

Freedom

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NOTES.

"Humanity" and Humbug.

It really disgusts one to hear this word "humanity" so often on the lips of hypocrites who are crushing the people at every step they take. And surely the last who should claim to have regard for all the high and noble things this word connotes (as it did with Comte, for instance) are the professional politicians. So when one hears Lloyd George calling them the "priests of humanity," one may be excused for wondering what has got into the man's head. For if any one fact is clear above all others in the social evolution of the past century it is that the politician *as such* has been an obstacle rather than a help to human progress. If some individuals seem to be exceptions to the rule, it is only necessary to point out that the work they achieved was invariably carried in the teeth of political obstructionists, and *always by prolonged and powerful agitations amongst the people themselves*. So that popular wrath and indignation became the real motive-power which carried reforms. The crafty politician, however, took care in placing those reforms on the statute book to give himself full credit for all the wisdom and foresight they were supposed to contain. The eternal repetition of this jugglery constitutes the whole history of political administration from beginning to end. As in the days of Dickens, so even at the present time, "How not to do it" is the object-lesson we get from Parliamentary action, except when the "priests of humanity" do something so badly that it were better left undone.

Home Office "Humanity."

Apologos of Lloyd George's claim for himself and brethren, it is worth noting how one of his confreres, McKenna—a "priest" of a very high order, *the order of the rope*—has shown his humanity on a recent occasion, viz., the execution of the lad Kelly at Oldham. This was carried out with cynical disregard for everything human or otherwise. But the *New Age* (December 25) has spoken out so bravely over this crime that we may be allowed to quote its remarks. It says, "Mr. McKenna is not, as he no doubt fancies, severely just, he is simply a bloodthirsty savage with a lust for disguised murder." And after describing the execution as "a crime against public conscience," and his treatment of the petition of the Oldham people, including its Corporation, as "a stinking disgrace to his office," it very wisely points out that "the Crown's duty is to follow the national feeling in the direction of mercy, and to resist it in the direction of vengeance." Every sane person will understand this. But it is also necessary to point out that until the barbarous method of legal murder by capital punishment is abolished, we shall be subject to the idiosyncrasies of this feeble or that brutal Home Secretary. What would astonish us all, if we were not soaked in the slime of legal casuistry and dehumanised by the cruel and corrupt processes of law, is that a man, presumably professing the Christian faith, moving in the highest circles of society, dressed immaculately in fine cloth and white linen, should with his white hands sign the death-warrant of a poor, wretched, and we must say unfortunate fellow creature, whose life-conditions and temptations he does not know or trouble to understand! Ah! these "priests of humanity," who strut and fret their hour on the stage of life doing infinite mischief! So that one asks once more the question put by Byron into the mouth of Manfred: "Must crimes be punished but by other crimes and greater criminals?"

Land and Liberty.

Speaking of the Lloyd George land campaign, the *Daily News* says: "Hope and the breath of Liberty—these are the strange elements which Liberal policy will introduce into the village. They have been absent some three hundred years." True enough, and thereby hangs a tale. For it is during those three

hundred years kings and parliaments have conspired together to rob the peasants of what land remained to them, have fortified the great land-robbers in their grip on the stolen acres they monopolise to-day, and have aided and abetted in building up the capitalist State from which we now suffer. "Hope and Liberty" are, in a sense, as essential to the health and life of a people as food and air, and if through the scourge of rulers and governments they have been withheld from the people for three centuries *in the interest of a ruling clique*, it cannot be expected that Lloyd George, whatever reforms may result from his campaign, will restore these blessings to the disinherited peasants. What is needed is simply that that which has been stolen from them should be restored to them. "Impossible!" cry the *legal* reformers. Well, then, justice is impossible without a revolutionary act, and the poor peasant will have to wait for his "Hope and Liberty." But it is really not at all impossible, only Parliament is not the machinery that is going to do justice to a people. The people must learn that they have to do justice to themselves by claiming that which is theirs.

"An Attacked Society."

This is how the *Daily Chronicle* (December 27) views the condition of things resulting from the strike in Leeds. They are so alarmed at the fact of municipal and other workers in the public service demanding attention to their sweated conditions, and striking for an *approximation* to a living wage, that, like Lord Rosebery, they begin to fear the "end of all things." They propose, therefore, in the usual capitalist spirit of sweet reasonableness, "that the community shall have notice of them [strikes] beforehand," so as "to obviate them," and it furthermore suggests—to impress upon their slaves that they *are* slaves—the use of "uniforms and other external marks." All this ostensibly in the interests of that precious "public convenience," about which the capitalist press is so deeply concerned—except when we are all inconvenienced by Lord Mayors' and royal processions, and the other tomfooleries the ruling classes like to amuse themselves with. Now the point to be noticed about all this is that the vast majority of those seriously inconvenienced is the great mass of the working class itself. In other words, the brunt of all strikes is borne by the very people who are in more or less solidarity with the strikers, and who may to-morrow find sections of their own ranks involved in a similar struggle. So all this fretting and fuming of the *Daily Chronicle* is over the "convenience" of the smug minority of the well-to-do. But, we say, if the labour of the gas workers, scavengers, and the rest, is of such importance—as indeed it is—then let the great British public open its sleepy eyes and insist on their having a wage they can live on, instead of allowing their sons to blackleg. Or better still, might we suggest the sons and daughters take on the work permanently while the strikers go to college and have the chance of a decent education? This "change over" would do wonders for the education of middle-class sons and daughters.

Change of Scene.

Another little argument in favour of the Anarchist conception of life crops up in the advice offered by Major Pringle to railway companies as to duties of signalmen. Butler, a signalman, giving evidence regarding the collision at Waterloo Junction in October last, suggested that the sameness and routine character of the work deadened a man's faculties. So Major Pringle suggests "change of scene" as a good stimulant for the faculties. He is quite right; and it is a point always insisted upon by Anarchists. Not only "change of scene," but change of work is equally necessary. It is excellent to find the "suggestion" of a mere, plain signalman starting this train of ideas. It might be taken up and discussed in all its bearings by thoughtful Trade Unionists. Then, perhaps, they would begin to realise what a slavery, what a monotony, will be in store for them if they ever come under the rigid rule of the State!

The Modern State.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

III.

TAXATION AS A MEANS OF INCREASING THE POWER OF THE STATE.

While the State, by means of the military service, the education which it directs in the interests of the rich, the Church, and, finally, its thousands of functionaries, exercises already a powerful tyranny over its subjects, taxation comes in to increase its powers tenfold.

