

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM

VOL. XV.—No. 154.

JANUARY, 1901.

MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

CONTRASTS: 1801 --- 1901.

What a sanguinary year of oppression and social, political, moral and intellectual degradation brings the Nineteenth Century to a close!

In the Transvaal, in China, in the Philippine Islands, in Armenia, Finland—on every side we behold oppression or injustice, the wholesale destruction of thousands of men, women and children, as well as efforts towards the complete extermination of nationalities: more often than not because these men, women and children, and these small nations, love and are ready to die in defence of their liberty, their country, their mother tongue. And to think that one of the greatest glories of the 19th Century was actually the regeneration of formerly oppressed nationalities, the creation of independent kingdoms (Italy, Roumania, Belgium, Servia, Bulgaria, Greece, Brazil and all the South American republics), and the revival of national and autonomous life such as we see it in Hungary, Bohemia, and in Finland itself, where now at the commencement of the 20th Century the brutal generals of the Tsar are busied crushing out every spark of national life.

Another glory of the departed Century was its keen interest in Social questions, in Socialism. The best, the greatest friends of the people, otherwise of humanity, declared themselves Socialists; but last year Socialist degradation reached such a point that in France—in that noble, generous France where the people brought about two revolutions (1848, 1871) in order to establish a Socialist republic—a Ministry calling itself Republican and claiming as member a Socialist Minister, permits the shooting down of French strikers near Paris as well as in its colonies.

A third glory of the 19th Century was the prevailing freedom of opinion and liberty of conscience; the triumph of Science over the foolish legends of the Church; the abolition of clerical power in political, social and economic life. Yet, what have we seen of late years? The Jesuits triumphing in Austria, Belgium, and even in France, where at the beginning of the century they barely retained any property and to-day possess more than nine milliards of francs! While everywhere education, or rather the stupefying of the people, is in the hands of the clergy; Science, the emancipatrix, is humiliated and the works of great authors and liberal thinkers are boycotted.

In the beginning of the 19th Century, everybody cursed the crushing taxation by the State; and on several occasions the people tried to diminish the ruinous burden by revolt. But it is simply ridiculous to compare the 2 milliards francs which Germany, France, Russia, Austria, Italy and England together drew from the people in 1801 with the 20 milliards which those governments extort now from the nations. This public robbery becomes the more hateful in view of the fact that more than half of this sum (12 milliards) is spent for militarism—barbarous and oppressive.

Yes, the State, military, capitalist and clerical, oppresses, crushes, destroys—not alone the people, but even entire nations; it arrests human progress as completely in despotic Turkey and Russia as in Italy, Germany, or those most constitutional of countries: republican France and the United States of America. But the place of honor amongst the tyrannies that have stained the past terrible year, the place of honor amidst the most foul and mean of its other lamentable events belongs to us, to Englishmen, and our plutocratic empire.

True, that great assassin, the Sultan, devours the Armenians; but his deeds, abominable though they be, appear mere trifles beside the butchery under Kitchener of thousands of wounded Arabs as they lay stretched on the battlefield of Omdurman. True, that the Tsar is crushing out and annihilating the national life of Finland, Georgia and Poland; but can the proverbial atrocities of the Russian government be compared with the cannibalistic ferocity that distinguishes the conduct of the Transvaal campaign?

True, again, that the government of King Humbert completely ruined the Italian nation, that its people, reduced to a life of beggary, in order to save their children from death sell them into slavery; that their misery produced the Sicilian and Milanese revolts, revolts suppressed with great atrocity by order of the king; and for all this he paid with his life. But how compare the wretchedness of Italy with that of India, where the famished population die by the hundred, by the thousand, or with the slavery instituted by us at Kimberley and elsewhere and carried out in what is known as the "Compound System" by Rhodes, Milner and our South Sea governors?

True, also, that the Emperor of Germany charges his troops to be cruel and ferocious, that he dreams of repeating the massacres of Attila, the Scourge of God; but this crowned madcap is a jester, he only blows his

trumpet beside our national Attila, Kitchener, who burns farms, destroys canals and crops, wages war against women and children, has permitted the butchery of prisoners and wounded, and who for these and kindred exploits has been created a Peer and promoted to high military rank by his Gracious Sovereign because "she was pleased."

Red with the blood of women and children; lighted by the sinister glare of burning homesteads and crops, and cursed by humanity, we cross the threshold of the Twentieth Century.

How humiliating a contrast, moreover, is noticeable in every branch of our national life.

