colony is not a question of facts—it is a question of opinion. The colonists have theirs, to which they are most mistakenly welcome. I, of course, more reasonably, have mine.

My main idea was to settle what we are to do when the people begin to kick over the traces—as some day they must. What are we to go to them with in our hands? No, not colonies. The people are not good enough for them. The Band of Hope and the Messenger of Health have not converted one-third of the

nation. We must take the people precisely as they will be on that day of days.

We Utopists do not intend to raise a cry of "To the Land!" forthwith. The factories must run. The railways must run. The ships must sail. Food, clothing, housing must be assured. When a man does not know where the next meal is to come from, what use to give him a pamphlet on "Anarchist Morality," or even "Proposals for a non-authoritarian Communist Colony"?

We want literature of the right sort. We want plain English. We want sense. We want a guide to the higher life written from the bread-and-butter point of view. The people have become used to having things done for them. We want to impress them with the necessity of doing things for oneself, without any preliminary moral overhauling or stained-glass angel business.

We, working amongst the people, endeavour to explain Anarchism in terms of field, factory and workshop; in terms of running industry for the good of all, not for profit. We try to visualise these things for the people, not only with an insistence on the unnecessary of Government and municipalism, but also with regard to the existence of foremen, overseers, managers.

The great mass of the people are industrialists; we are not such Utopists as to imagine there is no transition between factory and field. It is precisely because we believe in reconstruction after expropriation that we reject colonism as a bread-and-butter scheme. We go to the people not with experiments, but with practical proposals immediately realisable. We are men and women of the workaday world, not lily-fingered missionaries.

L.A.M.

SPANISH APPEAL.

Comrades,—At the present moment Spanish Trade Unionism is in danger. All the leaders and large numbers of the active militants are in prison. Some workers have been shot, and the authorities are asking for vicious sentences against the others. The families of these devoted workers are suffering morally and materially. The only thing that can succour these comrades and stay the hand of reaction is International solidarity, and to that we appeal. The Spanish Government only fears public opinion abroad, not that at home.

Since the outbreak of the European War, prices in Spain have risen as much as in the belligerent countries, and the cost of living for a long time now has been almost intolerable for the workers. Wages, on the other hand, have barely advanced at all. The workers have in vain asked the Government to take action. Their patience sorely tried, they have now had recourse to the weapon of the peaceful general strike, and the answer of the Government has been to bring out troops armed with artillery and crush the legitimate aspirations of the toilers by brute force.

We ask you to give your moral and material assistance to Spanish Trade Unionism. Funds are needed, and, even more important than the actual amount subscribed will be the knowledge that British Labour is rallying to the support of its brothers in Spain. That knowledge will act as a check on the Government there, and stay its hand against our comrades. Subscriptions may be sent to Vicente Garcia, 46, Goodge Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. 1. The amount collected will be remitted to Spain in its entirety (without any deduction for expenses), and will be distributed by the two central Trade Union organisations there, the General Union of Workers and the Confederation of Labour. A balance sheet will be sent to the Labour Press and to subscribers.

For the Committee of Lovers of Spanish Liberty,

Melchor Esteban (S.W.M.F.), José Gonzalez (Workers' Union), Juan Cuesta (Boilermakers), Victoriano Lafuente (Anthracite Miners), Nicolas Dueñas (Enginemen, Stokers and Surface Craftsmen), V. Garcia (Mutual Association of Journeymen Coopers).

DO YOU KNOW?

Any newsagent who sells Socialist and Labour papers? If so, ask him if he will take a few copies of *FREEDOM* each month. We can supply him direct from our office. In any case, send his address on the form below. An unsealed envelope with a half-penny stamp is sufficient:

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(Please write clearly).

TREATMENT OF C.O.'s.

The publication of Mrs. Henry Hobhouse's book, "I Appeal Unto Cæsar," has concentrated attention on the subject of the treatment of C.O.'s. Mrs. Hobhouse maintains that as Parliament made special regulations for relief of conscientious objectors, they are legally entitled to that relief. But, as a matter of fact, although many of the men have given continued proof in prison of their objection to military service, as soon as one term of imprisonment is finished, they are sent back to the Army, again court-martialled, and again sentenced to prison. Hundreds are serving their second or third term of imprisonment, the effect on their health, mental and physical, being disastrous in some cases. But the Army authorities are unrelenting, although the Government sometimes pretends to intervene and make matters easier for the men. But the spirit in which they do so shows the military that they are not in earnest, so things go on much as before.

Recently we called attention to the case of our comrade, H. Evans, who refused to do work of any kind in prison, taking up what is known as the "absolutist" position. A few others have done the same, and now we have received a letter on the same subject from our London comrade, Alfred Corum, written on September 18, while awaiting the result of his third court-martial at Winnal Down Camp, Winchester. He was subsequently sentenced to another term of two years' imprisonment. He says:

"If I had taken on the work [alternative service] it would merely have been as a means of getting out of prison. But I thought that the so-called absolutist position was the longest way round for the shortest cut home. Of course, it may yet turn out to be so. But I could never see the difference between working in prison and doing so outside. Of course, there is a legal difference, but that should not be noticed by us, although the State may treat us according to this distinction without a difference. I was court-martialled yesterday, and told them that I failed to see why I should be punished as I had done precisely—nothing; that I felt acquiescence in the punishment shown by doing work imposed as a punishment implied acknowledgment of my guilt, therefore I should do no more prison work. I am not altogether sorry that I have worked so far. Now, with the National Service schemes again on the tapis, it is fundamental."

