

Freedom

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NOTES.

To Hell with the Constitution!

The Emergency Powers Act, introduced in the House of Commons on October 22, and rushed through both Houses of Parliament in seven days, has shattered most of those sweet illusions cherished by every true son of John Bull. Nurtured on Magna Charta and the Reform Act, he always thought that his representatives in Parliament, duly elected by ballot, were the guardians of his "rights and liberties" and solely responsible for legislation affecting his welfare. But on October 29, when the Emergency Powers Act became law, the whole of these much-cherished safeguards were swept away. At any time considered necessary in the interests of our ruling class—say, during a big strike—his Majesty the King may declare that "a state of emergency" exists, and immediately Magna Charta, the ballot-box, Habeas Corpus, and the rest of those hoary frauds are put away in the cupboard, with the Mace, the Speaker's wig, and the Woolsack. From that moment, and as long as the "emergency" lasts, the Privy Council—not Parliament—rules, and it can shovel out regulations which will shut down all public meetings and even private ones, suppress the Labour, Socialist, and Anarchist Press, make the payment of strike funds illegal, and send to prison anyone who helps the strikers in any way. This is no fanciful picture, as such regulations have already been enforced at various times during strikes in Canada, New Zealand, and Australia. But there is always some compensation in these things, and if the Government plays hide-and-seek with the dear old Constitution like this, even Labour leaders may cease talking about constitutional strikes.

"To Produce Delay."

The speed with which the Emergency Powers Act was rushed through both Houses of Parliament shows what an elastic instrument it is in the hands of the capitalist class. Usually the smallest reform takes years to run the gauntlet before it becomes law. Lord Salisbury gave the game away some years ago, for, speaking in the House of Lords in 1916, he said:

"I sometimes think that the Constitution of this country and the training of our statesmen are the worst in the world for the conduct of a great war, because, after all, the whole of our Constitution is framed in order to produce delay. All our system of Parliamentary procedure makes really for delay. Speaking as a Conservative, I hold that to be best in time of peace; but in war decisions have to be taken quickly."

Evidently the Emergency Powers Act is a war measure. Lord Salisbury is a member of one of the hereditary ruling families of this country, and his statement throws a flood of light upon Parliament, and proves our contention that it can never be used to bring about revolutionary changes. At the present time it is merely a playground where the members try to persuade their constituents that they are ruling the country, whereas they merely legalise the decisions of Downing Street or the Stock Exchange.

The War in Ireland.

The whole world has turned its eyes on the happenings in Ireland. What is probably one of the most reactionary gangs in the Empire is now installed at Dublin Castle, and their methods of rule have been modelled on those of the Germans in Belgium. The much-hated "Black and Tans" are using the methods of frightfulness which our hypocritical Press denounced when employed during the war by their enemies. Irish towns and villages have been turned into heaps of ruins and the inhabitants driven terror-stricken into the fields. In

the South and West the railways are gradually being closed down, and a blockade of Republican Ireland is in progress. The death of the Lord Mayor of Cork is a symbol of Irishmen's determination to fight to the bitter end, but the death of ten or a hundred Lord Mayors of Cork would not have any influence upon the bloodthirsty mob of ex-officers and ex-service men which has been turned loose in the countryside. The Irish revolutionaries, like the Russian revolutionaries, have appealed to the workers of other countries for help, exposing their wounds and their sufferings to all; but a world that has supped on horrors for six years has grown cynical and callous, and looks on unashamed at the fresh horrors committed in their name by bloody and brutal statesmen. Ireland, like Russia, must depend on the strong arms and stout hearts of her own sons and daughters to beat off the enemies now at her throat. That she will endure and conquer is our firm hope.

The Miners' Strike.

On the questions at issue in the strike the miners have been defeated by the Government. Although they struck against the principle of wages being governed by output, and were prepared to continue on strike for some time, their leaders knew they were fighting a hopeless battle, and were looking for a way out, by which they could save their faces. The everlasting conferences and conversations between the men's leaders and the Government allowed the latter to accumulate enormous reserves of coal, and as the railwaymen and transport workers were lukewarm in their support, the miners were beaten from the first day. The art of camouflage was used extensively during the war, but never was it brought to such perfection as it was in disguising the "datum line" previously rejected by the miners, and subsequently accepted by them when they went back to work. Mr. Brace, whose speech on the opening day of Parliament led up to this result, has now reaped his reward in the shape of a job in the Ministry of Mines worth £2,000 a year. Everyone is satisfied. The miners get their two shillings extra, the mine-owners get payment of wages by output, and some of the leaders will get nice fat jobs. The public? Oh, they will get squeezed for more money.