Taxation seemed to be so harmless in its beginnings that the taxpayers themselves greeted it when fixed taxes were introduced in lieu of statute labour. But now taxation has become a formidable weapon—the more so as it conceals itself under hundreds of different aspects—by means of which our rulers can direct the whole life of a nation in the interest of the rich and the governing classes. In fact, those who are in power now use taxation not only for allotting themselves privileged positions and high salaries—they make and unmake immense fortunes, they accumulate immense riches in the hands of the few privileged ones, they create monopolies, they impoverish the masses; and they accomplish all that without the taxed ones ever noticing the tremendous powers they have handed over to their rulers.

"But how can you attack taxation?" we shall certainly be asked. "Is there anything more just than the taxation of all the citizens of a State? Take, for instance, a bridge that has been built by a village community. The river, swollen by the rains, threatens to carry it away if it is not repaired at once. Is it not quite reasonable and just to make a call to all the inhabitants of the community to repair it? And as the great majority of the inhabitants have their own work to attend to, will it not be fair, instead of imposing upon them statute labour which they would perform more or less improperly, to ask them to pay so much per head, and to entrust the repair of the bridge to engineers and skilled workmen?"

"Or, here is a ford that becomes impassable at certain times of the year. Why should not the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages impose upon themselves a certain tax for building a bridge? Why should not the inhabitants of a seaside town agree to pay something to repair a sea-wall? And why should they build in each commune a granary and bring, each of them, so much grain to the granary, instead of leaving it to the State to feed all inhabitants in case of a failure of crops, in exchange for the payment of a small yearly tax?"

"All this seems so natural, so just, so reasonable, that the worst Individualist could raise no objection to such taxation—still less so as long as a certain equality of fortunes is being maintained in the village."

And, after having produced for us a number of similar examples, the economists and the defenders of the State conclude that taxation is just and desirable from all points of view—and "Three cheers for taxation!"

* *

Well, all this reasoning is false from top to bottom. Because, if it is true that certain taxes originated from *communal labour*, shared by all the inhabitants, taxation—or, rather, the heavy and varied taxes that we now pay to the State—had quite a different origin, namely, *conquest*.

It was from the *conquered* nations that the Eastern monarchs, and later on the Roman Emperors, levied *statute labour*. The Roman citizen was free from them: he transferred their burden to the conquered nations. Up to the Great French Revolution—partly down to the present day—those who pretended to be the descendants of the conquering race (Roman, German, or Norman)—that is, the so-called "nobles"—were exempted from paying taxes. The lands of the nobles and the "ennobled" lands paid nothing in France up till 1789. And up till now the stupendously rich and titled landlords of these islands pay next to nothing for the lands they call theirs.

It is not from a freely agreed common work that the taxes we pay now to the State took their origin. It is from serfdom they originated. In fact, when the State crushed its peasants under the weight of enforced labour in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, it was not at those sorts of useful communal work that they were employed. This communal work continued to be done by the peasants in the old fashion, by free consent.

The hundreds of thousands of peasants who were brought under military escort from their remote villages to certain parts of the kingdom, were employed in building fortresses, or "national"—i.e., military—roads that were required to keep them in submission; they were used for the transport of provisions for the King's or the duke's armies, or for following the nobles who were marching to the conquest of more castles and serfs. Others were at work in the State's mines or factories; others, again, driven by the whips of State officials, laboured to satisfy the whims and fancies of their masters: they dug ponds,

laid out gardens, and built palaces for the kings and barons and their mistresses and minions, while their wives and children fed upon wild grasses collected in the fields, or, driven by hunger, fell under the shots of the soldiers in their attempts to seize the transports of corn, carried abroad to make money for the lords.

It was statute labour, imposed upon the conquered races—just as the English, the French, the Germans, and the Russians impose it now upon the coloured races in Africa and the Mongols in Asia—and later on upon all the poor; it was violence, and not free consent, which we find to be the origin of the taxes paid to the State.

Need we, then, wonder that taxation has maintained up till now the stamp of its origin?

* *

It was certainly a great relief for the villages when, at the approach of the Great Revolution, they began to abolish statute labour in France, and substituted for it fixed yearly payments in money.* But up till the present day taxation has remained true to its earlier origins. In the hands of the legislators, it has never ceased to grow and to be a profit chiefly to them. By means of it, the rulers of the State, taking care of the king, the Church, the judge, and the nobleman, never ceased to widen the functions of the State, and consequently its taxation. So that to-day, thanks to that clever tool—taxation—which robs without the robbed ones complaining much against the robbery, the great mass have become as much the serfs of the State as their forefathers were the serfs of the great landlords.

* *

Have you ever reckoned what an amount of labour we are giving every year to the State? No economist has done that. None of them has ever tried to find out how many days of labour the agricultural labourer and the working man in the city give every year to the State. And if we try to find it out ourselves by taking the Budget estimates of the States, the counties, and the boroughs, we shall not come to a correct result; because, what we want to know is not how many pounds enter the Treasury, but how many hours of labour of working men are represented in the millions of pounds entering the Treasury. All we can say is, that the quantity of labour every one gives to the State being very great, for many classes it must be higher than the three days' work per week which the serf used to pay to his landlord. For we must not forget that, whatever may be done to reform taxation, it is *always the working man who supports the whole of its burden*. Every penny entering the Treasury is paid, after all, by the working man, the producer.

The State may nibble to some extent at the revenue of the rich; but somebody has to make that revenue, and nobody can make it but he who produces something by his work. The State claims its part of the spoil of the rich: but from whence comes this spoil, which represents so much iron, or corn, or china, or cotton that has been sold? It comes from the working men's labour, and cannot come from anything else. Apart from the riches which come to this country from abroad, and represent the fruit of exploitation of so many Russians, Hindus, Spaniards, Africans, Putumayo Indians, and so on, it is always the working men of the country itself who have to give so many days of their labour to enrich their masters, and to pay the taxes levied upon them by the State.

If the taxes seem to be a little lighter in this country than they are in the other countries of Europe, it is for two reasons. One of them is, that Parliament is especially lenient for the landlords; but the main cause is, that of all countries of the world England is the country which levies most upon the labour of the working men of other countries.†

* *

We are often told that a *progressive tax* (a tax which increases with the income) would be a means of making the rich pay more than the poor. This was, indeed, the idea of the Great French Revolution, which intended to impose such a heavy tax upon the rich that all incomes exceeding £1,000 a year would be confiscated. But nowadays all that can be obtained by a modestly progressive income tax is to nibble slightly at what the rich man has taken from the poor. That is all. But it is always the working man who pays—and pays much *more* than what the State takes as an income tax.

* In England, the Statute of Labourers was passed after the Black Death (1349-1351), and was superseded in the reign of Elizabeth by a new statute for fixing wages, which was repealed in 1814.