At the beginning of the past Century, Landor, Byron, Shelley, sang of Liberty and threw themselves into the forefront of battle in defence of the oppressed; today in their places we have Kipling and Austin, pigmies for sale, chanting in praise of oppression and slavery, glorifying Kitchener, the man of blood and iron, and "B. P." the famous scout *dit* spy. In 1800 Robert Owen inaugurates Social reforms and gives a vigorous impulse to the workingmen's and Socialist movements; in 1900 it is General Booth who invades our streets with his army of pseudo-religious fanatics. Contrast the noble efforts of Wilberforce in the early part of the last Century for the abolition of slavery within British dominions, with the heartless commendation of "Compound Systems" of compulsory labor which in the first year of the new Century is upheld under the direct permission of Salisbury and other Crown Ministers. Formerly our statesmen, for instance Canning, refused to join an alliance of despots against liberty and the rights of citizens; or, like Gladstone, pilloried unjust tyrants—or, like Stansfield, would open their houses to men like Mazzini or Garibaldi, those grand revolutionists and defenders of the oppressed—and now? Now it is our Ministers who suggest oppression; it is Salisbury who if not too sharp in chemistry at least is adroit enough to exploit England for the benefit of his family, who strives to abolish the right of asylum for those who have succeeded Mazzini, Kossuth and Garibaldi. It is the chamberlain, Chamberlain, who provokes war against republics when they refuse to authorise men like Rhodes, Eckstein, Beit and similar monopolists to introduce slavery into their land of free peasants. For the present he triumphs, this political Judas, who betrays every party but who remains ever faithful to his "Tubes," his Kynochs and his Birmingham Trusts.

It is the same with Literature. During the greater part of the Century the Brontës, Dickens, George Eliot, the Brownings, Hood—all that was best and noblest in poetry and literature promoted the cause of humanity, defended the disinherited. Today writers of the type of Marie Corelli, Kipling, the whole clan of penny-dreadfuls, glorify the bandits whose rôle is to harass the brave indomitable women of the Transvaal.

But a fact far more sorrowful reflection, for even heartbreak, lies in the indifference and apathy with which we Englishmen contemplate these crimes, this national degradation. Our grandfathers knew well that it was only by wrestling with despots that despotism could be overcome; only by attacking privileges and exploitation with arms in the hand that freedom could be won; and during the entire first half of the 19th Century we see the people in open revolt against their oppressors and exploiters. From the Luddites and Blanketeers down to the Chartists of 1848 we see the people ever demanding, demonstrating, menacing, and the ruling classes, the exploiters and oppressors, recalling the popular justice of the Great Revolution and trembling for their heads as well as for their privileges, ceding, almost without resistance, to every popular demand. Today, rocked to sleep by State Socialists, sold into mental slavery by the Clergy, stupefied by a contemptible bourgeois Press, the populace and workers remain callous to all the crimes of the creatures of Salisbury, Chamberlain, Rhodes, Milner, and of their Kitchener, so nobly courageous when facing the wounded of Omdurman, the corpse of the Mahdi, the women and children of the Transvaal; nay, rather, the masses applaud Her Gracious Majesty when she openly expresses approbation for all these heartless cruelties by raising their fierce author to the Peerage, and by giving to titled Monopolist members of her Parliament the power to squander our wealth, to abolish our dearly-bought liberties, to enslave the entire nation.

Fellow workers, are you satisfied with your lords and masters? with your plutocracy; with your generals? Do you not think it is time to take in your own hands the destiny of the nation and yourselves?

The Supplement with this issue is William Morris's pamphlet on "Monopoly, or How Labor is Robbed," which readers can cut and fold for themselves. Extra copies may be had from this office at the usual rates by those wishing to circulate it.

We shall probably issue some of our other pamphlets as supplements from time to time.

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. 4d. per quire of 27, carriage free to all parts.

All communications, exchanges, etc., for "FREEDOM" 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.

NOTES.

"NEW LEAVES."

We are in the abyss. There is no occasion to deny it; Xmas has been kept in England in a sneaking, half-hearted manner, like some guilty person trying to be jolly with a crime on his conscience. We doubt if the ordinary stupidities of the "festive" season have been quite so rampant as formerly. And no wonder; for if the people are not yet awake they are at any rate beginning to rub their eyes, and a nice "head" they must have on them after the orgies of boasting and bullying and blood-spilling they have gone through during the past year. No amount of leaf-turning will wipe out the stain; the whole volume is saturated with infamy.

