

Freedom

JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

VOL. XXV.—No. 263.

MARCH, 1911.

MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

State Insurance Fails.

Herr Friedensburg, a former president of the German Imperial Insurance Commission, condemns in unmeasured terms German State insurance. As any sensible person might have foreseen, the administration has become "bureaucratised and overloaded with officialdom and red-tape," which, of course, is only another way of saying it is a State-managed business. The net result of it all is "that the insurance system, instead of proving, as was hoped, a means of reconciling social antipathies, has actually aggravated the general discontent." Those who hope to "reconcile social antipathies" in this happy land with its paternal Labour Party might study this matter more closely, and ask themselves a few pertinent questions. Is not State-aided to be State-degraded? Are there not other and better ways of achieving the same end? And worst of all, does not the creation of another State function mean also the creation of another gang of officials who will lord it in their own little way at the cost of the very people who must toil to keep them? We pay John Burns £5,000 a year to boss the Local Government Board, and who amongst the unemployed is a farthing the better off? Every one knows there is less hope of anything sensible being carried out by him than there would be by some crusted Tory. The "self-made man" makes the worst master, and the Labour politician becomes the biggest enemy of his class when in power. And note this. In all new administrations room is found for the greedy, ambitious Labour leader. The Liberals, as well as the Conservatives, know how to check-mate political action in the Labour movement.

Civilised Savagery.

The scandal that has been exposed in the treatment of boys at the Heswall Nautical School would be well-nigh unbelievable if we did not belong to a nation that encourages the birch, indulges in floggings, and executes more of its "criminals" than any other nation in Europe. The "inquiry" that has been held by Mr. Masterman is, of course, a mere piece of humbug. But even then enough admissions of horrible cruelty were made to brand the responsible parties as more barbarous than the despised savage. Imagine these helpless lads at the tender mercy of monsters who gag their mouths with towels to stifle their screams while they are birched so unmercifully that they are scarred for life. Or take again the fiendish torture inflicted on the whole school of boys kept standing all night from 10 p.m. to 5 a.m. awake beside their beds, while the masters kept watch to see they did not fall asleep. It reads like a chapter from the dark ages. And this in a State reformatory school in the twentieth century! We have often wondered who are the real hooligans, the ignorant roughs of the slums or the "educated" brutes who administer reformatories, workhouses, and who sometimes sit on magisterial benches and sentence such poor, unhappy victims of a vicious social system as Annie Woolmore. We sadly need the pen of another Charles Dickens to arouse the public conscience against such scandals, which will continue to increase while the people remain apathetic.

The "Christian Spirit" in China.

The following item of news which was printed in the *Star* may help to explain how it is Christianity makes such marvellous progress in the land of Confucius:—

"A man named Jackson has been charged at Shanghai (says a *Morning Post* wire), under an Order in Council, with publicly deriding and insulting the Christian religion. He had published in Chinese a leaflet containing a translation of part of Sir Hiram Maxim's attack on missionaries. The accused man was bound over for two years and ordered to pay the costs of the prosecution. This is the first case of the kind in China."

No doubt the sweet and gentle missionaries who carry the message of "peace on earth, goodwill toward men," amongst the heathens have had their corns trodden upon by the very unpleasant truths Sir H. Maxim has written about them. But we should like to ask whenever did these gentry show solicitude for the religious susceptibilities of those professing other creeds? Not often. Now the Chinese never forget, and if a Boxer rising should burst forth and outrages on Christian missionaries should follow, then there will be a cry for blood. And so with our opium and our Bibles the yellow man's burden continues to increase.

Co-operation v. Political Action.

The following is an extract from the *Co-operative News* of January 14: "In a certain sense, it can be said that the Co-operative movement is more revolutionary in its methods than the most radical political revolutionists, for the latter can, at least, only consign superannuated institutions of justice and administration to the rubbish heap, but never change the economic basis of society, because this cannot be subverted by political measures." This is excellently stated, and is a point it would be advantageous for the Parliamentary Socialists to consider. The Co-operative movement has evils of its own to deplore, it is true, and it can hardly be expected to be otherwise, as, like its sister movement, Trade Unionism, it has to struggle against the vicious influences of capitalist organisation. So far, however, it has not fallen so much under the control of political wirepullers as have the Labour Unions, though the danger is threatening it. The above view, which seems to us perfectly correct, makes one hopeful that the day is still far off when Co-operators will be divided over what may be regarded as an example of *direct action in economic organisation* by the political struggle. If they needed a warning sign of its dangers, they can see it in the present position of the Labour Party.

The "Black Hundreds."

As we go to Press the news reaches these shores of the doings of the Russian reactionaries aided by the police. If the facts in the trial of a member of the "Black Hundreds" for murder, with the almost incredible revelations concerning Dubrovin and the Russian police, had not been sent through by Reuter, none of our respectable papers would have printed the damning details. No doubt we shall hear much more as the trial proceeds; but to those who had any doubts as to the unprecedented affair of the Houndsditch tragedies, the trial in St. Petersburg may bring some enlightenment. At any rate, such things as have happened here are as nothing to what the Russian can assist in under the protection and patronage of the Tsar.

DEATH OF DR. FAUCET MACDONALD.

It is with deep regret we have to record the loss of our comrade Faucet Macdonald. His death took place on the Gold Coast at Christmas last. We have no further details, but it was known he had gone there to study the best means of combatting yellow fever—the enemy which eventually killed him. He was one of the best of men, as all who knew him can testify. He was for many years active in Australia and New Zealand; but when he was here amongst us his devotion, not only to the Anarchist cause, but to the service of individual comrades, will never be forgotten. There are those living now who feel they owe their lives to his unremitting attention and solicitude through a long and dangerous illness; and in all the troubles that beset the workers in the bitter economic struggle he was ever the most willing of helpers. We have lost him all too soon, as he was still in the prime of life. If it is any consolation, we can feel that his life was even then given in the service of humanity.

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

XII.

A FEW CONCLUSIONS OF ANARCHISM (*Continued*).

It must be noticed that if the absence of exact numerical data be alleged as an excuse for the superficial dealing with economic matters of which we spoke in a previous issue (FREEDOM, January, 1911)—this is no excuse at all.

In the domain of exact sciences we know thousands of cases where two quantities depend upon each other, so that if one of them increases, the other increases as well—and yet we know that they are *not* proportional to each other. The rapidity of growth of a plant certainly depends, among other causes, upon the quantity of heat it obtains. Both the height of the sun above the horizon and the average temperature of every separate day (deduced from many years' observations) increase every day after March 22. The recoil of a gun increases when we increase the quantity of powder in the cartridge. And so on.

But where is the man of science who, after having noticed these relations, would conclude that *consequently* the rapidity of growth of the plant and the quantity of heat it receives, the height of the sun above the horizon and the average daily temperature, the recoil of the gun and the quantity of powder in the cartridge are *proportional*? that, if one of the two increases twice, or thrice, the other will increase at the same ratio? in other words, that *the one is the measure of the other*? A man of science knows that thousands of other relations, besides that of proportionality, may exist between the two quantities; and unless he has made a *number of measurements* which prove that *such* a relation of simple proportionality exists, nobody will ever dare to make such an affirmation.

Yet this is what the economists do, when they say that labour is the measure of value! Worse than that, they even do not see that they only make a mere *suggestion*, a *guess*. They boldly affirm that their affirmation is a *LAW*; they even do not understand the *need* of verifying it by measurements.

In reality, the relations between such quantities as the growth of a plant and the heat it receives, the quantity of powder burned and the recoil of a gun, etc., are too complicated to be expressed by a mere arithmetical proportion. And this is also the case with the relation between Labour and Value. Value in exchange and the necessary Labour are *not proportional to each other*; Labour is *not the measure* of Value, and Adam Smith had already noticed it. After having begun by stating it *was*, he soon noticed that this was true only in the tribal stage of mankind. Under the capitalist system, value in exchange is measured *no more* by the amount of necessary labour. Many other factors come in in a capitalist society, so as to alter the relation that existed once between labour and exchange value. But modern economists take no heed of that: they go on repeating Ricardo.