† It appears from careful researches published in the *Journal of the Statistical Society* that the revenue levied every year by Englishmen upon the loans they have made to different foreign States and cities, and moneys they invested in foreign railways, navigation, telegraphs, banks, and industries, is more (much more) than £300,000,000 every year. The net profit realised by all the English exports of home manufacture being less than £75,000,000, it is so small in comparison with the profits derived by means of scissors in cutting coupons from the shares of which the English are the holders, that it may be said that the chief industry of this country is *moneylending*. England is becoming what Holland was in the eighteenth century. France comes next, with a yearly income of from £75,000,000 to £100,000,000, received as interest upon foreign loans.

This last is not sufficiently realised; but it is always so. Thus we saw it lately ourselves at Bromley. The inhabited house duty was increased by about four shillings per year for the small half-houses rented to workpeople. And immediately after that the rent for such houses was raised by the house-owners full sixpence per week, the result being that the working man householder had to pay to the owner of the house twenty-two shillings more than the latter had to pay to the State in virtue of the last increase of the tax.

As to the indirect taxes, we all know that it is the things which all working men consume that are taxed most—the dream of the “Tariff Reformers” being now to tax even the staple food of the population, bread; and we also know that when the tax is raised by a few pennies, it is double or treble that amount that the buyer has to pay to the tradesman.

* *

It is so self-evident that it is *only he who produces, he who creates new riches by his labour, who can pay the taxes*, that we need not further insist upon that. So that we can say that, apart from the taxes levied upon the incomes derived from the exploitation of foreign working men by means of interest on foreign loans, all the taxes levied by the State are levied upon the nearly twelve million workers of these isles.

Here the working man pays as a consumer of drinks, tea, or coffee; there it is in paying his house rent that he pays to the Treasury the inhabited house duty paid by the house-owner (and even more than that). In paying for his bread he pays the land taxes, the land rent, the house rent, and the taxes paid by the baker, the salaries of the bakery inspectors, the expenditure of the Ministry of Finance in collecting the taxes, and so on. When he buys his coal, when he travels by rail, he pays the owners of the monopolies created by the State in favour of capitalists, and the share of the spoil which they pay to the State. In short, it is always *he* who pays *all* the taxes that the State, the county, the city, and the parish are levying, whatever the nature of these taxes may be.

How many days of labour do all these taxes represent? Is it not probable that, if they were all added together, we should find that the working man works more days every year for the State than his ancestors used to work for the serf-owner?

However—if it were only that!

But the fact is, that taxation gives our rulers the means of rendering the exploiting of the labourer even more intense than it otherwise would be, as it retains the masses of the people in misery, and at the same time, without breaking the law, creates such fortunes as Capital alone never would have been able to accumulate. Taxation, we shall see in our next chapter, is a means of increasing the misery of the poor and the wealth of the rich.

(To be continued.)

A General View of Anarchism.

By G. BARRETT.

II.

WHY WE ARE ANARCHISTS.

It is surprising with what difficult political problems people will concern themselves, although they have not even thought out the most simple questions upon which these are based. For example, we constantly hear groups of people discussing with the utmost enthusiasm the question of taxation. One says we must tax the foreigner, while another declares that in doing so we shall merely increase the price of our own food. Intermittent facts and figures are heaped up on both sides, and the question becomes one of national importance.

Now, the Anarchist starts to think at the beginning of things, and he suggests that before we quarrel as to who ought to be taxed we had better discuss what taxation is and who has any right or reason in taxing any one.

In the same way we find arguments of the most elaborate kind are going on about the vote. It is considered a matter of serious national importance whether a man with a latchkey shall be allowed to vote or not, while a strenuous war is waged by women, who declare that, since they have to obey the law, they have the right to make it. These people also have begun to think in the middle of their problem, instead of at the beginning. How many who have the most decided opinion as to who should have the vote have first of all really inquired, what is the vote?

In all the great political questions we find this is so. When it is discussed who has the right to rule the Irish, we begin by questioning why any one should have such a power. When they talk of taxing the landlords, we ask, why have landlords?

Thus, while the politicians muddle their heads with the most complex theories of reform, the revolutionist may keep his mind perfectly clear if he will but confine himself to what is really essential, and always start to consider social matters from the simplest point.

The fact is, the Government is simply the executive committee of the ruling class. Taxation is its principle source of finance.

The landlords and capitalists are those for whom it keeps the land and means of production, and prevents the producers from taking possession. If instead of the present capitalist class there were a set of officials appointed by the Government and set in a position to control our factories, it would bring about no revolutionary change. The officials would have to be paid, and we may depend that, in their privileged positions, they would expect good remuneration. The politicians would have to be paid, and we already know their tastes. You would, in fact, have a non-productive class dictating to the producers the conditions upon which they were allowed to make use of the means of production. As this is exactly what is wrong with the present system of society, we can see that State control would be no remedy, while it would bring with it a host of new troubles.

It cannot be too clearly understood that any system of Government control—that is, any system except Anarchism—can at the best do nothing better than enforce the politician's ideal of society upon the people. For example, let us suppose an absolutely ideal Socialist State, where all the Members of Parliament are in agreement, and where their only object is the welfare of society. As a Government, or an executive committee, or an administrative body, or whatever they called themselves, it will be agreed, I think, that they undertake two chief duties. The one is to see that the necessities of life are supplied, and the other is to ensure that the workers shall have proper conditions under which to produce. Now let us suppose that a section of the workers disagree with the Government as to what are proper conditions (for the worker sees the factor from a slightly different point of view from the politician). What takes place? The politicians, we will say, refuse to grant these conditions, which seem to them unfair. This section of the workers consequently come out on strike. They are successful up to the point of causing a serious shortage of the commodity which they produce. The politicians are responsible for the supply of this commodity, and they cannot allow the whole community to suffer because of the (to them) unreasonable action of an extremist minority. The inevitable conclusion is that the strikers must be forced back into their factories.

Surely from this it is evident that under a governmental system of society, whether it is the capitalism of to-day or a more perfected Government control of the Socialist State, the essential relationship between the governed and the governing, the worker and the controller, will be the same; and this relationship so long as it lasts can be maintained only by the bloody brutality of the policeman's bludgeon and the soldier's rifle.

You cannot put new wine into old bottles. The institutions of the present society, based upon the subjection of the workers, must be thrown aside, for they will not hold the spirit of liberty which will compose the new society.

If we wanted further proof than that furnished by the logic of the position, it would be found in that question so often levelled at the Anarchist: What would you do with the man who would not work? The implication is, of course, that the questioner, a Governmentalist, and generally a Socialist, has a method of dealing with him. What can such a method be, which the Anarchist has not also, except force? Is not the striker one of the most important of the men who will not work? And is not the question, therefore, an admission that force will be brought to bear on the discontented, to compel them to occupy their proper position in society?

Certain it is that to-day the capitalist is compelled to bring out the soldiers and force his slaves back to work; but it is no more certain than the fact that in all societies where there is a central controlling force the same means must be used to crush the rebellious.