Something more is needed at a time like this than the taking of "moral resolutions," which are forgotten next day, and that something will be supplied in abundance. There is nothing left now but for the people to taste the bitter fruit of their folly. They will not have long to wait in order to realise what Imperialism has done for them. Unhappily, innocent and guilty alike will suffer; but those who feel the injustice of this must learn where to place the blame. The mixture of idiocy and roguery which governs us will end, but not till the people have suffered. Then, perhaps, the workers who have let the great cause of their own emancipation fall from their hands will awaken. But they will need to be "born again"—after their dream of Imperialism—and this time in the cradle of Socialism.

THE BIGGEST LIE OF THE CENTURY.

What is the biggest lie of the Century? Without doubt the great Salisbury lie: "We seek no territory, we seek no gold-fields." It is no mean achievement to have accomplished a thing like this when competition was so keen. The man's capacity in this direction can be better realised when it is remembered that he has outclassed Rhodes, Chamberlain, the War Office and all the London editors. Honor to whom honor is due—even to the greatest amongst liars. He stands today a worthy symbol of the order he represents, and the only consolation for lovers of progress is that he and his followers

must,
As chimney sweepers, come to dust.

"PEARCE AND PLENTY."

When the County Council is settling its little differences with companies, etc., about compensation, the man in the street has an opportunity of observing how beautifully the present system is arranged—for the capitalist. Mr. Pearce has made a snug fortune by supplying refreshments to the public, and of course crowns the matter by turning his business into a company. When the County Council need his premises he wants compensation and plenty of it. He and his company must find the profits very comforting; for you must understand, dear reader, the word plenty does not apply to the wages paid to the hard-working staff who earn the dividends. Nor does the County Council seem to think these useful members of society need compensation for the loss of their situations. You see they don't own shares; and as they don't possess anything neither shall they receive. A strong union is needed among these overworked and underpaid slaves of the tea-table, whose physique must suffer greatly by their employment. "Pearce and Plenty" sounds very easy on the tongue; but, so far as the wages of the employees are concerned, the "plenty" would be more appreciable if it wasn't for Mr. Pearce.

HOPEFUL SIGNS.

There are not too many instances of the spirit of revolt in the present day; but when we hear of them it gives us fresh hope

for the ultimate victory of humanity over its oppressors. The resistance of the Boers, the Filipinos and the Chinese to European and American invasion—with the object of exploitation—is all that could be desired so far as a check to the monstrous greed and cruelty of civilised nations is concerned. But we regard as having more significance all revolts against social injustice, economic oppression and the brutalities of militarism.

It is, therefore, encouraging to read of the Trient riots as being "a revolt against military brutality." "During the last week or two," says a correspondent of the *Morning Leader*, "there have been numerous assaults by armed officers on unarmed civilians. An Italian waiter in the Café Trientino, at Trient in the Southern Tyrol, was slashed on the head with a cavalry sword by a ruffianly officer to whom he had given no provocation whatever. He died of his injuries. An engineer named Fogaroli was attacked by two officers and maimed for life." The military authorities took no heed of all this; so, on Boxing Day, 4,000 persons attacked the headquarters of the military authorities at Trient. "The building was stormed and the doors and windows smashed by missiles. Attacks were then made on the private residences of several generals, who were forced to make their escape through back windows. The police and gendarmery brought out to restore order were swept away by the infuriated crowd who made for the officers' club. The valiant officers turned down all the lights and fled, pursued by the rioters. Nevertheless, the club was entered and most of the furniture smashed. Order is now restored, but great bitterness exists between the civil and military population." We send our congratulations to the civil population of Trient. And this is the state of things some howling Britons who "never will be slaves" would like to see established in England.

RICHES AND CHARITY.

A Mayor of New York on the subject of wealth-distribution sounds startling. But it has happened, and we cannot do better than quote his most forceful remarks, merely premising that we do not hold ourselves responsible for the violence of his language:

Mr. Abram S. Hewitt, a former mayor of New York City, has astonished a gathering in the Pro-Cathedral with an eloquent outbreak upon the unequal distribution of wealth. In a remarkable address, the speaker declared that while the national wealth has increased five times as fast as the population, the rich have not even begun to do what they ought to do to ameliorate the condition of the poor. "If these terrible tenements," he said, "these overcrowded districts, these dark, foul dwelling-places, and their attendant miseries were associated with industry, then I would to God every industrial centre could be destroyed. The rich are not giving, in proportion to their wealth, one-half of that which was given by their families a generation ago. Have they the right to take all this wealth and do nothing to correct the evils created in its production? If this is the result of our industrial development our prosperity as a nation is purchased at a staggering price."