The same remark which we make concerning Value applies to most of the assertions that are made by the economists and the so-called "scientific Socialists," who continually represent their guesses as "natural laws." Not only do we maintain that most of these would-be "laws" are not correct, but we are certain that those who believe in such "laws" would themselves recognise their mistake as soon as they would realise, as naturalists do, the necessity of submitting every numerical, quantitative statement to a numerical, quantitative test.

* *

All Political Economy takes, in an Anarchist's view, an aspect quite different from the aspect given to it by the economists, who, being unaccustomed to use the scientific, inductive method, even do not realise what a "natural law" is, although they very much like to use this expression. They even do not notice the *conditional* character of all so-called natural "laws."

In fact, every natural law always means this:—"If such and such conditions are at work, the result will be this and that.—If a straight line crosses another line, so as to make equal angles on both its sides at the crossing point, the consequences will be such and such.—If those movements only which go on in the interstellar space act upon two bodies, and there is not, at a distance which is not infinitely great, a third, or a fourth body acting upon the two, then the centres of gravity of these two bodies will begin to move towards each other at such a speed" (this is the law of gravitation). And so on.

Always, there is an *if*—a condition to be fulfilled.

Consequently, all the so-called *laws* and theories of political economy are nothing but assertions of the following kind:—

"Supposing that there always are in a given country a considerable number of people who cannot exist one month, or even one fortnight, without earning a salary and accepting for that purpose the conditions which the State will impose upon them (in the shape of taxes, land-rent, and so on), or those which

will be offered to them by those whom the State recognises as owners of the soil, of the factories, of the railways, etc.—such and such consequences will follow."

Up till now, the academic economists have always simply enumerated what happens under such conditions, but without enumerating and analysing the conditions themselves. Even if they were mentioned, they were forgotten immediately, to be spoken of no more.

This is bad enough, but there is in their teachings something worse than that. The economists represent *the facts which result from these conditions as laws—as fatal, immutable laws*. And they call that *Science*.

As to the Socialist political economists, they criticise, it is true, some of the conclusions of the academical economists, or they explain differently certain facts; but all the time they also forget the just-mentioned conditions and give to the economic facts of a given epoch too much stability, by representing them as natural laws. None of them has yet traced his own way in economic science. The most that was done (by Marx in his "Capital") was to take the metaphysical definitions of the academical economists, like Ricardo, and to say: "You see, even if we take your own definitions, we can prove that the capitalist exploits the worker!" Which sounds very nice in a pamphlet, but is very far yet from being Economic Science.

* *

Altogether, we think that to become a science, Political Economy has to be built up in a different way. It must be treated as a *natural science*, and use the methods used in all exact, empirical sciences; and it must trace for itself a different aim. It must take, with regard to human societies, a position analogous to that which is occupied by Physiology with regard to plants and animals. It must be a *Physiology of Society*.

Its aim must be the study of the ever-growing sum of *needs* of society, and the *means* used—both formerly and nowadays—for satisfying them. It must see how far these means were, and are now, suitable for the aims that are kept in view. And then—the purpose of each science being prediction and application to the demands of practical life (Bacon said so long since)—Political Economy must study the means of best satisfying the present and future needs with *the least expenditure of energy* (with *economy*), and with the best results for mankind altogether.

* *

It is thus evident why our conclusions are so different in many respects from those arrived at by the economists, both academic and Social Democratic; why we do not consider as "laws" certain "correlations" indicated by them; why our exposition of Socialism is so different from theirs; and why we draw from the study of the tendencies of modern economic life conclusions so different from their conclusions as regards what we consider as desirable and possible; in other words, why we come to Free Communism, while they come to State Capitalism and the Collectivist Wage System.

It is possible that we are wrong, and they are right. But the question as to which of us is right, and which wrong, cannot be settled by means of Byzantine commentaries as to what such or such a writer intended to say, or by talking about what agrees with the "trilogy" of Hegel; most certainly not by continuing to use the dialectic method.

It can be done *only by studying the facts of Economics in the same way and by the same methods as we study natural sciences*.

* *

By using still the same method, the Anarchist comes to his own conclusions as regards the different political forms of society, and especially the State. We are not impressed in the least by assertions such as the following: "The State is the affirmation of the idea of supreme Justice in Society," or "The State is the Instrument and the Bearer of Progress," or "Without State—no Society."

True to our method, we study the State with the same disposition of mind as if we studied a society of ants or bees, or of birds which have come to nest on the shores of an Arctic lake or sea. To repeat here the conclusions we have come to in consequence of such studies, would be needless. We would have to repeat what has been said by Anarchists from the times of Godwin till the present day, and which can be found with all necessary developments in a number of books and pamphlets.

Suffice it for our purpose to say that for *our* European civilisation (the civilisation of the last fifteen hundred years, to which civilisation we belong) the State is a form of society that was developed only since the sixteenth century, and this under the influence of a series of causes which one will find mentioned, for instance, in my essay, "The State: its Historic Role." Before that, and since the fall of the Roman Empire, the State—in its Roman form—did not exist. If we find it, nevertheless, in historical school-books, even at the outset of the barbarian period, it is a product of the imagination of historians who will draw the genealogical trees of kings—in France, up to the heads of the Merovingian bands; and in Russia, up to Rurik in 862.

Real historians know that the State was reconstituted only upon the ruins of the mediæval free cities.

* * *

On the other side, the State, considered as a political power, State-Justice, the Church, and Capitalism are facts and conceptions which we cannot separate from each other. In the course of history these institutions have developed, supporting and reinforcing each other.

They are connected with each other—not as mere accidental coincidences. They are linked together by the links of cause and effect.

The State is, for us, a society of mutual insurance between the landlord, the military commander, the judge, and the priest, in order to support each other's authority over the people, and for exploiting the poverty of the masses and getting rich themselves.

Such was the origin of the State; such was its history; and such is its present essence.

Consequently, to imagine that Capitalism may be abolished while the State is maintained, and with the aid of the State—while the latter was founded for forwarding the development of Capitalism and was always growing in power and solidity, in proportion as the power of Capitalism grew up—to cherish such an illusion is as unreasonable, in our opinion, as it was to expect the emancipation of Labour from the Church, or from Cæsarism or Imperialism. Certainly in the first half of the nineteenth century, there have been many Socialists who had such dreams; but to live in the same dreamland now that we enter in the twentieth century, is really too childish.

A new form of economical organisation will necessarily require a new form of political structure. And, whether the change be accomplished suddenly, by a revolution, or slowly, by the way of a gradual evolution, the two changes, political and economical, must go on abreast, hand in hand.

Each step towards economic freedom, each victory won over Capitalism, will be at the same time a step towards political liberty—towards liberation from the yoke of the State by means of free agreement, territorial, professional, and functional.

(To be continued.)

PRINTED PAGES.

The Land Reformers' Year Book. 1s. net. London: Joseph Edwards, 21 Palace Square, Norwood, S.E.

Readers who in the past have proved the usefulness of *The Reformers' Year Book* will not need to be reminded of the thoroughness with which Mr. Joseph Edwards carries through his task. Here, again, we have a volume which for the special object it has in view could hardly be surpassed as a source of reference, and as to some matters of enlightenment also. There are very few details of real importance relating to the land question that are not noted or referred to in this volume. To mention one special feature among many, we should say that the "Chronological Record of Robbery by Legislation and Taxation" is alone worth many times the cost of the book to lecturers and propagandists who need to give chapter and verse for many of the crimes the rulers have perpetrated on the people. It is the best thing that has been done in this way for a long time. The author's criticism of Liberal finance will probably arouse opposition, as such things generally do. But that matters very little. What seems to us to need revision is his definition of Socialism as "a state of society wherein the functions of government include the production, distribution, and exchange of wealth." It stands well enough for *State Socialism*; but the broad sense in which the word was always understood implied the socialisation of all wealth; in other words, an economic revolution.

State Socialism and Anarchism. By Benj. R. Tucker. 3d. net. London: A. C. Fifield, 13 Clifford's Inn, E.C.