That is why we are Anarchists.

We have seen already how inevitably we come to this conclusion, and one labour dispute after another in recent years has shown us the theory in practice; and all this logic and fact brings us to one great truth, the truth upon which is based all the hopes of revolutionary activity. It is obvious to us every day, and yet it is recognised by a comparative few. Many there are who believe that the worker is dependent on the rich capitalist—the governing class; but a few—they are revolutionists—realise that the governing class is entirely impotent itself, and depends most abjectly and helplessly upon the worker. If the worker refuses to work, it can do nothing unless it can induce some of the workers to leave their jobs and come and shoot down their rebellious mates.

The workers are the only creative, live power in society, and it is for this reason that it must be they who will regenerate society and bring about the revolution. The workers' task is one of construction and re-creation, while the utmost that the helpless Governmentalist can do is to stay the onward progress by persuading some of the workers to forsake their legitimate task and take part in destruction, in which cause to-day they have vast numbers of workers employed.

This truth of the utter dependence of the capitalist and governing class is really the starting-point of the revolution.

(To be continued.)

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1913.

THE DAWN OF REVOLUTION.

It would simply be impossible to enumerate all the happenings of the past year that have interest in a special sense for the sincere revolutionists—that is, for those who fervently hope for a fundamental change in the bases of society. It is sufficient to say that the general unrest has shown no signs of diminishing, and that the all-round awakening to a sense of what life really should mean to the great army of wealth-producers, has brought with it new tactics in the struggle against the power of capitalism, and a new spirit of rebellion, which has developed an unprecedented bond of solidarity between all sections of the working classes.

In a word, the class struggle—the exploiter against the wage-slave—has reached a point at which the great issue—the use of the instruments of production in the interest of all—is no longer clouded by “the divine right of property.” The private ownership of land, of minerals, of factories, of means of transport, anti-social in its origin and in its effects, is attacked on all hands. It is attacked directly by the economic struggle which means nothing less than an all-round demand in the ranks of the workers for sustenance and a fuller development of life, with war to the knife on the inhuman misery which the monopoly of these sources of wealth inflict on them; and it is attacked indirectly, feebly and half-heartedly by political reformers of the democratic-radical type, who would compromise with the evils of our present system, so long as the keeping of body and soul together, with a show of some elementary decencies of life, can be maintained.

Briefly, this is what we have arrived at at the end of 1913. But there are some points to be noted in the past twelve months’ of unrest which are of the deepest significance, and as we believe of the brightest augury for future efforts in striving for social re-organisation on the lines of free association. To begin with, let us observe the *phases* of the various struggles that have passed, or are still passing. In Dublin, for instance, under the barbaric rule of the Murphyites, supported of course by all the officialism of the Castle, the poor, crushed Irish worker is, against all expectation, raising his voice—for what? Just bread and a roof to cover his head! Perhaps he hopes for a separate room, or at least a separate bed, for his little ones to sleep in. That all the suffering of a strike should be necessary to win conditions that domestic animals freely enjoy, is a fine commentary on the “Christian spirit” of the masters.

Such infamies as have come to light through the Dublin strike recall the horrors in the weaving factories in the early years of the last century. But the Irish worker, happily awakened, is in reality passing through a different phase of the struggle to that of his more fortunate brothers in England to-day. And it is the progress of ideas during the past year in the ranks of the more advanced workers that gives us the best reason to hope for the future. In this case we see something more than a mere struggle for bread, or a small increase in wages. We find an equally decided claim for shorter hours of labour, for greater freedom from the pretty tyrannies with which most masters love to surround their employees. We find, in a word, a growing and active minority of workers who are demanding leisure and opportunity for self-development, or at least for the enjoyment of the amenities and the culture of life under freer conditions. There is a long stretch between the cry of the half-clothed, the half-housed, and the half-fed for life’s necessities, and the spirit of the man who realises his individual right to spend his Christmas Day with his wife and children.

Two other important lessons the year 1913 has made clear to the world: That the workers can provide their own food supplies in labour wars; and that in organising their own commissariat they can not only dispense with the capitalist, but they can show an energy and initiative in this work which decides once for all their complete ability to re-organise their food-supplies in times of crises, such as a revolution may force upon us. The “food ships” mark an epoch in the history of Labour’s struggle for freedom: the effort of the Co-operative Societies in supplying the foodstuffs is an instance of *freely organised distribution* which may save untold suffering when the day of struggle really comes.

For these developments alone the year 1913 must remain for ever memorable, and few, even amongst so-called reformers—with their “reforms” that are always too late—will fail to see in the few events we have been able to record the dawn of the Social Revolution.

A FEW THOUGHTS ABOUT THE ESSENCE OF ANARCHISM.

(Letter by P. KROPOTKIN to the French Anarchist Congress held at Paris in August last.)

So far as we know anything about the history of human society, there has always been found in it two currents of thought and action—two different tendencies. There has been the *authoritarian* tendency, represented by the wizards (the scientists of olden times), the priests, the military chiefs, and so on—who maintained that society must be organised by a central authority, and that this authority must make laws and be obeyed. And in opposition to this authoritarian current there has always been the *popular* current, which worked at organising society, not from above downwards, but on a basis of equality, without authority, from the simple to the complex, by the free consent of the individuals in the clan and the tribe, and later on in the village community and the confederation.

From the earliest times these two currents were found struggling against each other. They continue to do so, and the history of mankind is the history of their struggles.

This second current is represented now by the Anarchists, whilst those who ignore—willingly or not—the constructive work that has been accomplished by the popular current in the savage tribe, the village community, the urban commune, the federations of communes, and, till our own days, in the working men’s organisations, open and secret, as well as in the thousands of free societies now formed for all sorts of purposes—those who ignore this work and consider themselves predestined to organise the masses are the representatives of the *dominating, governing* tendency that found its expression in the Church, the State, and authoritarian Socialism.

.

Since its first steps the popular current has been working at developing among men those *institutions* which render possible man’s life in society. The savages, when they were hardly emerging from the ordeal of the Glacial period, must have noticed that there were among them dominating tendencies; and that in order to combat them, or at least to bridle them, the revolt of isolated individuals would not be sufficient. Something else was necessary.

As the representatives of the dominating tendency must have already preached then—as they do now—the necessity of stopping “disorder” by establishing an *authority*, by transforming *custom* into *law* and mutual agreements into *obligations*, and by developing a *religion*, so also the representatives of the popular libertarian tendency evidently understood since then that they would not be able to combat this tendency otherwise than by *opposing to it some sort of voluntary organisation of society*. Their words were different from those we use now, but this idea must have already been born then. And we see, indeed, that while they were developing such an organisation they based themselves upon a very large *liberty of the individual* and upon the *equal rights* of every individual of the tribe, the stem, and the clan to a share of the land occupied by the tribe, the stem, or the clan. They thus recognised *equal rights to the land*, which was at that time (together with the plundering of enemies) the chief source of income.