Whether the man is serious or a mere notoriety hunter we cannot say; but he has spoken some truths, and perhaps some will listen and learn. But we are quite sure it won't be the rich.

As we go to press we learn that the *Revista Blanca* published a letter from Paris protesting against the arrest and detention of J. B. Olle, one of the Spanish comrades whom many will remember to have met with the others from Montjuich last spring. Our friend Marmol has also received a letter on the same subject and needless to say we unite with him in denouncing the persecution to which every comrade in France is now open. Yet we cannot say we are astonished, knowing the so-called French Republic to be today one of the most servile allies of Reaction.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

(Concluded from December number.)

Of the German movement I can say but little. The paper of the workmen's section of the movement, *Neues Leben*, is still published at Berlin and the police seize it on all possible occasions; whilst the former editors of *Der Sozialist*, the more literary group, have joined a new organisation called *Neue Gemeinschaft* (New Fellowship), formed by authors, artists, etc., to lead a harmonious life outside of present society. To judge from the title of an address by G. Landauer, "By isolation to Communion," the intention to work for a broader sphere is not absent; still, we deplore this gulf created between the two sections of the movement, who in France draw closer together, whilst here they separate and may not meet again for a long time to come; and all this for reasons the importance of which bears no comparison to the regrettable consequences. We welcome the publication of an independent Anarchist organ, *Freiheit*, at Beitingheim, near Stuttgart, Southern Germany.

A rather unusual book is *Der Anarchismus*, by Dr. Paul Eltzbacher (Berlin, 1900, XII., 305 pp.). Taking a definite number of works by

Godwin, Proudhon, Tucker, Stirner, Bakounine, Kropotkin, Tolstoy, as representative of so many types of Anarchism, the author arranges the opinions of each of the seven on all problems of the State, property, revolution, etc., in a methodical way. The book is extremely instructive and handy in this respect, being such a well arranged synopsis and index to all these books which very few have to hand. But it is also a dead book, like all indices and statistics; the conclusions of the author are purely formal, statistical. Another book is required to give the connecting links which the author's materials, in many cases, quite accidentally did not contain, and to put life again into the disjointed extracts from so many writings of such different origin. In the meantime, the ordinary ignoramuses who write about Anarchism could pick up enormous amounts of information by merely opening this book. But the press campaign after Bresci's act showed that they care not even to take this trouble. Their public, brutalised by South African and Chinese atrocities, swallows anything the most ignorant journalist sucks out of his fingers;—why, then, lose five minutes to open a book on the subject?

Friedrich Nietzsche, the philosopher, died at Weimar, August 25. He is little known here, though some Englishmen, editing *The Eagle and the Serpent*, propagate his views. He once wrote: "....The State? what is that?.....State is the name of the coldest of all cold monsters..... whatever he says, he tells a lie, and whatever he has got, he stole it. The State I callwhere the slow suicide of all is called life.....Only where the State ends, man begins." These and similar indictments of the State, authority, religion, abound in his writings, which stirred German thought as none since Hegel and Feuerbach did. I am unable to judge him properly, as he requires a long study and previous philosophical knowledge. I can only say that I miss in him a true conception of freedom, which his surroundings and age (Bismarck's time) veiled from him. When he despairs of the meanness, servility, the gregarious character of the majority of people, and thinks that a strong and free man cannot rise from the mud and squalor otherwise than by setting his heels on the necks of the despised masses who are nothing but manure to help the growth of the strong and free "over-man" (Übermensch), I fail to follow him. I consider that wherever domination exists, its effects are the same on the master and on the slave: they both become brutes; and freedom is only possible and conceivable in a society that is based on full freedom to all. So the "over-man" would not be much more than an "over slave." Perhaps I misunderstand Nietzsche; but on such considerations I have based my opinion on him. He is well worth studying, but few are sufficiently prepared for this study.

In Austria the German speaking movement is giving hardly any signs of life, whilst several papers (*Omladina*, *Matica*, *Svoboda* and the literary *Novy Kult*) appear in the Bohemian language. When we hear that 1,547 different publications, mostly numbers of newspapers of nearly all parties, were seized in the first six months of 1900 in Austria by the public prosecutor, we give up any further inquiry into the progress of Anarchist literature in that country!