This is a reprint of an essay that appeared in *Liberty*, March 10, 1888. It attracted much attention at the time, owing principally to its trenchant attack upon State Socialism, but also to some extent because of Tucker's denial of the Communist school of Anarchists' right to be considered as truly Anarchist according to his conception of the term. This little pamphlet therefore has a special interest of its own, and as it contains a Postscript by the author explaining some modifications of his views after the happenings of twenty-three years, even those who have read it before may read it again with renewed interest. Every one must admire Tucker's fearless logic, which is here well displayed. But after all, logic does not settle everything in human affairs, and to assert that cost is the limit of price will never overthrow the monopolists. Nor can we agree with Tucker in his dictum that all services are to be paid for. Only his dislike—we would say his misunderstanding—of Free Communism could lead him to this conclusion. At what price, for instance, does he value the service rendered to "an ideal which the martyrs of Chicago did far more to help by their glorious death upon the gallows"—to quote his own words? Shall we really live if all our affairs are to be based on a profit and loss account? It is impossible. Of course, "business is business" under a capitalist régime. But it is precisely that which makes life unendurable to those

who have a higher conception of human solidarity and "the joy of life."

Tucker is at his best when he attacks the State. The following could not be surpassed as an epitome of the evils of State control:—

"Whatever, then, the State Socialists may claim or disclaim, their system, if adopted, is doomed to end in a State religion, to the expense of which all must contribute, and at the altar of which all must kneel; a State school of medicine, by whose practitioners the sick must invariably be treated; a State system of hygiene, prescribing what all must and must not eat, drink, wear, and do; a State code of morals, which will not content itself with punishing crime, but will prohibit what the majority decide to be vice; a State system of instruction, which will do away with all private schools, academies, and colleges; a State nursery, in which all children must be brought up in common at the public expense; and, finally, a State family, with an attempt at stirpiculture, or scientific breeding, in which no man and woman will be allowed to have children if the State prohibits them, and no man and woman can refuse to have children if the State orders them. Thus will Authority achieve its acme and Monopoly be carried to its highest power."

Non-Governmental Society. By Edward Carpenter. 3d. net. London: A. C. Fifield, 13 Clifford's Inn, E.C.

The above is one chapter—perhaps the best—taken from Carpenter's excellent volume on "Prisons, Police, and Punishment." It was a happy idea to reprint it in pamphlet form, and we hope its price will bring it within reach of many to whom the book was inaccessible. It is clear also that Mr. Fifield has shown much discernment in publishing this uniform with Tucker's essay. For while Tucker shakes the very foundations of the State by his cold logic, Carpenter just as forcibly demonstrates the brutality and stupidity of its superstructures (if one may so call them) by the aid of a humanitarian sociology which all must admire. The failure of our penal system to do anything but demoralise the whole of our social relations becomes more and more evident every day. How this all happens Carpenter clearly explains in the light of facts which beset us every day. Why it should continue can only be explained by a governmental control which puts system before sense and red-tape before reason. There are many other things, such as how work might be performed in a free society, how law always hinders human progress, and maintains the evils of property; how in Carpenter's view many reasonable things might be done to help the peaceful transition to a better form of society,—these points are discussed with a charm of style for which the author is well known. As an instance, take this comparison of the moral effects of Law and Custom:—

"That human societies can subsist without a considerable amount of Custom we may well doubt; but that they can subsist and maintain themselves in good order and vitality without written law and its institutions there is no reason at all to doubt. And when Custom, among a reasonable and moderately advanced people, leaving behind the barbarities of the savage age, takes on a gentler form, and while exercising considerable pressure on individuals is itself fairly plastic and adaptable to the general movements of society—we seem to see in such pressure a force as far superior to Law as life itself is superior to mere mechanism. A vast amount of our social life to-day in all departments of its activity is ruled by Custom, and some of these customs, like those of 'society' and fashion, have a very powerful sway. There is no law for the recovery of betting debts, yet their non-payment is extremely rare."

All who have not previously read this chapter in the original volume should not miss the opportunity now offered.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- Pensieri Ribelli.* By Pietro Gori. 15c. Pisa: Tipografia Co-operativa "Germinale."
Neo-Malthusismo y Socialismo. By Alfredo Naquet y G. Hardy. 10c. Barcelona: Salud y Fuerza, Tapineria 27-29.
The Dominant Idea. By Voltairine de Cleyre. 5 cents. New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 210 E. 13th Street.
The Right to Disbelieve. By Edwin J. Kuh. 5 cents. Same publishers.
Aspecto Social de la Suca contra la Tuberculosis. By Dr. Queraltó. Barcelona: Serra Huos, y Russell, Ronda de la Universidad 6.
Pour et Contre Malthus. Par Lip Tay. Paris: A.-B. Lip Tay, 26 Boulevard Poissonnière.
Socialisme ou Anarchie. Par André Lorulot. 20c. Romainville (Seine): 16 Rue de Bagnolet.
The Axe to the Root: Industrial Unionism and Workingclass Political Action. By James Conolly. 1d. Melbourne: Socialist Party of Victoria, 283 Elizabeth Street.
Les Prisons. Par P. Kropotkine. 10c. Paris: Temps Nouveaux, 4 Rue Broca.
L'Esprit de Révolte. Par P. Kropotkine. 10c. Same publishers.
A mon Frère le Paysan. Par Elisée Reclus. 5c. Same publishers.
La Femme Esclave. Par René Chaughy. 5c. Same publishers.
L'Enfer Militaire. Par A. Girard. 15c. Same publishers.
Is a Money Crisis Imminent? By A. Kitson. London: Commercial Intelligence Publishing Company, 166 Fleet Street, E.C.
Usury. By A. Kitson. 1d. Same publishers.
The New Order: Social Revolution by Free Groups. By W. H. Macdonald and H. M. Macdonald. 3d. net. London: 3 Pleydell Street, E.C.

ANARCHY.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal.—*Century Dictionary.*

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

Monthly, One Penny; post free, 1½d.; U.S.A., 3 Cents; France, 15 Centimes.

Annual Subscription, post free, 1s. 6d.; U.S.A., 36 Cents; France, 1fr. 80c.
Foreign subscriptions should be sent by International Money Order.

Wholesale price, 1s. 6d. per quire of 26 post-free in the United Kingdom.

All communications, exchanges, &c., to be addressed to

THE MANAGER, 127 Ossulston Street, N.W.

The Editors are not necessarily in agreement with signed articles.

Notice to Subscribers.—If there is a blue mark against this notice your subscription is due, and must be sent before next month if you wish to go on receiving the paper.

Money and Postal Orders should be made payable to T. H. Keell.

Anarchism and its Enemies.

"A fusillade of Anarchist bullets, poured in broad daylight from the windows of a house in Stepney, has startled the British public." This is the opening statement of an article on "Anarchist Propaganda in England," printed in the *Fortnightly Review* of February last. It recalls what Cuvier said of someone's description of a lobster as "a red fish that walks backwards." It was a very good one except that a lobster was not red, it was not a fish, and it did not walk backwards.

The same compliment may be paid to the above description of the "battle of Stepney," with the slight correction that the bullets were not "Anarchist bullets," that the "fusillade" was poured into the house by fifty men of the Scots Guards, and that what "startled the British public" more than anything was the calling up of a battery of Royal Artillery, and Churchill's *auto-da-fé* as the last act of splendid heroism in this glorious campaign of enlightenment and progress, as represented by detectives, police, soldiery, and the Home Secretary, against the powers of darkness, as represented by two possible burglars, whose horrible deaths are a token of what "enlightenment and progress" can do once it is roused.

These few observations are necessary to begin with, as the tone adopted by the writer in the *Fortnightly* will quickly prove. It may be said at once that nothing written in the gutter press at the time when every lie about Anarchism brought its reward in pounds, shillings, and pence, could surpass the malignant spirit of this article. That it springs from the lowest sources of reaction may be known from the fact that the writer endeavours to involve all Socialist organisations, Social Democratic and the rest, in Anarchist propaganda. His attempt to pervert, by a Jesuitical method of quotation, the fundamental principles of Anarchism sometimes recoils upon himself, as we shall see later on.

"It is not," he says, "chiefly by pistol and bomb that international Anarchism works," which would imply that we are not continuously employed in the manufacture of bombs and other weapons of destruction, as Government employees are at Woolwich, for instance; we have our interludes of peaceful reasonings, which is more, we fancy, than the writer can say of the gods he worships. But he is really more disturbed by our written and oral propaganda than he is by our "pistols and bombs." He thinks it is "far more effective and silent in its work," and he thinks it is time the British public was aroused to the fact "that Anarchism is being freely and attractively taught in England." Now as he pretends that Anarchism preaches murder, arson, robbery, and lust, it seems difficult to imagine how these things could be "freely and attractively taught" for a single moment to any gathering of people without the risk of being lynched. Even the capitalist press dare not openly advocate these things, but finds it better to call murder "patriotism," and robbery "profit, interest, and rent." We may mention in passing that our detestation of what the writer calls "patriotism" hurts him very much. He does not seem to remember Dr. Johnson's definition of the term.