The Greenwood Trial.

We are a wonderful people. For a whole week the nation has been engrossed in the gruesome details of the poison trial at the Carmarthen Assizes, in which a man was tried and acquitted on the charge of murdering his wife, who, the prosecution asserted, had died from poisoning by arsenic. One would think there had been no "Great War," which caused the slaughter of millions, or that even at the present time misery and starvation, the war's aftermath, were not carrying off their thousands daily. Even the savage reprisals in Ireland were forgotten for the time whilst all the details were unfolded of the death of this one poor woman. Where is our sense of proportion. If the death of Mrs. Greenwood is such a horrible thing, and if her supposed murderer must be punished at all costs, why do we not try to stop some of the atrocities now committed daily in the name of Empire? Why not try to find ways and means of stopping the civil war in Ireland and the long-drawn-out tragedy of Russia? Let us by all means prevent the Mrs. Greenwoods from being poisoned, but let us keep some sense of proportion in these matters, and not lose sight of the greater evils from which the whole world is now suffering.

It is the nature of a Government not to be ruled, but to rule. And as it derives its power from the army, it will never give up the army; nor will it ever renounce that for which the army is designed—war.—*Tolstoy.*

ERRICO MALATESTA.

ROUGH OUTLINES OF HIS LIFE UP TILL 1920.

By M. N.

(Concluded from last month.)

I cannot say whether he expected an amnesty to allow him to return to Italy, or what made him choose Florence for the publication of his paper *La Questione Sociale* (1884-85).^{*} It is long since I looked over, with the greatest interest, the collection of that paper kept in the British Museum, and all I could say on this, the first real propagandist paper—all the others were more fighting papers, I should say—would be taken from its columns. It contains a magnificent campaign against Parliamentary Socialism. From its columns is also taken the most widespread of Malatesta's pamphlets, the "Talk about Anarchist Communism between Two Workers" (Freedom Pamphlets, 3; 1891), first issued as: "Propaganda Socialista (Fra Contadini)," Firenze, September, 1884. By the way, a Chinese translation of this, printed in Paris in 1907 or 1908, is the most diminutive Anarchist publication I have seen. From Norwegian to Armenian, there are translations of this popular tract.

This propaganda, the first continuous propaganda on a large scale in Anarchist Italy, was cut short, as usual, by the persecution of Malatesta for press or speech offences. He stayed until the house was never free from observation by the police, who shadowed him wherever he went; then, thinking he had sacrificed years enough of his youth to the prisons of these people, he left the house under their noses inside a large case supposed to contain a sewing machine, I believe.

A condemnation pronounced at Rome was pending against him (1885), and this time he left Europe altogether and lived in South America, the Argentine Republic, until 1889. I believe that some Anarchist papers at Buenos Aires and the local movement, which had then just begun, got his support. At one time he and others of his little group were transported in a summary way to the far South, to be landed in a desert port on the Patagonian coast. Malatesta (I heard him tell this) strongly protested and to emphasise his protest jumped into the sea, challenging the captain to leave him there in the icy water. This shamed the captain, who had him rescued and did not land him as ordered. When we asked him whether the water was not very cold, Malatesta said he never thought of that, he was boiling with indignation and felt hot even in that icy ocean.

What brought him back to Europe I do not know, but on September 6, 1889, *L'Associazione*, a large paper similar to the *Questione Sociale*, began to be published at Nice. At that time the most impudent spy of the Italian Government, Carlo Terzaghi, exposed as early as 1872 by Cafiero, had again laid his nets, corresponding under an assumed name with ever so many Italian and other comrades by *poste restante* letters. Malatesta recognised at a glance the handwriting of Terzaghi and exposed him in the new paper. No wonder that after one or two issues he and the paper had to leave Nice and France, and so he came once more to London (about October, 1889), where I first saw him in the Socialist League, as mentioned previously. The paper continued publication at Fulham, and a good sum of money was in hand to expand it and to print pamphlets. All at once that money was stolen by one of the publishing group, and the paper came to an end; seven numbers (until January 23, 1890) and a proof slip telling of the disaster were issued.