Our Bucharest comrades, who published several pamphlets during the year and one of whom, I. Neagú, suffered great persecutions, now publish a monthly paper, *Revista idei* (Review of the ideas). In Greece, also, as the Athens and Pyrgos reports to the Congress show, literary activity prevails. Of the Scandinavian countries no news is to hand, save that Kropotkin's *Words of a Rebel* will be published in Norwegian as the *Conquest of Bread* has already been. His *Memoirs* have come out in Danish and German translations, and are now published in Spanish also at Madrid.

We all remember the lies of the press about plots after each personal act done by an Anarchist. Never were they put forward with such a show of impudent assurance as after the death of Umberto.

Public trials have led to the acquittal—after 18 months of preventive imprisonment—of the "accomplices" of Paolo Lega, who tried to kill Crispi and since died in prison. Two public trials showed that Acciarito (who had tried to kill Umberto) was put on by a police spy and by the director of the prison of San Stefano to give false testimony against alleged "accomplices," under the promise of improving his condition and under the mental torture of the false news of the birth of a son and the misery of his wife; at the trial his better nature triumphed and he exposed his torturers; the alleged "accomplices," who had passed a year in prison, were acquitted; he himself has since gone mad and was sent to the asylum for criminal lunatics of Montelupo, Tuscany, where Passanante, in prison since 1878, still lingers.

What did we not read of plots, arrests, letters, confessions, etc., etc., after Bresci's attempt! It was all lies. The American inquiry into the death of an Italian at Paterson, a letter of whose went through all the papers, entirely collapsed; and in Italy the alleged "accomplices" of Bresci had to be set free, as no shadow of proof could be brought against them. Of this the press says next to nothing and, the next time anything may happen, it will tell the plot stories again.

These are, unfortunately, but happy exceptions. Often in moments of panic the government and the press succeed in having innocent men sentenced to enormous punishments. For example, in Serbia, in the autumn of 1899, nearly all the leaders of the Radical party were sentenced to many years of imprisonment for imaginary high treason; they were almost all liberated by an amnesty a few months ago. But in many cases such victims of panic and of the lies of the press (which in infamy is second to none) pass their lives in prison. Examples abound. On evidence since quite discredited, Batacchi, Natta and two or three others were in prison, three or four of them for 20 years (1878-98), Batacchi from 1878 till the spring of 1900 (trial at Florence,

1878); see Eugenio Ciacchi, *I crimiini della polizia nei processi politici* (Florence). The Montjuich tortured prisoners are at last free but exiled from Spain—except Callis, one of the chief victims of torture, whom they dare not liberate it seems. But the victims of Jerez, Jan. 8, 1892, remain in prison since that time; four were strangled by the garrote in February 1892; thirteen imprisoned for life, two for twenty years and four for twelve years are still in the African bagnios. The evidence against them, extorted by torture, has since been withdrawn by the principal witness, who is also a prisoner. The *Revista Blanca* supplement is full of letters and documents on the Jerez prisoners, and our comrades in Spain will not be silent until, by raising public opinion, they have rescued the last of them. The Belgian comrades and many Socialists demand the release of Jules Moineau of Liege, in prison since 1892. A Berkman still lingers in Pittsburg gaol, since 1892, his eyesight failing him more and more. The French islands near Cayenne still keep a number of Anarchists; Lorion died there; Monod, after six years, returned; many remain there, victims of the *lois scélérates* and previous scares. In Geneva, besides Luccheni, a Spanish comrade, Pablo Nin, is a prisoner since 1898, awarded six years for a strike riot. In Germany, Koscherman, sentenced in 1897 to twelve years on the flimsiest evidence, loudly protests his innocence; the recent revelations on the integrity of the Berlin police when dealing with a millionaire banker, leading to the arrest of the chief of the criminal police, Thiel, show how justice is meted out in that country. At Pilsen, Bohemia, J. Paces is in prison since 1884, for sixteen years; his fellow prisoners Crug and Rampas served fifteen and ten years, each to the last hour, and then died within the year of their release—all for printing a little paper called *Svoboda* (Freedom) on a secret press in Bohemia. Paces, who had shown nine years in solitary confinement, got so desperate about his treatment that in September 1899, *six or eight months before his 16 years expired*, he committed an act of violence on a prison warden in order to have a chance to tell of his sufferings at the trial. He was sentenced to three more years of penal servitude.