But we will give some of the things that are quoted against us to show how deeply we are steeped in the gore of our fellow-creatures.

"As for the goal itself," he proceeds, "Anarchism aims at the reconstruction of human society into world-wide groups of loosely federated men and women, living under no compulsion, moral or material." He then quotes Kropotkin: "We foresee millions and millions of groups freely constituting themselves

for all the varied needs of human beings." Again: "The sentiment of sociability which is common to human beings, as it is to all animals living in society, will be able to develop itself freely. . . . Each individual will be able to give free rein to his inclination and his passions, without any other restraint than the love and respect of those who surround him." But what have we here? Murderers and robbers talking of "sociability," of "love and respect," organising "for all the varied needs of human beings," going even to prison and the scaffold to prove their sincere faith in these things!

It would be waste of time to follow the writer through all his quotations and misquotations. He has one aim in view, and that is expressed in the final paragraph. "What," he asks, "is the practical moral of these experiences of Anarchist propaganda as carried on in England at the present moment? The answer lies in one word—legislate. . . . Inspector Sweeney recommends the enactment of a law that anyone who advocates Anarchism should be guilty of at least a misdemeanour, if not of felony." Now we see the reason for trying to connect Anarchism with the Houndsditch affair. As we have said before and repeat again, behind it all are those sinister influences of reaction whose interest it is to preserve the iniquities of the present system. They make war upon all who threaten their money-bags, whether it be a Chancellor of the Exchequer, a Labour Party, or those most uncompromising opponents of the capitalist system—the Anarchists.

A DISTINCTION WITHOUT A DIFFERENCE.

In the Melbourne *Socialist* of January 27 we are given the following explanation of the difference between the Social Democratic form of government and authority and that we suffer from under capitalism:—

"That between the 'authority' which comes of despotism and the 'authority' which comes of democracy there is a difference as wide as the poles, and it's about time our Anarchist friends saw the self-evident. That between the Capitalist State and the Social-Democratic State there will be a gulf oceans broad, simply because production for use will have supplanted profit-taking, and the newer economic order will have institutions harmonising with it."

Now it seems to us that it is our friends of the Melbourne *Socialist* who have missed the "self-evident," both as to what is happening to-day and as to what has happened in the past. Democratic authority and despotic authority (the latter is a mere tautology) are distinctions without a difference. All authority is, of course, despotic if it is to be imposed, and our quarrel with the Social Democrats is that they insist it *shall* be imposed, and that the organisation of society—the society of the future, we mean—is impossible without it. We maintain, on the contrary, that authority, whether of the benevolent despot or of the "damned compact majority," has always hindered the advancement of social life in general, and of individual life in particular. We would ask our friends to study once more the lesson Ibsen teaches in *An Enemy of the People*.

The fact is, there is a deep-rooted prejudice in the minds of most people that government is an indispensable necessity, and would be all right if people would only elect the right persons to do the governing. But the centuries roll on and the "right persons" are never found, or rather they never turn out to be the "right persons" *after* they are elected. Indeed, the more "democratic" governments become, the more barefaced becomes the renegadism of those who are elected to "save the people."

Let us look for a moment at what is happening even now in the "Commonwealth" of Australia. If our Socialist friends in Melbourne want to learn a lesson from the "self-evident," the moral is writ large outside their very doors. To bring the point home, we cannot do better than quote their own words. Speaking of the visit of "the three Labour chiefs of the three Labour Ministries of Australia," the *Socialist* says (January 20):—

"The Labourites will be accompanied by their retinue, like any royal personage. To this it has come, despite the growth and propulsion of the party in fierce denunciation of the very things it now accepts and upholds. Parties have ever done as the Labour Party is now doing, and hence the Labour Party. It was to be a different party—a rebellious, radical, reconstructive party. It developed in discontent, opposition to caste and ceremonial, and as foe of the ruling class and its conventions. It was anti-monarchical and anti-imperialistic. To-day it is falsifying its own foundations and its own objectives. Practice is not tallying with profession. The performance is not in harmony with the promise. What a fall! For never did party have the chance of accomplishing working-class purposes as the Labour Party has had. Even now making a terrific uproar concerning the seriousness and greatness of the Labour referenda, the chiefs of the

party will not stay in Australia to help their own propaganda. The Coronation calls. Flunkeyism is in the blood. The desire to crawl seems as innate in Labourism as in its predecessors."

This is the "self-evident" with a vengeance, and we ask our friends to note it well. It is not us who have missed it; we saw it coming only too clearly. Indeed, the same tragi-comedy is in the making over here. The insufferable John Burns, the venomous Aristide Briand, are these the types that are to be eternally duplicated from among the clamouring clique of Labourite nonentities who *must* govern us because it is ridiculously supposed they know better what is good for us than we know ourselves? No, good friends, we think it would be better to inwardly digest the "self-evident," and reconsider the Anarchist's principles without being blinded by the prejudices of the past.

The Los Angeles "Times" Explosion.

By WM. C. OWEN.

[Lack of space has prevented our printing this account before, but as the case is still developing, and as it forms one more chapter in the conspiracy of the capitalist to crush the workers' Unions, we may be excused for recalling the events that happened in Los Angeles on October 1, 1910. On that day an explosion took place in the building owned and occupied by the Los Angeles *Times*. The building was burned down, twenty-three lives were lost, and many workers were seriously injured. General Otis, the owner of the *Times*, and his creatures in the town, immediately denounced the Union men as authors of the explosion, and at the same time the detectives began to "find" explosives in different parts of the town. This outcry raised against the Unions ended in arrests being made, and at the present moment Union men are awaiting their trial. The whole plot seems to resemble the conspiracy against Moyer and Haywood. But readers can judge for themselves by the following account, for which we have to thank our comrade Owen.]

I find myself unconsciously expanding the arguments making for accidental gas explosion, and I myself believe the evidence thus far disclosed points to that as the natural and reasonable explanation. I have found it generally entertained by local newspaper men, and a friend who has just returned from San Francisco tells me that the reporters there say they can make nothing else out of the case. At any rate, the gas theory has been the one in favour with the working class, and has been expounded vigorously both by *The Citizen*, the Trade Union paper, and by the *People's Paper*, organ of the Socialists. In its issue of October 21, *The Citizen* said: "Not a thing has developed since last week's issue to change the opinion of this paper that the *Times* building was destroyed by an explosion of gas."

The *People's Paper*, which has taken throughout a most pronounced stand, expressed its views thus in an editorial dated October 21:—"In Los Angeles to-day we witness Master-class, church and press, the Holy Family of Capitalism, combined in an inhuman plot to throw the odium of violence on the militant proletariat. Illegal imprisonment, exorbitant bail, wholesale calumny and insult have been used against the organised workers in the vain hope of breaking their ranks. These methods proving unsuccessful, troops are being mobilised at adjacent points, a corps of Cossacks has been horsed and armed, and it is safe to prophesy that if the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association of this city have their way, the next appearance of organised labour in peaceful parade on our public streets will furnish a spectacle equal to anything Russia can produce." It also called attention to a gas explosion that had taken place elsewhere in the city, and said: "Let us ask ourselves for a moment what would have been the result of this explosion if the house had been packed with inflammable ink, gasoline, ether, guncotton, paper, and ammunition, as was the *Times* office? The answer is: An instantaneous outburst of fire, enveloping and devouring everything in a few short seconds." The italicised word "ammunition" alludes to the admitted fact that the *Times* maintained on its premises a well-equipped armoury.