He says he has met many more comrades who are prepared to adopt the absolutist policy, and asks us to bring this before any Anarchist comrades who may be temporarily released from prison. We Anarchists object to compulsion in all its forms, social or military, religion having nothing to do with the objection. Hence, our attitude must be more determined than that of those who support State compulsion in other matters, while objecting to military service.

U.S.A. AND C.O.'s.

The writer of the following notes is a member of the American League of Conscientious Objectors, 179, East Broadway, New York City.

No doubt you have heard of the trial and imprisonment of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, both of whom were very active in anti-militaristic propaganda. As usual the Marshal and District Attorney announced that this was the end of Anarchism. But if anything, this served only to revivify the movement. Men who had never been any more than comrades in name jumped to the fore, and I am happy to be able to say that in New York alone within three days after the trial, there were protest meetings in halls whose seating capacity would have been inadequate under any circumstances. At the Forward Hall 2,000 people were packed into a 800 seat hall, and 3,000 people were on the street outside. Subsequently meetings were held, and the result of all this agitation was that there was born the League of Conscientious Objectors. This League maintains that the Conscientious Objector is the man who refuses non-combatant service, as well as combatant. We realise that our greatest danger lies in industrial conscription. Having learned the lesson of the failure of the N.C.F. in England, we are not desirous of a repetition, and on that account we are reaching out for the conscious rebel, not the pacifist. Only the rebel will make the fight.

American justice decreed, of course, that Goldman and Berkman, Kramer, Becker and others ought to be under very heavy bail bonds, and should be very severely punished, because they were attempting to save the youth of America from becoming sacrificial lambs. When, however, Drs. Cherry and Bernfield, for a price, saved the youth and cured themselves of "itch palmitis," they were less severely punished. Berkman and Goldman were rushed off to jail; the two thieves who recognised Government have been given a week to straighten out their affairs.

All this, however, is all incidental. What I want to tell you is that the League of Conscientious Objectors has very long arms. They are stretching over America, and, without being at all sanguine nor feeling hopeful, I think I can safely say that America will double England in her showing of conscious rebel objectors. The Provost Marshal-General is engaged in offering conciliatory measures. We know of no compromise. Already hundreds of men in this city have refused to submit to physical examination, and a careful reading of the records will show that one in six are absentees. Of course, the Government marks all absentees physically fit, but you and I both know that it is uncommonly hard to find a physically fit spirit, because after having vanished into thin air our physically fit men can be called nothing but spirit. Spirits, so far as we know, are things that are, because they are not. Every indication is that we shall have a keen conflict on our hands, but we shall maintain our militancy, and stand ready to defend our rights. The People's Council of America, Federated Union for Democracy, the Socialist Party, and all other Radical and near Radical organisations are looking to us to lead the fight. Of course, as of old, they are ever willing to stand in the background and reap the benefits, but that does not alter for us the situation.

New York.

CHAS. S. SONNENSCHIN.

OUR APPEAL.

The following sums have been received from August 25 to September 28 in answer to our appeal on behalf of FREEDOM and SATIRE: Stelton Rapid Transit Corporation, 4s.; E. Humphreys, 1s.; M. B. Hope, 2s. 6d.; H. G. Russell, 1s. 3d.; E. Michaels, 2s.; D. Hamilton, 1s.; H. Hume, 1s.; E. Carr, 1s.; A. Campbell, 1s.; J. Somerville, 1s.; H. Bool, 10s. E. Wright, 1s.; F. Berret, 1s.; V. Garcia, 2s.; R. Marquez, 10s.; Ferrer Group, 3s.; N. Duenas, 1s.; E. Duenas, 6d.; G. Esteban, 1s.; A. Garcia, 1s.; E. Nosmaker, 1s.; V. Esteban, 1s.; V. Lafuente, 6d.; N. Escribano, 6d.; A. Ramos, 1s.; F. Martin, 1s.; V. Zamora, 6d.; P. Rodriguez, 6d.; M. Miguel, 1s.; G. Rano, 6d. A. Lopez, 3d.; F. Guerrero, 1s.; A. Esteban, 1s.; P. Duenas, 6d.; T. Coello, 6d.; M. Martinez, 6d.; T. Casimiro, 6d.; P. Coello, 6d.; A. Casimiro, 6d.; T. Silva, 6d.; Francisco, 6d.; E. Rodriguez, 6d.; E. Jones, 3d.; M. Casas, 6d.; T. Morman, 6d.; J. Fisher, 6d.; F. C. Davies, 6d.; F. Cooper, 6d.; E. Hocking, 6d.; D. McDonnell, 6d.; W. J. Reditt, 1s. (Of the above amount, 7s. was sent from Abercraive for Political Prisoners' Fund.)

OTHER ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(August 25—September 28.)

FREEDOM Subscriptions.—H. G. Russell, B. Black, A. Auld, R. Bowden, A. Stretton (2), A. Stephen, J. Bergule, A. Clatworthy.
FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—C. Mickelson, 1s. 6d.; E. Michaels, 1s.

NOTICES.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.—Rooms, 10, Windsor Street (off New City Road). Meetings will be held every Sunday evening during the winter at 7 p.m.:

- Oct. 7.—D. A. Kennedy: "Can We Win the War?"
- " 14.—James Birrell.
- " 21.—Miss F. Cohen: "Constructive Destruction."
- " 28.—Joseph Linden: "The Place of Revolt in Modern Socialistic Thought."

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