The propaganda was, however, slowly continued by the publication of excellent pamphlets—(Biblioteca dell' Associazione): "La Politica Parlamentare nel Movimento Socialista" (1), 1890; "In Tempo di Elezioni" (2), 1890; "Fra Contadini" (3), December, 1890; April, 1891; "L'Anarchia" (5), March, 1891 ("Anarchy," Freedom Pamphlets, 1892); all by Malatesta.

We find him henceforth writing occasionally in the *Révolte* (at least I believe so) and the *Temps Nouveaux*, always only when he has something to say, to state his opinion on a given controversial question. No author ever less imposed himself by useless repetitions or amplifications of known things; he would

be prepared to use the utmost patience in elementary propaganda, but he would not inflict a line upon the reader when he had no definite object in view.

"Un Peu de Théorie," in the Paris *Endehors* (August 21, 1892), may also be mentioned, reprinted in pamphlet form in Brussels, 1899.

Ten years later he wrote another popular propagandist pamphlet, "Al Caffé: Conversazione sul Socialismo Anarchico" (Paterson, N.J., 1902), at least this is the earliest edition I am aware of now. "Il Nostro Programma," 1903 (*ib.*); "Non Votale!" (Mantova, 1904); and "Il Suffragio Universale" (*ib.*, 1904 or 1905), are less well known, and may be reprints of passing articles.

From London, where he probably stayed until the first months of 1897, he went over to Paris occasionally, on the eve of expected great revolutionary days, Firsts of May or so, to be on the spot for the revolution which was not forthcoming.—He had learned Spanish in Spain and South America, and suddenly made a wonderful tour of meetings and lectures all over Spain in 1891 or 1892. The Xeres revolt occurred just after Malatesta had gone (he had to go), and no further chance was given him to enter Spain again.—The Italian movement was reorganised by the Congress held at Capolago (Ticino, Switzerland) in the beginning of the nineties, Malatesta being present. It was then he was arrested in Lugano, threatened with extradition to Italy, which raised a general outcry, and meanly put in prison for some weeks or months for transgressing the expulsion decree of 1878 or 1879.

When in 1893-94 the discontent in Italy was at its height, the Sicilian peasants on the verge of revolution, etc., several of the old exiled Anarchists secretly returned to Italy, and were hunted after like wild beasts. Merlino was chased over the park of Naples, and arrested in an utterly exhausted condition. Malatesta was the bugbear of the press—he was seen hidden everywhere, so to speak. Many versions were printed then, but I had no reason to question him since on these matters, so I have nothing clear before my mind on his adventures of 1893-94, only that he baffled them all and was never captured.

Dr. Merlino had been to the United States in 1892, where the *Grido degli Oppressi* and Edelman's *Solidarity* (started respectively on June 5 and 18, 1892, at New York) bear witness to his propagandist energy and helpfulness. Malatesta could not publicly support the English-speaking propaganda; what he wrote for FREEDOM was always written in French and translated. So in the United States (in 1895, I think) he had to restrict himself to rousing the Italian propaganda in many places and possibly the Spanish also, represented by the *Despertar* of his friend P. Esteve. If I am not quite mistaken, the *Questione Sociale*, of Paterson, N.J. (July 15, 1895, *seq.*), owes much initial help to him; but my memory may fail me. Several excellent propagandists went to the States in the nineties, as Pietro Gori, E. Milano, G. Ciancabilla, who are all dead, and Luigi Galleani, of the *Cronaca Sovversiva*, who after so many years has now returned to Italy to be as active as ever.

In August, 1896, *L'Anarchia* (a single issue) was published in London by Malatesta or the group to which he belonged.