What we describe now as *political and economic equality* was thus aimed at since those times by the primitive builders of society. More than that. To the *dominating* spirit of the minorities of warriors and wizards, they were opposing the *constructive* spirit of the masses. To the spirit of obedience and

submission they opposed the spirit of *independence of the individual*, and at the same time the spirit of *voluntary co-operation*, so as to constitute society without subduing every one to authority.

Nowadays, in the struggle of the exploited ones against the exploiters, the same constructive activity has fallen to the Anarchists. Their aim is *the free individual*. But they understand that it is not by *robbery*, nor by *seizing upon and monopolising* all sorts of natural wealth (lands, mines, roads, rivers, seaports, etc.), nor by *exploiting* the labour of other men fallen (forcibly or willingly) into servitude, that they shall succeed in freeing the individual.

They understand that, as they live amidst *sociable* creatures, such as men are, they never would free themselves if they tried to free *themselves alone*, individually, without taking the others into account. To have the individual free, they must strive to constitute a *society of equals*, wherein *every one* would be possessed of *equal rights* to the treasures of knowledge and to the immense wealth accumulated by mankind and its civilisation; *wherein nobody should be compelled to sell his labour* (and consequently, to a certain degree, his personality) to those who intend to exploit him.

This is why Anarchy necessarily is *Communist*; why it was born amidst the international Socialist movement; and why an Individualist, if he intends to remain Individualist, cannot be an Anarchist.

He who intends to retain *for himself* the monopoly of any piece of land or property, or any other portion of the social wealth, *will be bound to look for some authority* which could guarantee to him possession of this piece of land, or this portion of the modern machinery—so as to enable him to compel others to work for him.

Either the individual will join a society of which all the members own, all together, such a territory, such machinery, such roads, and so on, and utilise them for the life of all—and *then he will be a Communist*; or he will apply to some sort of authority, placed above society, and obtain from it the right of taking, for his *own exclusive and permanent use*, such a portion of the territory or the social wealth. *And then he will NOT be an Anarchist: he will be an authoritarian.*

This last *has already been done* by the bourgeois—by the present exploiters of the human herd. There is no new social experiment to be made that way, as it has already been made on a large scale for several centuries in succession. The middle classes of the present times *have tried*, and succeeded in dividing among themselves the territory and the social wealth, so as to make them the property of separate individuals and their heirs. And they have succeeded in this legal appropriation by creating the State, especially the modern State with a representative Parliamentary Government. And they have taken full advantage of this appropriation of the land to exploit those who had had no share in the robbery and the partition. They *have constituted* modern society on that basis.

They imagined that in this way they would conquer full liberty for themselves, or, at least, *freedom for their own individual development*. And they discover now that they are, with their children, *the serfs of the State*—of that same State for the growth of which they have worked so energetically, in the hope that, while guaranteeing them their individual properties and protecting them from the proletarians, it would never attack the freedom of the monopolists.

But they see now—those of them, at least, who are intelligent enough to understand what is going on to-day—that it becomes impossible to maintain this privileged position any longer. They play their last cards to retain it, but they realise that this is impossible. This is why some of them—the clever ones—make an offer to some of the exploited to associate themselves with the middle classes, by constituting out of them a Fourth Class of monopolists, to exploit together the rest of the nation, as well as all the nations that are backward in industry.

However, Labour begins to see through this trick; and after having allowed themselves to be fooled during the last forty or fifty years by the promise of a “conquest of political power,” the mass of the workers begin to see that they have lost their time, that they have been the tools of the politicians, and now they are giving them the cold shoulder.

What the Anarchists had foreseen and foretold forty years ago—*i.e.*, the inevitable failure of Parliamentarism as a means of attaining the emancipation of Labour and preparing the advent of a Socialist society—becomes now evident to every one. And this failure, in proportion as it becomes more and more evident, is bound to produce a new awakening of the working classes.

The more necessary is it, therefore, to *find a short and precise expression of our aims*, and to indicate in which directions we intend to work, so as TO BUILD UP THE FUTURE AS WELL AS TO DESTROY THE PAST.

THE CROWN AND THE MITRE.

These are the symbols of a great iniquity. They represent the oppression of mankind by kingly force and priestly fraud.

The cruelties and injustices which kings have in all ages perpetrated in order to obtain and maintain power are well known. To gratify their ambition and vanity, to enable them to live in idleness and luxury at the expense of the people, is the motive of all kings and rulers. This is known and admitted by all except those who have participated or are participating in the kingly power. What is not so obvious and well known is that priests and clergy are mere supporters of the kingly power, helping to keep the people in subjection by teaching lies and superstitions in the name of religion.

The doctrines which the clergy teach, they get from the Bible; but where did the Bible come from? Was it not written by priests, and have priests not therefore made their own doctrines? The Bible was for centuries the exclusive possession of the clergy. They kept it under lock and key for a thousand years. When it could no longer be kept from the people, the clergy still claimed to be the only true interpreters of its teaching. They claimed that the Old Testament creed had been delivered by God to Moses, and the creed of the New Testament by Christ to his immediate disciples; and they claimed that the spiritual insight of Moses and the disciples of Christ had descended to them. This claim when allowed gave the clergy immense power over the masses. This power exists in all countries where there are churches and religions to this day. The superstitions, beliefs, and doctrines which keep the masses in ignorance and submission are still there, but the clergy have found it necessary to modify their teachings as to the authority of those beliefs and doctrines.

Since the supernatural and miraculous origin of the Bible and its creeds began to be questioned there has arisen a school of theologians who teach that those creeds are the natural outcome of man's mind contemplating the mysteries of the universe which surround him. The belief in the existence of a god or gods, in a future life, and in rewards and punishments in a future life are, they say, natural to man and answer the demands of his nature. This view of the origin of so-called religious beliefs is just as false as the supernatural one. The belief in the existence of a God, of a soul, of immortality, could never have originated naturally in the minds of men: the evidence of all our senses, physical, mental, and moral, and our observation and experience all contradict such beliefs. How then did they arise? Kings and rulers and their satellites, the priests, invented them. They are the fraudulent arm of kingly power.

Let us see how it works. Human nature delights in justice and truth, in love, fellowship, and equality. These are obviously incompatible with the existence of kings and rulers. Kings and rulers by their priests, therefore, invent creeds which destroy the authority of human nature and put in its place creeds and doctrines which justify the existence of a ruling class with priests and other satellites. A God who is all good and all powerful, and yet permits the fearful injustices and inhumanities which men practise upon their fellows, a God who has said that those who suffer here either by natural causes or by oppression of their fellow men will have their reward in a future life, a God who says this life is of no consequence compared with the life we are to enjoy or suffer after death, is a very useful and convenient God for those who take good care to possess themselves of all the good things of this life, at the expense of their fellows. The cunning ones know that a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.