And what of those who seem quite forgotten, but may still live: Paolo Schicchi, kept in an Italian prison since 1893, just after he left the prison of Barcelona; or the principal accused of the Vienna trial for alleged plots of October 1886, with sentences of 20 and 15 years; or here in England of the poor Italian, Farnara, at Dartmoor prison, who, in 1894, of his 20 years prison got at least 10 for a few angry words said at the trial which exasperated the judge, and who is said to be on the point of going mad?

Here is scope for action for those who profess to be willing to help if they were given an aim that would not imply, in their opinion, violence. Unfortunately such efforts of wider circles seldom last long; the French *Ligue des droits de l'homme* and the German *Goethebund* (Society for the freedom of art and literature, formed early in 1900), are examples of this. A number of French comrades have, however, formed a group now to bring these matters and the continuous persecutions and vexations by the police before a larger public: see their appeal in another part of this paper.

In this connection I mention a most important Russian publication, *Thirteen years in the Fortress of Schlüsselburg*, by Madame L. Wolkenstein, who was kept in the fortress from 1884 to 1896 and has since been transported to Sachalin, Eastern Siberia, the first exact account of those buried alive in that fortress; the most active Nihilists were sent there, as the Siberian mines were considered too lenient for them. Out of 48 prisoners (men and women), from 1884 to 1891, two were executed (one being Myshkin, who will always be remembered for his attitude on his trial, brought to the fortress from the Siberian mines, as nine others were, in 1884; he was shot or hanged in January 1895); two committed suicide (one by burning himself with a lamp); three died mad; thirteen died of diseases; three died mad. Total: 23 out of 48.

From 1891 to 1896 one went mad; two died; one girl, Sophia Gunzburg, much spoken of at the time, committed suicide; eight were sent to Siberia. Sixteen remained at Schlüsselburg in 1896, among whom were Vera Figner, H. Lopatin, N. Morozov and M. Trigoni; some of them have been in prison since 1879 or 1881, none later than 1887. Since then, two more have been sent to Siberia—the greatest benefit they may imagine!—and *fourteen still remain there*. Their condition and how they are treated may be read in the Russian pamphlet, published at Maldon, Essex.

REVIEW.

En marche vers la Société Nouvelle, by C. Cornelissen. Stock, editor, Paris.

This is indeed an honest and refreshing book. The author, the well known Dutch Anarchist, journalist and orator, gives us a very clear exposition of the different Socialist ideals and tactics. In his critique he proves himself a very accomplished student of the Socialist literature of different countries. But the greatest merit of the book is, undoubtedly, the originality of analysis and of argument displayed by the author. For instance, the reader will certainly agree with us that the following quotation is very clear and quite original: "These economists of the bourgeois class forget, however, that if the land or even the whole of nature is an indispensable factor in the social process of the production of riches, this is not so with the proprietors of the land, who are quite superfluous. In the same way, capital may be considered, and quite truly, as absolutely necessary for the production of wealth; but we can do quite well without capitalists, who are only obstacles in the way of production. Are they not preventing the intellectual and manual workers from using the social capital in the most productive way?"

"But it is quite different with the third factor: labor. Once acknowledge that labor is indispensable to the production of wealth, and it must be admitted that the workers are also indispensable because it is they who possess the productive power.

"If the capitalists and landowners are superfluous in their quality of possessors, and prevent even more and more the regular course of production, the workers' class is the only class of society which is really necessary. This is the only class by which in reality the social life of humanity is sustained."

As for clearness of exposition and definition, we quote from pages 15 and 59:

"By the law of necessity, or through the natural outcome of their egoism, men must arrive at a social organisation where the means of existence—land, factories, machines, tools, shops and warehouses, means of communication and transport, as well as all articles of consumption—will be the collective property of humanity. Correlatively, and necessarily, we shall see the growth of autonomy in the people of each country, of each region, of each community, as also the possibility for the workers of each factory to organise all their business themselves. So the task of the Communist society of the future will consist in developing and assuring liberty to each individual without injuring the welfare or violating the liberty of others."

"The management and administration of labor in its entirety, according to the will of the majority of the fellow workers can only be maintained, in the long run, on condition that the minority shall not be opposed in the least if they want to form a new group."

Towards this free, libertarian Communism present humanity is approaching in its evolution; this libertarian Communism will alone be a final solution of the social problem, because even Social Democratic aims "remain, nevertheless measures of State Socialism only, or to characterise even better this preservation of the wage-earners, they are measures of State Capitalism."