All these facts found forcible expression at the Ferrer meeting, held October 13, at which Stanley B. Wilson, editor of *The Citizen*, speaking for organised labour, declared the *Times* explosion would be proved to have been the result of an accidental gas explosion, and the suppression of free speech and distortion of facts by the daily press were denounced in the roundest terms by speaker after speaker. Here, however, one notable exception must be marked. The *Los Angeles Record*, an evening daily, and one of the Scripps-McRae chain of papers, took from the first a bold stand on behalf of the workers, as may be seen by the following extract from a recent editorial:—"But, since the directors of the National Manufacturers' Union have got together over at New York City and solemnly resolved that Unionism is responsible for that devilish outrage at Los Angeles, we have some demands to make: Put the detectives on the trail of the Manufacturers' Union, to discover whether that Union did not set off the dynamite! Offer some of that big reward for the arrest of members of the Manufacturers' Union, who, being Union men, might have murdered that score of *Times* employes! Turn the Los Angeles police toward the suspicion

that Otis and Zeehandelaar, being very energetic Unionists of the Manufacturers' Union, may have themselves planted those bombs that did not explode about their residences!"

In this connection I may call attention to the fact that the chairman of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association was quoted in the papers as saying: "We will never cease until the last vestige of Union labour has been wiped off the Pacific Coast."

Of course, numerous arrests have been made, and there has been much indignation over the "sweating" to which Mrs. Lavin, Morris Fitzgerald, and others have been subjected by the police,—indignation that has found expression at various meetings, and in letters and articles sent to papers, some of which have been published. Special attention has been directed within the last few days to the case of Mrs. C. M. Fieder, wife of a well-known local Unionist, who was arrested during her husband's absence from the city. At present a grand jury, called specially to examine into the *Times* tragedy, is in session, and it is to be hoped that some actual facts will be elicited. Such hope gathers strength from the fact that the Trade Unions themselves have had a committee at work collecting evidence. Meanwhile, enough has been said in this article to warrant the statement that there has been the most atrocious pre-judgment on the part of the authorities and the daily press, and in conclusion I wish to emphasise the part played by certain of the local clergy.

Dr. Robert J. Burdette, Pastor Emeritus of the Temple Baptist Church, former newspaper man and a close ally of the *Times*, preached the funeral sermon, October 9. He scoffed deliberately at those who asked for a suspension of judgment, declaring that "to most men God gave red blood instead of ice-water for their pulsing veins and human hearts." Dr. Charles Edward Locke, of the First Methodist Church, went even farther. Before an immense congregation, October 9, he declared that "the vicious acts of these murderers is the logical sequence of the incendiary and treasonable tirades of loud-mouthed Anarchists," and added: "This winter should see proper laws passed in our State against the holding of public or private meetings by these enemies of the Republic. Our watchword must be, 'The extermination of Anarchists and Anarchy.'" The *Times* gave this sermon a big head, which read: "Exterminate Anarchists. Dr. Locke Points out Danger of the Brood." These amiable expressions were much commented on at the Ferrer meeting, it being pointed out that the attempt was to establish the precedent already set in the Ferrer and Chicago Anarchists' trials.

Should the authorities endeavour to hold responsible all who at one time or another have denounced the *Times* and Otis, the authorities will have their hands full. For example, Hiram Johnson, candidate for Governor on the Republican ticket, at a mass meeting held in Los Angeles shortly before the explosion, gave his opinion of Otis in the following choice language:—"He sits there in senile dementia, with gangrened heart and rotting brain, grimacing at every reform, chattering impotently at all things that are decent, frothing, fuming, violently gibbering, going down to his grave in snarling infamy. This man Otis is the one blot on the banner of Southern California; he is the bar sinister upon your escutcheon. My friends, he is the one thing that all California looks at when in looking at California they see anything that is disgraceful, corrupt, crooked, and putrescent—that is Harrison Gray Otis." Probably it is fortunate for some of us that we have not indulged in such lines of talk.

If this article should convey the impression that a sense of fair play has not been the most conspicuous feature of life in Los Angeles during the past few weeks, I can only blame it to the stubborn facts, or at least such of them as I have been able to crowd into the limited space at my disposal.

Meanwhile no one appears to have taken the trouble to apply the method customary in mystery cases, viz., that of probabilities. Admitted that Otis was detested. Otis was notoriously absent from the city, but was expected back within twenty-four hours. Next to him in unpopularity came his son-in-law, Harry Chandler, general manager, and Harry Andrews, managing editor, these three being recognised as the *Times* triumvirate. The explosion took place at an hour when both were certain to be absent from the building, in fact, at an hour when only workers, many of them Union men, and other subordinates would be on the premises.

Who could have been interested in blowing up that building and destroying all those lives? Surely not organised Labour or the much anathematised "agitators" of the various "isms," for these latter know by long experience that such catastrophes are invariably made the occasion for instituting a reign of terror under which they are the victims.

On the other hand, it is certain that the *Times*, which for years had kept stands of arms on its premises and declared repeatedly that sooner or later it would be made the subject of violent attack, had all the motive in the world to advertise itself as the prey of Union hatred, thereby distracting attention from the fact that its building was a storehouse of explosives, and that gas, of which it was perhaps the largest user in the city, had been escaping long before the tragedy. Should it succeed in making the "dynamite fiend" theory stick, it will be able to pose as a martyr; its circulation and influence will advance by leaps and bounds, and it will not be liable for the heavy damages to relatives of the deceased which otherwise it will have to pay. The *Times* influence is enormous, and it has been able to whip into line the press all over the country; but other voices are beginning to make themselves distinctly heard. In particular the Committee of seven appointed by

the California State Federation of Labour has just issued an exhaustive and exceedingly able report, the summing up of which is, in part:— (1) That the explosion was not by dynamite—that it was gas. (2) That General Otis knows that the *Times* was destroyed by gas, but that he is deliberately exploiting the dynamiting theory. (3) That the fabulous rewards offered for the apprehension of the fictitious criminals were offered primarily for the purpose of turning the public mind entirely away from the facts pointing to a gas explosion.

COMMUNIST PRODUCTION v. HIGH FINANCE.

II.

So influential are the Rothschilds that no European Government could very well declare war without first asking their assistance. Thus does high finance, by advancing or withholding funds, strike the balance for peace or war. The Crimean War was partly instigated by the Rothschilds because it served their petroleum interests in the Caucasus. Gladstone did not wish to go to war with Egypt, but he had to do so in the interests of the bondholders. It is said that Salisbury and Queen Victoria were determined that we should not go to war with the Boers, but in vain.* The *Liverpool Courier* has described how at Fashoda time a French messenger was already on his way with papers which broke off diplomatic negotiations with England, when he was recalled by a declaration of the Rothschilds that the equivalent of £350,000,000 would be cancelled from French credit upon the day war was declared.†

As Mr. Angell has shown in "The Great Illusion," war is an economic impossibility between two "economically civilised" States, such as, for instance, England and Germany, owing to the most recent developments of finance. War scares may indeed be fanned into flame, but as soon as they have accomplished their object of diverting the people's attention from Socialism and Anarchism, and of checking the growth of international solidarity, they are forgotten. It is admitted by financial experts that the whole structure of modern commerce and credit is so closely interwoven and interdependent that it is impossible to conquer or to crush by force of arms the trade of one European Power to the economic gain of the victor. The financial collapse of one of the great Powers would very seriously affect the whole world, and the influence of international finance would be brought to bear upon a Power that attempted anything so ruinous to the world's commerce and credit as the economic destruction of its neighbour. The willingness of cosmopolitan financiers to loan huge sums of money to the Russian autocracy when it was on the verge of bankruptcy, and to come to the assistance of the American banks in the crisis of 1907, illustrates the truth of this statement. Yet these two crises I have referred to were not nearly so serious as would be the financial chaos brought about by a war between England and Germany. Be assured that the great interests hold solidly together, and they will not lightly allow their world-wide sway to be endangered by war or overthrown by social disruption. Individual rivalry there may be to some extent, but stronger far than this is the fear of social revolution.

Turning now to industry and commerce, the financier, as distinct from the manufacturer and trader, has become more and more prominent. Both forms of enterprise the world over are now largely carried on by means of capital advanced by bankers. The era of the old self-reliant captain of industry is passing and giving place to mere borrowers of capital, to cartels, combinations, and trusts, all more or less under heavy obligations to the banks. Thus, contrary to the commonweal, trade-streams are diverted into channels that fill the pockets of the Napoleons of finance; the old-fashioned way of trading is far too slow for high finance. In consequence of these tendencies there have been during the last thirty years "corners" in grain, sugar, iron, copper, silver, gold, wool, and cotton, all due to the manipulations of monopolists—all causing widespread depression of trade, ruin, and unemployment.‡ The present high prices of food-stuffs, causing so much distress on the Continent and elsewhere, and largely nullifying the conquests of Syndicalism, are chiefly due to the manipulations of finance. It was stated in the Press recently (*Daily Chronicle*, March 7, 1910) that food-stuffs to the value of £600,000,000 were "cornered" by America's "tyrant trusts."