The belief in gods and other supermundane beings, with the creeds, rites, and ceremonies pertaining to them, are nothing but fraudulent inventions of priests and rulers to aid them in oppressing the masses. Men must utterly abandon such beliefs; they must live in accordance with their nature, guided by reason, observation, and experience, and the oppression and slavery of which those beliefs are the support will vanish from the world.

AMOR VINCIT.

“THE TORCH.”

The attention of our readers is drawn to the new monthly propagandist sheet, *The Torch*, a neat four-page journal, published by the Anarchist Education League, which will be found invaluable for free distribution at meetings, &c. It contains bright paragraphs on typical matters which will interest the average listener at open-air meetings, and, besides recording the activities of the various groups, has some interesting and instructive articles which serve as a splendid introduction to Anarchist ideals and teachings. It will readily be seen that an added interest can be given to local propaganda by the systematic distribution of this new journal. We hope the comrades will do their best to give it a good trial and make it the success it should be.

The Torch is published on the 15th of each month; 1s. 6d. per 100, postage extra, or 3d. per dozen post free. Orders should be sent *with cash* to Manager, *The Torch*, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N.W.

SIDELIGHTS ON SOCIAL SUBJECTS.

The following words of wisdom from the lips of Mr. Justice Buckley, and reported in the *Standard*, December 5, should prove of interest to Anarchists. Having declared that law and order might be described as the expressed wish of the majority of the people, he stated: "We were now the witnesses of a marked disagreement between law and order on the one hand and disorder on the other. We were witnessing in our day a strong contention as between those two forces, and a disposition to yield to disorder and to the determined wish of the minority. He hoped that Englishmen would realise that the law of the moment, whatever it was, must be obeyed. If anyone thought the law was not right, he must work to try and change it; but the duty of every citizen was to support it for the moment." We would like to ask Mr. Justice Buckley at what period of our history has "law and order" been the expressed wish of the majority of the people. Having regard to the past and present members of the Houses of Parliament, the statement is absurd. The learned judge should be sufficiently conversant with British history to know that the origin and growth of "law and order" has been occasioned by the appropriation of wealth by a minority, whose desires have become crystallised in the form of laws made by the few in the interests of the few. We admit that "freeborn" Britishers have in the past cherished the myth that "law and order" was essential to their well-being. The recent attacks on property by the Suffragettes have conclusively proved (if proof were necessary) that the true function of the law is the protection of private property. It is surely a sign of growing intelligence in the minds of the so-called "minority" that the law has fallen into disrepute, and we foresee that the day is not very far distant when disobedience to law shall become the first duty of this "minority." In proportion as disobedience to law becomes the imperative duty of all liberty-lovers, then just so much nearer shall we be brought to the overthrow of capitalist rule, when through a complete comprehension of natural law we shall aid in developing a society founded no longer on man-made class law, but on social well-being and human equity.

The authoritarian spirit in the Trade Unions is, we venture to think, sowing a seed which is bound to bring forth a fruitful harvest. On every hand, and in every Trade Union, the disease is increasingly apparent. Official-ridden Trade Unionism is at last giving the rank and file membership furiously to think, and men and women alike are beginning to discuss a new form of combination that shall make the political jobbery and official juggling of the past an impossibility. Anarchist principles are everywhere being accepted by the more courageous members, who realise that the hope of salvation for the great proletariat lies in antagonism to the authoritarianism of the Union officials. Accounts reach us from innumerable sources of the decay of the old Unions through the disease of government, and questionable tactics are everywhere being employed to keep alive the dwindling power held by the officials.

From the Postal Conference at Leicester on December 6, and from the "Cooked" Conference (to use a *Daily Herald* expression) held at the Memorial Hall on December 9, reports go to prove that these same officials will stop at nothing in their efforts to retain authority over an awakening and rebellious membership. That the Unions have lost their effectiveness has been signally demonstrated of late. Never before more powerful potentially, yet never before more appallingly apathetic and impotent. The Dublin war has been permitted to drag on its weary course despite the fact that the Memorial Hall Conference was ostensibly called for the purpose of helping the hard-pressed combatants; and had the delegates possessed insight and been actuated by a revolutionary spirit, they could have dictated terms to the enemy.

The Postal crisis has ended in the acceptance of a dishonourable defeat by the men's leaders against the will of the members. The real reason for this disaster, when victory seemed imminent, appears to lie in the undue affection for Parliament and politicians held by the Postal Union officials. Fear of offending M.P.'s and unbroken faith in Parliament are but contemptible reasons for a course of action inexplicable to intelligent people. Perhaps the true reason may lie even deeper down and lend colour to the charge of treachery levelled by some at these men of straw.

The railway strike in South Wales was terminated by the intervention of Mr. J. H. Thomas, the Railwaymen's M.P., who is reported in the *Standard* of December 6 to have "all along discountenanced the sympathetic strike. He visited the chief centres of disturbance, and in strenuous fashion pointed out to the men the folly of sporadic strikes and of the breaking of agreements." More light is thrown on the speedy settlement when we learn that the railway men's Unions (or to be more precise the Union Executives) "declined to pay strike allowances out of the central fund and ordered the men to go back." We are heartened, however, when we read on the same page that "the strike is extremely illuminating, for it shows how absurd are the pretensions of 'organised' Trade Unionism with all its pompous paraphernalia of officials, executives, its congresses and its manifestoes"; and later, "the strikers care no more for the law than they do for their own discredited and rather futile officials." This is good news and bears out our contention that the effete Unionism of to-day has materially helped

Anarchist propaganda. Recent events have justified our criticism of authority and government. Thus, old traditions are vanishing and the way is at last opened for a steady educational campaign likely to be productive of good and lasting results.

Sir George Askwith, the modern pacifist, or as we may term him the reconciler of the irreconcilable, has unburdened his heart as follows:—"Although in certain cases of national importance the Government might have to intervene, yet the general conduct of the manifold cases of industrial unrest that might occur were dealt with, not from the Government point of view, not from the political point of view, but from the point of view solely of the interest of peace and in an endeavour to allow the industrial concerns of this country to go on in an atmosphere of peace." He quaintly tells us that the industrial concerns must go on in an atmosphere of peace—or, in other words, that the profiteers must not at any cost be prevented from making profits. Our good friend realises that an atmosphere of peace is the first essential to profit-making, but he does not tell us that our capitalist form of industry is exactly reflected in both the Government and the political points of view. We would therefore point out, that the present industrial unrest, however we may juggle with terms, must in the last resort be dealt with by the very capitalists whose continued existence is a menace to society. We emphatically state that there can be no real atmosphere of peace so long as these gentlemen hold both the Government and the State in the hollow of their hands. We frankly agree with Sir George in desiring industrial concerns to go on in peace, but we should deem ourselves traitors to the cause of human emancipation from exploitation, if we cried peace when there can be no peace so long as the economic basis remains unchanged. To this end, therefore, we oppose the present political and governmental forms as being merely expressions of capitalism and obstacles to all true progress.