Space does not permit us to make further quotations, so we conclude by warmly recommending this book to all our friends and comrades.

W. TCHERKESOV.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY & PRISONERS' AID GROUP.

The following circular has been received from our Paris comrades, who will be glad to receive the names as well as the contributions of all comrades in sympathy with its aims. It will be remembered that amongst the agenda down for discussion at the suppressed Congress, this matter of aid to prisoners and their families and to all sufferers under police and government despotism had a prominent place. The French comrades have now initiated the movement, and it only remains for all desiring to give practical help to sufferers under the present regime to make the aims of the group known and to forward from time to time such contributions as they are themselves able to afford. Amongst the adhesions already sent in we observe the names of Zola, Pressensé, Ch. Albert, J. Grave, Guérineau, Clemenceau and many others.

Circular:

The daily annoyances to which we are subject, and of which the evident aim is the revival of persecution lead us to foresee a new period of authoritarian repression. In view of this it seems necessary to at once take some practical precautions.

We believe that we should fortify our position in advance against the harassing vexations and special measures to which we are exposed owing to our claim for freedom of opinion, and wish to defend those who are oppressed because they hold certain ideas which do not happen to be held by others.

- 1.—To draw attention to every despotic act.
- 2.—To aid by every possible means, morally and materially, the victims of such acts, and especially prisoners and their families.
- 3.—To assist those who, owing to their opinions, are compelled to leave their country as refugees.

Towards this end, we propose by means of the press, by placards and pamphlets, to make public every act of oppression, every abuse by Authority, every violation of the rights of men; we shall organise meetings, arouse public protest, etc., etc.

We solicit co-operation and have already opened a permanent fund. Friends will kindly send their subscriptions to our comrade, Charles Albert, at the Bureaux des Temps Nouveaux, 140 rue Mouffetard, Paris.

We will publish the adhesions sent us by comrades and by those who while not actually in touch with our ideas are yet sympathisers with our aims.

To the Editor of FREEDOM.

STEAM, THE TYRANT:

A SUGGESTIVE NEW YEAR'S GIFT FOR THE DISINHERITED OF ALL LANDS.

COMRADE,—I have been an occasional reader of *Freedom* for many years, and as time goes on I am more and more moved to suggest to the advanced guard of the Press, that they should commence a crusade against the part, complex and dangerous and powerful, machinery is playing in prolonging the reign of Big Capitalism and the agony of this night-as-well-as-day Civilisation. As one who has been watching Mechanicism from an antagonistic standpoint for close on a quarter of a century, I venture to submit to your readers:

That whilst machinery—including railroads and steamboats—has done some very good things, it has done some very evil things; and that these latter far outweigh the former and hence all brave, honest and logical men

should line up (like the citizens in "Erewhon") and facing the champions of machinery, discuss this great question.

Therefore I would suggest that the beginning of the New Century could not be spent better than in sifting out the good and evil effects of Mechanicism, and if you can find space in your paper I will open the discussion on the side of Anti-Mechanicism. In the meantime, let me say that the steam engine and its satellites are good servants and bad masters, but not servants of all work. That they can do some things extravagantly well (notably common-carrying), some things indifferently well and some things they can not and never will be able to do. Unfortunately for poor, blind, stupid, suffering humanity, these last named are the most needful to the very life and wellbeing of the people, and hence I have seen somewhere that "the steam engine has cheapened the nick-nacks and luxuries of life to a far greater extent than what it has cheapened the prime necessaries of life; so that while brass buttons, screws, and penny pin are cheap today, the four pound loaf, the pound of butter and the dozen of eggs will persist in asserting their dignified dearth," and will so do until the workers begin to see that their only hope of plenteous food lies in return to those proved methods whereby (see Thoreau) a man "can make a living with his left hand." I know that many Socialists and others, when challenged on these points, will say: We cannot get away with your condemnation of Mechanicism as it is; but we will take the sting out of it by Nationalisation. Well, granting for a moment that the nationalisation of machinery was realised, I presume that our Nationalisers would make nothing but goods of the best quality, and refuse to carry things detrimental or useless or adulterated or of inferior quality; then surely the manufacturing and common-carrying interests would at once shrink to at least half their present proportions. Hence I ask my Nationalising friends: what are they going to do with that other half of the manufacturing and common-carrying slaves displaced by such Nationalising moralities and economies? These well meaning (but, I am afraid, superficial) Nationalisers cannot say that they intend to extend our manufacturing and common-carrying enterprises; for surely these are now out of all proportion greater than need be—if we had true co-ordination of all our national activities. If a community of say 100 members told off 50 of their number to run errands, wind bobbins, grease wheels, and other subsidiary work, surely the prime industry of agriculture would suffer, and diggers, drivers and greasers would go hungry.