In mentioning these facts it is not my purpose to attack individuals; it is the system I am condemning—a system which has obtained its hold upon the world through the collective ignorance, stupidity, and lack of solidarity.

I pass on now to discuss the mechanism of finance. By what means have bankers and financiers dominated the world's social and political life? The answer is, by means of our banking and currency system. Private property in land and the machinery of production has done much to reduce men to economic bondage; but superior to these is a more subtle and insidious instrument—our banking and usurious monetary system—which has completed the work of economic subjection, and disciplined and conquered democratic governments to its will. *Money*

something of the history of money: how primitive folk bartered or exchanged one commodity for another; how as civilisation advanced and social life became more complex particular commodities were chosen for convenience as common measures of value—cattle, skins, agricultural products, cloth, and slaves have all been used as money. Jevons points out (in "Money") that the very word for money in several languages is derived from the name of some domestic animal. The love of personal adornment has been one of the strongest traits of the human race, and is partly responsible for our gold and silver is the chief instrument as well as the symbol of economic subjection. As Ruskin pointed out:—"The force of the guinea you have in your pocket depends wholly on the default of a guinea in your neighbour's pocket."

What is the precise nature of money? Most of us are but too familiar with the condition of having just too little of that scarce commodity. But do we understand its true purpose? Most of us know currency. Rare and beautiful metals and jewels from the earliest times were widely esteemed, and have circulated as money (see Jevons's "Money"). But there is another and more important reason than this, or the question of convenience, why gold came to be made the sole legal tender. History abounds with instances of social parasitism; every factor in production has been more or less monopolised in order that the classes could gather to themselves the fruits of the earth. Therefore as a means of still further effecting the exploitation and subjection of the producers, it was recognised that if some scarce commodity such as gold was made the only acceptable tender for taxes and debts, those who owned large quantities of that scarce commodity would control the wealth and trade of the entire world. Rulers seeing this opportunity of still further enslaving mankind passed laws making gold the sole legal tender.* The gold superstition was cleverly stimulated, and practically all nations were persuaded to adopt the gold standard. With the development of capitalism the power (i.e., the real social power lies with those who hold the bulk of the nation's wealth) passed from the hands of the governments to the financiers and capitalists. The legal tender laws naturally resulted in a keen competition for the yellow metal, all other commodities which people so eagerly sought to exchange for money were depressed, those who possessed the medium of exchange were able to demand interest for their use, and thus the way was paved for the rise of the bankers and money lords. As Kitson expresses it, "Gold has become the toll-gate of exchange," and the bankers have the means in their hands of putting a brake upon production through their control of one of the most important and vital social functions,—the exchange of commodities.

The secret of the financier's power lies in the fact that gold is nowhere near plentiful enough for the function of exchange. According to Sir R. Giffen, the banks in the United Kingdom, with a gold reserve of £56,000,000, have liabilities to the amount of £900,000,000. In actual practice the currency or medium of exchange amongst us is not gold, but paper, backed by public confidence. According to "Whitaker's Almanac," £13,000,000,000 in cheques, banknotes, and promises to pay annually pass through the Bankers' Clearing House; yet according to experts there is not more than £120,000,000 throughout the United Kingdom, thus proving the complete failure of a restricted commodity such as gold as currency.

Certainly this confidence in paper marks a higher plane in social relationships; but the iniquity of the thing is that it is exploited for individual gain. It is used as one of the most effective means of exploitation. Modern banking is a species of confidence trick by which financiers are able to eat their cake and have it at the same time. Bankers make their arrangements upon the assumption that gold for the most part will not be asked for. Thus with a comparatively small stock of gold they are able to keep huge credits floating. The public invests its money, for which the banks pay little or no interest; most of this money that the banks receive is invested in solid securities paying a good interest, and upon the strength of these securities the bankers make *paper* loans to governments, manufacturers, and merchants, for which they again receive high interests. Thus bankers get interest three or four times over upon their capital. Of course, in the last analysis we find that labour has to pay the piper for this miracle. That is why in spite of a tremendous increase in our productive power wages are almost stationary.

Next month I shall further demonstrate the power of finance, and show the futility of expecting Socialism to arrive through the legislative machine.

S. CARLYLE POTTER.

(To be continued.)

* For full and elaborated essays on the subject see A. Kitson's "The Money Question" and M. Flürscheim's "Money Island," to which I am indebted.

Anarchism and Other Essays.

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

With portrait and biographical sketch of the author.

Price 4s. 6d. net; postage 4d. extra.

The Concentration of Capital.

A MARXIAN FALLACY.

By W. TCHERKESOFF.

Price One Penny, from FREEDOM PRESS.

* See series of articles on "Bankers and the Nation" in *Labour Leader*, 1908.

† Quoted in A. M. Thompson's "Patriotism and Conscription."

‡ See "International Gambling and the Ruin of the World," by C. W. Smith, and other works on "Frenzied Finance," by Lawson, Mintor, Steffens, Russell, and others.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

United States.

For some months the Revolutionary Syndicalists of the Industrial Workers of the World have carried on an energetic fight for free speech in Fresno, California, as some months ago they were obliged to do at Spokane, Washington. Over a hundred persons have been thrown into prison for having spoken at open-air meetings. Though the Salvation Army and other societies are permitted to hold meetings in the streets of that town, the local authorities deny this right to the Revolutionary Syndicalists. But from time to time a judge has the courage to be just even to those black sheep; one of the men brought before the local tribunal, charged with having "disturbed the peace" by speaking in the street, was acquitted, which virtually constituted a victory for the I.W.W. But then a number of "respectable citizens" thought it was time to take into their own hands the maintenance of law and order. Instigated by the capitalist press of Fresno, which had insisted on the necessity of a "vigilance committee," these defenders of law and order, profiting by the absence of our comrades, set fire to the offices of the I.W.W., which was burnt out completely. As all the hall owners refused to let anything to a revolutionary organisation, the latter had to erect a large tent outside Fresno, from which they carry on their propaganda. How the Syndicalist prisoners, numbering 85, are treated may be judged from the fact that some weeks ago the firemen were ordered to turn the water hose on the prisoners for two hours, after which they had to pass the night in their inundated cells. Nevertheless, the men are determined to reconquer free speech in the open air, this most necessary right indispensable for a strong propaganda among the masses.

Whilst this fight for the most elementary right, that of free speech, is going on, the leaders of the American Federation of Labour, Gompers, Mitchell, etc., were fraternising with millionaires and trust kings like Carnegie, the bankers Seligman, John Wesley Hill, the leader of the Anti-Socialist League, etc. This touching love scene between Capital and Labour took place at the sitting and banquet of the Civic Federation, when the most notable speakers were Theodore Roosevelt and Andrew Carnegie, the latter impressing on the elegant ladies and gentlemen present the dangers of woman suffrage, whilst the rest of the speeches were on the same level of prejudice and narrowness.

When will the members of the American Federation of Labour refuse to have confidence in leaders who can fraternise with the worst enemies of their class?

Italy.

The Anarchist movement in Italy has suffered a great loss by the death of Pietro Gori, at the age of 41 years. Devoted to the cause of emancipation, his high culture, his remarkable talent as an orator, were entirely at the service of Anarchism. During the period of persecution instituted by Crispi in 1904, Gori, then an active propagandist and a well-known lawyer who was always ready to defend the poor and oppressed, was obliged to seek a refuge in Belgium, and later in London, where our English comrades received with great sympathy the brilliant young orator, writer, and poet. Afterwards he undertook a long propaganda tour in North America, during which the beginning of the fatal illness (consumption) was caused by overwork and fatigue.