M. B. HOPE.

GENERAL STRIKE IN NEW ZEALAND.

A telegram from Wellington, dated December 19, states that the seamen on strike have decided to resume work, and that the coal miners who are still out are also expected to re-start. For two months New Zealand has been in the throes of a strike movement, which at times paralysed all trade and industries. In this country, the "paradise of the workers," "the country without strikes," as paternal Labour leaders and reforming bourgeois called it, the workers found themselves, indeed, for a long time bound hand and foot by compulsory arbitration. They suffered and submitted in silence; from time to time little outbursts showed that all was not well; but, nevertheless, the capitalists triumphed, order and peace reigned among their wage-slaves. Then the long-pent-up bitterness of the workers broke out. "New Zealand is ablaze with strike and talk of strike," writes the *Industrial Unionist*, the Revolutionary Syndicalist organ of Auckland, in its recently received number of November 6. Never before in New Zealand's working-class history has the spirit of conscious revolt and industrial solidarity been so manifest. From North to South, and from West to East the same feeling and purpose is to the fore. Unions, bodies, and groups of workers who appeared as sleepy as owls have thrown the economic bandage from their eyes, and stepped forth to take a hand in the grim fight of the working class against tyranny, despotism, and exploitation."

Of course, the Government showed their usual impartiality in "keeping the ring." At the height of the struggle, they arrested a number of Union officials, including W. T. Young (president United Federation of Labour), R. Semple (organiser U.F.L.), G. Bailey (chairman Wellington Strike Committee), H. E. Holland (editor *Maoriland Worker*), P. Fraser (secretary Social Democratic Party), and T. Barker (organiser I.W.W.). They were all charged with "sedition," and remanded without bail. These arrests only made the strikers more determined. The one weak point was the failure of the railway men to join the strike. At the bidding of their officials—how like the Old Country!—they brought scabs and farmers from the agricultural districts to act as strike-breakers and special police. The railway men will have reason to regret their action when they try to better their own conditions later on.

Whatever the immediate material gains of this struggle may be, its importance lies in the fact that the death-like submission and silence has been broken, that the men have faced their masters squarely, and have recognised who are their enemies and how they might conquer them. The belief in Governmental measures of conciliation and arbitration is gone, the workers know that it is by their own exertions that they must win the battle; no collective contracts, with years of sleepy peace; they must be ready at a moment's notice to strike a blow for more bread and more liberty.

Modern Science and Anarchism.

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Russia.

The Governmental project for reforming the hard labour prisons contains, in its explanatory part, some facts and figures which throw a sinister light on the doings of a barbarous Russian Government supported by a "Liberal" British Ministry.

Before the Revolution in 1905, the number condemned to hard labour was 5,748. The Constitution was forced from the autocrat of Russia by a general strike, and in the spring of 1906 the first Duma assembled. The Government rallied its forces and began its reign of terror. In 1907 the number condemned to hard labour rose to 7,749; in the beginning of 1908 to 12,591; in the following year to 20,936; whilst in 1911 it again increased to 29,424, and at the beginning of 1912 the number was 32,000. This terrific increase of condemnations the official report attributes to political unrest. It would be more just to call it the wholesale revenge of a bloodthirsty despot on the Russian people for daring to wrest from him a Constitution. The admission by the Government's report that political unrest exists, is in itself significant. But it would be difficult to be entirely blind to the signs of the times.

When we remember that it was a triumphant general strike in 1905 which led to the granting of a Constitution, the strike figures of the year 1913 are decidedly encouraging. The present year has, in fact, constituted a record in this respect. In 1910 the total number of strikers was 47,000, in 1911 the figure rose to 105,000, and in 1912 to 683,000. As early as the beginning of October last, however, no fewer than 1,248,000 factory-hands had participated in strikes during 1913, in addition to 215,000 others employed in establishments that do not come under the Factory Act. Since October this number has been very considerably increased, partly as the result of the popular indignation excited by the "ritual" trial. On a single day in November no fewer than 100,000 workmen went on strike in St. Petersburg. When, therefore, the complete figures for the year are issued it will probably be found that the number of strikers has not fallen far short of two million. The full significance of this phenomenon can only be appreciated when it is remembered that, although theoretically strikes are not illegal in Russia, the authorities do not scruple to violate the law (whether openly or by means of an "interpretation") in order to suppress them; and, further, that the majority of the strikes were of a political rather than of an industrial character. In addition to the working men, a large number of University students have organised strikes by way of protest against various manifestations of the Government's oppressive policy.

However, not only does the industrial unrest indicate that under the surface of "law and order" a large and widespread movement is taking place, but the middle classes also begin to voice their dissatisfaction with the postponement of all reforms promised by the Government for years. When such a moderate party as the Octobrists, supporters of the Government in and out of the Duma, begins to threaten with opposition and denounces the intolerable conditions, the Government will have to face the situation. The unrest is general; the Ministers are incapable; the one question is, when will the outbreak come, and will the nation be able to make use of the opportunity?

Argentina.

Again our comrades of Buenos Ayres are imprisoned. In consequence of an article in the *Protesta*, the police raided the office of the paper and of other Labour organisations, arresting and imprisoning hundreds of comrades. This is the third time that the Government has come down with its mailed fist on the emancipation movement, demolishing the printing offices, destroying the organisations built up under such difficulties, and keeping the Anarchist propagandists and militants in the Labour movement under lock and key.

At the same time, huge sums are spent by the Argentine Government in advertising to the world the prosperity of the country and inducing the workers of Europe to immigrate. Apart from the material conditions of labour, which are far from attractive, no man should go to a country where the liberty and life of a working man is at the mercy of its despotic Government.

Canada.

We are all familiar with the machinations used by reactionary Trade Unions and their leaders in order to coerce rebel members and revolutionary Labour organisations. The American Federation of Labour is none too honest to have recourse to any means fair or foul when it concerns opposition to the revolutionary Syndicalist I.W.W. But it has been left to the Canadian Federation of Labour to go a step further. According to the *Mail and Empire* of Toronto, this class-conscious organisation has appealed to the provincial and Dominion Governments for the severest measures against the I.W.W. and any other Labour association which uses "illegal" tactics in strikes and whose existence is a menace to the progress of such wise and goody-goody Unions as the Canadian Labour Federation! In other countries, as in Norway, projects of compulsory arbitration are proposed by the Government; in Belgium, the authorities contemplate taking steps against working-class solidarity; the German Liberals claim legislation for the protection of "free labour"; in Italy, Giolitti, the Prime Minister, is brooding over a law establishing arbitration bureaus to evade Labour conflicts; but all these attempts to curb Labour come

from the enemy: Capital and the State. In Canada, it is the conservative Trade Unions which press for measures against those workers who have dared to discard the old respectable method of fighting and rely on their own direct action and revolutionary tactics in strikes.