In summing up the situation we are face to face with these two facts:

1st. That machinery, instead of reducing the sum of human labor and thus making life more effective and pleasant, has multiplied the volume and intensified the speed of work. Some machines have robbed men of work; but the stupendous enterprises (notably ship-cannals) that have been made possible by machinery are legion, so that one may fairly say today we have more work under machinery than ever we had before its advent. But the great mass of this added work is unworthy the notice of any self-respecting man who values health, life and the pursuit of Liberty. It may truly be said today of all mechanically driving and driven countries, that they have got plenty of work of a kind, they have got the quantity: but what of its quality?

2nd. That whilst the steam engine has been a means of de-centralising the suffering workers of Europe by scattering them in a haphazard sort of way over vast areas in the New World, it has centralised them in some of the most disgraceful and biggest cities that ever burdened and disgraced any civilisation. In this latter fact we have the greatest evil, wrought by Mechanicism.

Let us hope that with the increasing intelligence of the workers, and the working of certain forces—absolute, unchanging—a condition of things so intolerable will arise at once in these great centres, so as to precipitate a Revolution that will force the peoples' attention to the neglected MILLIONS of tillable acres in many lands.

If the workers want a "cut across lots" to the New Jerusalem, let them stop the Railroad and Steamboat Tyranny; and thus, foreign supplies being stopped they will be compelled to face the problem of making each country produce its own food. This is my New Year's Gift to the disinherited of all lands; and if any of your readers can show me a better they will have the thanks of

PHILO PALOMO.

LIVERPOOL REPORT.

Since my last report propaganda has been subject to a series of fluctuations. The Jingo feeling here has somewhat diminished and a rapid reaction has set in amongst the Liverpool public. Comrades have eagerly looked forward to the time when the workers should have recovered from their khaki mania, so that once again in their normal condition they might listen to a little common sense. The winter makes open-air speaking rather difficult; still, rain or shine, we were determined to take full advantage of the reaction and strive to regain lost ground, as we felt that the time was ripe for a great deal of solid propaganda. Despres had been joined by a number of fine, strapping young fellows and decided to form another group with the object of opening up new ground and getting the new blood into action. Unfortunately, the opening up of new ground has had to be left over until summer months. The groups arranged to continue the meetings at the Column, one taking the afternoon meetings and the other the evening ones; by this method a deal of work has been done.

September brought a welcome guest in the shape of the *Red Cap*, which caused a sensation among the people here and gained a free advertisement in several papers for the lead and for the propaganda. Alf Barton paid us a flying visit and held two good meetings: speaking in the afternoon on "Modern Civilisation" dealing specially with its treatment of the African and Chinese peoples. The latter end of October found comrades busy preparing for a Chicago commemoration; comrade MacQueen kindly offered his services which we gladly accepted and the meeting in the Phoenix Hall was in every way a success. At the afternoon meeting MacQueen gave a concise account of the American 8 hour movement, following it up by a detailed account of the part that the Chicago Anarchists took in that important agitation. At the evening meeting our comrade spoke of the principles for which the men of Chicago died, finishing up by an eloquent appeal to comrades and friends of liberty to take up the cudgels on behalf of Labor and carry on the work for which our comrades gave their lives.

The winter is now upon us; but we are determined to keep the red flag flying.

M. ROHR.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

Freedom Guarantee Fund.—N. 5s., Kampfmeier 5s., W. T. 6s., A. M. 10s., D. 5s., N. W. T. 10s., per T. 10s., Liverpool 12s. (Caplan 2s.; Kilshaw, Caldo, Arnold, Chiverton, Silverston, M. Sinnot, Bert 1s. each; Dranandston, Roche, Rosenberg, Hampson, Wellan, Anderson 6d. each), A. C. 1s.

Annual Subscriptions.—Moore 1/6, F. W. Lear 1/6, Chamberlain 1/6, W. K. Datt 1/6, A. C. 2s.

Sales of FREEDOM.—Newsagents 3/9, Roche 3s., Leeds 4s.

Sales of Pamphlets.—H. G. 10s., Rinderman 3s.

Printed and published by J. TURNER, 127 Cusilton Street, London, N.W.