When he re-entered Italy after the amnesty, he threw himself again with full ardour into the movement which culminated in the Milan riots. The reaction which followed those events obliged him to again cross the frontier, and as he was condemned to twelve years' imprisonment, he definitely went to Argentina, where he was most active among the Italian and Spanish population. For his great knowledge of sociology, the Argentine Government offered him a professorship at the Buenos Ayres University, which he declined, however. At that time the Italian Government permitted him to return safely, but his illness had already made such progress that during the last years he could be only intermittently active. The Anarchist review *Il Pensiero* loses in him an invaluable editor. Revolutionary literature owes him much: scientific articles, dramatic works, poems and songs, all showing his deep knowledge, his ardent revolutionary spirit, and his great kindness.

Sweden.

The workers are still made to feel that they were beaten, and badly beaten, in the last great lock-out and general strike in 1908. The employers, strong in their victory, impose their will on the workers, and too often these have to accept their masters' conditions, though not always without protest. A lock-out in the boot trade has only just come to an end, and the men have started work on the conditions proposed by an Arbitration Commission. A lock-out in the building trade threatens to be declared on April 1, which would be national and involve over 40,000 workers.

The Swedish Parliament, which sees quite well the usefulness from a capitalist point of view of a high birth rate—in workers' families, of course!—has been discussing a project of law prohibiting the sale of Neo-Malthusian literature and remedies; the Bill was accepted, the Social Democrats voting as one man in its favour. A project of a Bill to restrict the sale of alcohol was just as quickly rejected, however.

A comrade, Hinke Bergegren, the editor of *Brand*, has been

prosecuted for holding a Conference on Neo-Malthusianism. This prosecution was instituted on the instigation of Hjalmar Branting, the Social Democratic leader! But Bergegren has been acquitted, notwithstanding this Social Democratic treachery, though the acquittal will still have to be confirmed by a higher tribunal.

Denmark.

A great movement for increase of wages has begun, in which nearly 31,000 workers belonging to forty different trades are involved. In certain trades, such as the textile industry in Copenhagen and on the island Fünen, an understanding between masters and men seems likely to be arrived at; but at Odense a lock-out is expected. In the tailoring trade in the capital, the workers have been on strike since February 1. In the building trade, the intervention of the Central Organisation of Employers has made a peaceful settlement between the masons and masters in the provinces impossible. This Central Organisation of Employers wants the workers to accept a collective contract for five years, which the men refuse to do. In the iron industry, negotiations about a new scale of wages have also failed.

Generally, in Denmark, as in Sweden and in Germany, the employers in several industries have followed the example of their men, and have formed such a strong organisation that the future of the Trade Unions does not look very bright unless their tactics become more revolutionary and energetic.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

GLASGOW.

The movement here is getting along immensely; our meetings in the open air and indoor are well attended. On January 22 Comrade Dugald Semple lectured on "The Sermon on the Mount, from the Tolstoyan Standpoint." He began by showing that the Churches of to-day have drifted from Christ's teachings, that Christianity ought to be changed to the name of Churchianity. Ministers are usually after the power of gold, living in fine houses, and on the fat of the land. He condemned the Churches being so beautiful, when millions were living in slums and on the verge of starvation; also showing plainly that if the governors are anxious to better the poor, they ought not to create the poor by robbing them of the fruits of their labour. When men cease to live as parasites there will be plenty for all. The Kingdom of Heaven will not need to be enforced by Act of Parliament, for its laws are love, and they only can live in it who are ruled from within. We do not need land taxes, we need land. Free the land, and you will free taxation. A Government should not be obeyed which squanders money in building Dreadnoughts, and keeps the people from getting back to Mother Earth. All through the lecture our comrade was interesting. It may be interesting to many to know that he is known as "The Hermit," also "An Apostle of the Simple Life." He is a wonderful character. That day he left his modern home, to go forth on his mission to live according to his beliefs as far as possible, must have been a day he will never forget; pitching his tent in a dry, secluded corner of Linwood Moss, and camping there with satisfaction for about three months. He got enthusiastic over the experiment. The tent being rather a flimsy shelter during the rough Scotch winter, he thought it better to get a wooden hut. His intention was to build one. This idea was abandoned in favour of an old omnibus which was for sale in Paisley. The bus was purchased. The people of Linwood got to hear about Dugald's movements, turned out in great strength, and formed a procession. They were a happy crowd, enjoying the sensation, rendering assistance when needed for the hauling of the bus to its destination. Journalists have written him up, crude pictures have appeared in the weekly press about him, and have been the means of advertising him; he has had as many as ten thousand visitors on a Sunday. Our comrade has now left Linwood Moss, and settled at the Bridge-of-Weir, where he is living surrounded by Nature.

On February 5 our comrade Max gave us a splendid lecture on "Anarchist Communism." He opened by stating that he hoped to succeed in showing that Anarchist Communism is in accordance with the line of historical development; that it comprehends the philosophy of the age. He was interesting when dealing with our primitive ancestors spending their lives in hunting, fishing, and gathering the fruits spontaneously supplied by Nature; and sheltering themselves in caves and hollow trees. The combined efforts of scores of generations have made changes, but the worker has remained unchanged. The introduction of steam, and the great variety of inventions for lessening labour have not benefitted the workers. After describing the conditions of the workers of to-day, he said his ideal was the only remedy. The means of production and of satisfaction of all the needs of society, having been created by the common efforts of all, must be at the disposal of all. In an Anarchist Communist society men will be free from the grasp of the monopolists, and will work for the good of all. In such a condition association according to taste would be the rule. Our comrade was in good form; lots of questions were answered.

Meetings in the Brassfinishers' Hall, 36 Main St., Gorbals, every second Sunday at 7 p.m.; next on March 19. Group meetings are held on the first and third Tuesdays of every month at the Clarion Scouts' Rooms, 26 Elmbank Crescent; next on March 21, at 8 p.m. A. BARR.

LIVERPOOL.

The Modern School once again finds a new home in Alexander Hall, Islington Square, every Sunday at 3.15 p.m. We hope that the distance is not too far for our young comrades. February 26 was the opening day. The children were pleased that we had once more found quarters. There were some twenty children present and many adults. Mat Roche was the speaker for the afternoon, his subject being "The Lying Press." He made special

reference to the Houndsditch affair, and the effect upon the public. The matter was told to the young comrades simply and effectively. The attention displayed was sufficient to convince one that his speech went home. He made a special appeal to the children to use their brains, and not to be led away by the capitalistic press. On March 5 Mat Roche spoke upon "Robert Burns—His Message." We hope our comrades will rally round the new abode. There is a fine opportunity for the formation of an adult class.

We sent six dozen FREEDOMS to various Socialist Sunday Schools, etc., to show the true manner in which the I.L.P. (South East Branch) dealt with us. I wonder what this hybrid brand of Socialist will do when they claim the majority in the House of Corruption! Methinks the same tyrannical methods will be adopted. It is breeding nicely in the I.L.P. until their watchwords of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality will be nothing short of clap-trap. Oh, this "blight of respectability"!

We thank the various comrades for their donations (January 25 to February 26): B. Black, 2s.; School, 3s.; L. P., 28s.

International Club, Spekeland Buildings,
Canning Place.

DICK JAMES.

Answers to Correspondents.

A. K. B.—We shall endeavour to answer your objections in our next issue.

N.—We are sure a discussion of the Mylius affair will convince nobody. There is nothing but the preposterous stupidity of the whole case to lead one to form an opinion either way. We adhere to ours.

Esperanto.—La sindikatoj, grupoj, revoluciistoj, anarkistoj, estas sciigataj ke de nun, ni korespondas esperante. Kun plezuro, ni respondos al la tutaj demandoj pri nia gildo, aŭ la laborista movado en Lyon'o, aŭ kio ajn.—Sindikato de la gipsumistoj, pentristoj, Bourse du Travail, Lyon, France.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(February 9—March 8.)