Spain.

A splendid example of working-class solidarity was given by the Unions of Coruña. The men of the naval yards at Ferrol had struck in protest against the re-engagement of a foreman who already once before had caused a strike. At the same time the strikers formulated their other claims. But as they alone could not force through their demands, they appealed to all the other Trade Unions of the whole province of Coruña to come to their support. On December 7 all those workers came out in a solidarity strike, and this splendid demonstration procured the Ferrol men their victory. The solidarity displayed by the Coruña workers is all the more remarkable, as they are mostly revolutionary Syndicalists, and the men supported by them are affiliated to the reformist Labour centre in Madrid, which is Parliamentary Socialist in spirit and tactics. We hope this example of class solidarity will be remembered and followed by the Social Democratic Trade Unions of other countries, usually so ready to be down upon Labour organisations of a different opinion. Workers before all are the victims of exploitation, and in the fight against Capitalism should show class-consciousness and class-solidarity before politics.

United States.

A federation of Anarchist Communist groups of all nationalities was organised at the Club Avanti, Brooklyn, N.Y., on December 7. A plan for combined propaganda was adopted with great enthusiasm. The following groups have already joined the Federation: Friends of Art and Education (Yiddish), Avanti (Italian), Russian Progressive Circle, and Cultura Obrera (Spanish). The co-operation of other Anarchist Communist groups is heartily invited.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

GLASGOW.—Though we did not send a report last month, we have not slackened in pushing our principles. Every Sunday evening lectures have been delivered in our room at 74 Buchanan Street. These meetings are very successful; on two occasions we have been crowded out. Speakers have been J. Nicholson, Guy Aldred, and W. Ponder. Every Sunday afternoon Glasgow Green has been the rendezvous; here a steady sale of literature has been maintained. Two comrades have begun to orate, D. Cameron and Geo. Traquair, and promise to develop into speakers worthy of attention.

On Monday evenings Dalhousie Street meetings have been good; in such degree that the police began to "maintain order." The writer was threatened with arrest on two occasions; and our comrade Traquair was arrested after one of the meetings on a charge of obstruction. As a consequence of the interference of the police, a large crowd followed to the station, where he was charged with speaking on Anarchism. (He had not been on the platform up till then, but has begun since.) A large number went into the station with him, many of whom were willing to stand by him, being disgusted with the action of the police. The following week the police again interfered, so about ten of us paid a visit to the station to find out the cause, if possible. The superintendent haggled like a lawyer, and told us nothing. At the close we told him to keep his men away from the meeting and it would be orderly. At the following meeting no bluebottles were present. The meeting was a good one, those present getting a practical lesson of the utility of the police.

A beginning has been made to hold an Education Circle on Wednesday evenings. It is our intention at these meetings to make a comprehensive survey of philosophy, a goodly number having intimated their desire to take part. Should this meet the eye of any comrade wishing to join, you may consider it an invitation. We are forming a library in connection with the circle, and comrades, far and near, are invited to help by sending books, which will be well used. Future meetings, places, and times—

Sundays—Glasgow Green, 3 p.m.; corner of Buchanan Street, 6 p.m.;

74 Buchanan Street, 7 p.m.

Tuesdays—74 Buchanan Street, Group Meeting.

Wednesdays— " " Education Circle, 8 p.m.

W. P.

THE INTERNATIONAL MODERN SCHOOL.—The youngsters are having a social on the 10th inst., at 2 and 3 Aldgate East Chambers. The tea will be served at 6 p.m. sharp. Parents will not be admitted unless accompanied by their children. So there! The fee is 1s. for adults; visiting youngsters, 6d. We regret we cannot invite on the wholesale plan, but funds will not allow it. Don't forget—all bright smiles that night!

We are struggling to get out our paper, the *Modern School*. The nippers are editing and writing brilliant articles! The price is not fixed as yet. I suppose we shall have to leave it to the generosity of the subscribers. The School now starts at 2.30 p.m. on Sundays, and 7 p.m. Thursdays.

Greetings from the youngsters to Ferrer children all over the world.

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JIMMY DICK.

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ANGUS MACKAY.

Our friend and comrade Angus Mackay died on November 28, of angina pectoris. It has been a blow to those who knew him in Glasgow. For twenty years he advocated the principles of Anarchism. He was of those who make possible the attainment of our ideal. On the platform, in the workshop, whenever opportunity offered, he endeavoured to spread the truth. Those ideas of which he was the embodiment still live and kindle the lives of men because of such as he. Indeed, he fought the good fight. We tender our sympathy to his wife and children in their loss.

Our comrade has left a large family. Comrades in Glasgow invite financial aid for them, which should be sent to me at 74 Buchanan Street, Glasgow.

W. PONDER.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(December 5—January 6.)

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—C. Russell 3s 6d, S. Corio 1s 6d, E. P. Honicke 10s, H. Glasse 5s, H. Stockton 1s 6d.

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Pamphlet Printing Fund.—A. Hazeland 4s, R. Gundersen 5s, Gateshead Group (per G. W. Tindale) 4s 6d, F. Kocka 1s 6d.

Dublin Strike Fund.—F.S. 1s, Comp 1s, Essex 1s.

INTERNATIONAL MODERN SUNDAY SCHOOL.

A TEA PARTY arranged by the above School will take place on **Saturday, January 10**, at 2 and 3 Aldgate East Chambers, Aldgate. Doors open 5 o'clock; Tea served at 6. Tickets—Adults 1s., Children 6d.

BIRMINGHAM.—Group meetings (Comrades only) will be held at the Coffee House, 7 High Street, Bull Ring, on January 18 and February 1, at 6 p.m. Lectures at 7 p.m., when all will be welcomed.—C. MARTENS, 355 Lower High Street, West Bromwich.

NOTTING HILL, W.—Comrades willing to form a group in this neighbourhood are requested to communicate with S. Davis, 21, Bonchurch-road, North Kensington, W.

West London Anarchist Communist Group.—The Grove, Hammersmith, Sundays, 8 p.m.; and Walham Green Church, Tuesdays, 8 p.m.

FULHAM INDIVIDUALIST GROUP.—Open-air meetings are held on Saturdays, 8 p.m., at Walham Grove, Walham Green; and on Sundays, 11 a.m., at the Grove, Hammersmith. Visitors are invited to Group meetings on Wednesdays, 8 p.m., over Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Walham Green.

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