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—H. Glasse 5s, Anon. £1, E. Rhodes 2s.
FREEDOM Subscriptions.—M. Silverman 1s, R. Bingham 1s 6d, R. Hawkins 1s 6d, T. Nicholson 1s 6d, A. C. F. 1s 6d, H. F. M. 1s 6d, W. B. Jr. 1s 6d, J. R. P. 1s 6d, S. Goldstein 1s 6d, C. T. Saunders 1s 6d, E. J. B. A. 1s 6d, A. K. B. 1s 6d, A. Storey 1s 6d, S. G. Pandit 1s 6d, W. Y. C. 1s 6d, A. H. Holt 2s, S. Davis 1s 6d.
Japanese Protest Fund.—Tynesider 2s 6d.
Houndsditch Leaflet Fund.—List 12 (A. Bird) 5s, List 13 (A. Goldberg) 8s 2d, List 14 (Rodway) 3s 3d, T. del Marmol 1s, M. Bernstein 5s, J. McAra 2s, J. H. (Plymouth) 1s 6d, Belfast Rebels 3s, Modern School, Liverpool, 6s, Essex 2s, A. Heys 1s 6d, J. Drake 2s, Collected at Glasgow (D. K.) 5s.

William Morris Club, Walthamstow. PALMERSTON ROAD.

On SUNDAY, MARCH 26th, at 8 p.m.,

A DEBATE

WILL TAKE PLACE BETWEEN

W. Horner (A.C.) and J. Sturge (S.D.P.)

"Anarchist Communism v. Social Democracy."

THE AGITATOR.

A Worker's Semi-Monthly.

Advocate of the Modern School, Industrial Unionism and Individual Freedom.

Yearly, \$1; Quarterly, 25 cents. Sample free.

JAY FOX, Editor.

Home, Lake Bay, Washington, U.S.A.

The Japanese Martyrs.

With Portrait of Kotoku.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

God and the State.

By MICHAEL BAKUNIN.

A new edition, revised from the original Manuscript.

With a new Portrait.

Paper cover, 6d. net; cloth, 1s. net. Postage 1d.

Pages of Socialist History.

By W. TCHERKESOFF.

Price 1s. 3d., postage 2d. extra.

The Great French Revolution, 1789—1793.

By P. A. KROPOTKIN.

610 pages 8vo, cloth, 6s. net, postage 5d.

FREEDOM PRESS, 127 OSSULSTON STREET, N.W.

PAMPHLET AND BOOK LIST.

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM: ITS BASIS AND PRINCIPLES. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
ANARCHISM: ITS PHILOSOPHY AND IDEAL. By P. KROPOTKIN. 1d.
ANARCHIST MORALITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
ANARCHY. By E. MALATESTA. 1d.
THE WAGE SYSTEM. By P. KROPOTKIN. 1d.
A TALK ABOUT ANARCHIST COMMUNISM BETWEEN TWO WORKERS. By E. MALATESTA. 1d.
THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.
EXPROPRIATION. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
DIRECT ACTION v. LEGISLATION. By J. BLAIR SMITH. 1d.
THE PYRAMID OF TYRANNY. By F. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS. 1d.
LAW AND AUTHORITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.
THE PLACE OF ANARCHISM IN SOCIALISTIC EVOLUTION By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
THE COMMUNE OF PARIS. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
ANARCHISM AND OUTRAGE. 3d.
THE BASIS OF TRADE UNIONISM. By EMILE POUGET. 1d.
AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
WAR. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
SOCIALISM THE REMEDY. By HENRY GLASSE. 1d.
EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION. By ELISEE RECLUS. 1d.
MONOPOLY; OR, HOW LABOUR IS ROBBED. WILLIAM MORRIS. 1d.
USEFUL WORK VERSUS USELESS TOIL. By WILLIAM MORRIS. 1d.
UNDER AN ELM TREE. By WILLIAM MORRIS. (1891. Scarce.) 2d.
THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CONGRESS, 1907. 1d.
ANARCHY v. SOCIALISM. By W. C. OWEN. 2d., post-free 2½d.
THE SOCIAL GENERAL STRIKE. By ARNOLD ROLLER. 2d.
WHAT I BELIEVE. By EMMA GOLDMAN. 2d., post-free 2½d.
PATRIOTISM. By EMMA GOLDMAN. 2d., post-free 2½d.
ANARCHISM AND MALTHUS. By C. L. JAMES. 2d.
SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY. By GUSTAV LANDAUER. 4d.
ANARCHISTS AND ESPERANTO. 1d.
KROPOTKIN: THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE. By T. SWAN. 1d.
THE TERROR IN RUSSIA. By P. KROPOTKIN. 2d., postage 1½d.
THE CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL: A MARXIAN FALLACY. By W. TCHERKESOFF. 1d.

GOD AND THE STATE. By MICHAEL BAKUNIN. Cloth 1s. net, paper 6d. net, postage 1d.

THE GREAT FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1789—1793. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 6s. net.

ANARCHISM. By Dr. PAUL ELTZBACHER. 6s. 6d.; postage 4d.

MUTUAL AID. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 3s. 6d. post-free.

FIELDS, FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS. By PETER KROPOTKIN. Paper cover 6d, post-free 9d.; cloth 1s., post-free 1s. 3d.

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM. By P. KROPOTKIN. 1s.

FAMOUS SPEECHES OF THE EIGHT CHICAGO ANARCHISTS. 1s 3d, postage 2d.

NEWS FROM NOWHERE. By WILLIAM MORRIS. 1s. 6d.; postage 4d.

A DREAM OF JOHN BALL. By WILLIAM MORRIS. 2s., postage 3d.

WHAT IS PROPERTY? By P. J. PROUDHON. 2 vols. 2s., postage 4d.

PRISONS, POLICE AND PUNISHMENT. By E. CARPENTER. Paper 1s., cloth 2s., postage 3d.

ENGLAND'S IDEAL. By EDWARD CARPENTER. 2s. 6d. and 1s., post. 3d.

A VINDICATION OF NATURAL SOCIETY. By EDMUND BURKE. 1s. and 6d., postage 2d. and 1d.

WALDEN. By H. THOREAU. 1s. and 6d., postage 2d. and 1d.

All orders, with cash, should be sent to

Manager, "Freedom" Office, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N.W.

"FREEDOM" MAY BE OBTAINED of

London.—HENDERSONS, 66 Charing Cross Road, W.C. (Wholesale).
E. H. JOHNSON, 23 Bride Lane, Ludgate Circus, E.C. (Wholesale).
HENDERSONS, 26 The Pavement, Clapham Common, S.W.
W. REEVES, 83, Charing Cross Road, W.
O. MATHIAS, 20, Little Pulteney Street, W.
B. RUDERMAN, 71 Hanbury Street, Spitalfields, E.
J. J. JAKES, 191 Old Street, City Road, E.C.
QUICKFALLS, 238 York Road, and 61 High Street, Battersea, S.W.
A. ROSE & Co., Clerkenwell Road (near Holborn Hall).
F. GOULDING, 10 Gordon Road, Manor Park, E.
ISENBURG, Cleveland Street, W.
F. BENDY, 270 York Road, Bridge End, Wandsworth, S.W.
Liverpool.—E. G. SMITH, 126 Tunnel Road (Wholesale).
CHAS. J. GRANT AND SON, 8 and 9 Lord Street Arcade.
STANLEY'S, 30 Lime Street.
WM. MALCOLM, 70 Penton Street, Farnsworth Street.
Leeds.—B. Goldberg, 14 Millwright Street.
Manchester.—BRADY AND Co., 15 Peter Street.
H. SEGAL, 101 Moreton Street, Strangeways.
W. WARBURTON, 1 Victoria Arch, Great Ducie Street.
Glasgow.—D. BAXTER, 32 Brunswick Street.
D. G. LINDSAY, 139 West Nile Street.
Bolton.—JOSEPH LEACH, 72 Bridge Street.
Bristol.—J. FLYNN, Haymarket.
Dundee.—L. MACARTNEY, 203, Overgate.
Cardiff.—M. CLARK, 26 Wood Street.
L. D. GILLET, Market Gallery.
Rhondda (Glam.)—F. DAVIES, 63 Miskin Road, Treallaw.
Belfast.—W. ROBINSON, 167 York Street.
Paris.—Kiosque, Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle, opposite La Menagère.
Kiosque, Boulevard Sebastopol, corner of Rue Rambuteau.
U.S.A.—N. NOTKIN, 1332 S. 6th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
M. MAISEL, 422 Grand Street, New York, N.Y.
Canada.—S. J. ELKIN, 796 Main Street, Winnipeg.
New Zealand.—P. JOSEPHS, 52 Willis Street, Wellington.

Printed and published by T. H. KEELL, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N.W.