* * * * *

At last in 1897 an amnesty or the withdrawal of an early condemnation enabled Malatesta to return to Italy, where he at once became the life and soul of a more intense propaganda than ever before and also of the third of his series of large papers; the whole Anarchist press, by the way, had expanded since on their lines. If I say he at once became the life and soul of a large movement, the truth is that he had never ceased to be this, that he had kept up all his relations, kept in touch with everything, however long his absence lasted; so the moment he touched his native soil again he reaped what he had patiently sown; he was up to date every hour of his life.

L'Agitazione, published at Ancona (March 14, 1897), afterwards at Rome, with ever so many new names when numbers had been seized (*Agitatore, Agitiamoci, Agitatevi, Pro Agitazione*, etc.), lasted until 1906, if not longer. But Malatesta had been driven from Italy again by a prosecution started in 1898. The "Resoconto del Processo Malatesta e Compagni" (Tunis, 1898, 119 pp.), his *Autodifesa*, etc., must here be consulted. I cannot

^{*} In 1883 or 1884 he went to Naples to nurse in a hospital the victims of a terrible epidemic of cholera. Many Anarchists and Socialists (Costa included) did the same then, and the editor of the Anarchist *Proximus Taus*, if I remember rightly, met his death in this way.

state from memory the time he had to pass in prison then; from the prison he was transported to one of the penitential islands in the Mediterranean. From there he departed, to make his way back to his third long London exile, which lasted from about 1899 or 1900 to the early part of 1913.

* * * * *

Again this man who has always worked unselfishly for the common good was deprived, at the height of his development, of his native soil, sun, and sky for twelve long years or more by the tyrant of the hour. Most of us know how he lived in London, in a small room in the house of his excellent friends and old comrades, the family Defendi. He acquired also a workroom (I have never seen it) and executed electrical installations and repairs. About the end of 1894, in the building which is now FREEDOM office, he helped to put together the venerable printing machine on which the Rossettis printed the *Torch*, and on which afterwards FREEDOM was printed for many years; and in later visits to London he improved the lighting and other fittings of the stately offices of this journal. Once a nail pierced his palm, causing a frightful wound; how he escaped blood-poisoning is a mystery. Another time exposure at work brought on inflammation of the lungs, which made all despair of his life. His health declined so much owing to living in London that a winter in Portugal, the only Southern country where the native of Capua could have gone then, seemed advisable; but he could not be persuaded to go. So the years pass away, so many die or disappear; he turns grey just a little and appears unchanged, always patient, cheerful, friendly. He speaks some English now, and I assisted at what he declared to be his first English speech; he writes it very much better. His closer friends in these years are V. Tcherkesov, Tarrida del Marmol, S. Nacht—Kropotkin also, of course, though they seldom find time to meet.

He is ferociously detested by the authors of numbers of leaflets, Italian and French, who oppose his views on organisation with an insistence alleged to be Individualist, but which to me appears as authoritarian and intolerant as anything could be. His views on organisation may be open to challenge, in theory before all; in practical matters his clear judgment and experience always demand the fullest consideration.

In looking back on this, I feel that I was moved always by the consideration that his too great intellectual superiority and personal prestige would make it difficult for others to exist beside him in the same movement except in a position of voluntary subordination of their proper will. Such a time when he filled the whole movement, so to speak, did exist; before, there were others with whom he himself had felt able to co-operate without quarrel or ambition, on the basis of perfect equality, from his earliest beginnings. It was not his fault, but his great merit, that for some time he almost alone filled the gap, and appeared to be quite overwhelming then. Since that time the movement, I believe, has grown so immensely that this danger of personal preponderance is over now for all those who will not recognise it and go their own way, thinking for themselves. Life is stronger and larger than the most superior personality. So to my mind the situation has changed, and after years, or an age almost, of isolation he is fortunate to pass his later days now within a large, growing, and hopeful movement, just as his early life, say up till 1877, was passed within such a movement. What storms has he weathered between these dates and what may still be before him, the most exposed Anarchist of our time (a general remark which is not meant to underrate the value and energy of so many other comrades less in view, in Spain, in the United States, and everywhere).

His life in London did not pass without a few adventures or dreary new experiences. Thus, during the Houndsditch affair of 1910-11 it became evident that one of the most compromised persons had worked at his shop and made use of his name and good faith; even the police knew him too well to try to implicate him further in this affair. Not so the judge at the Old Bailey, who on May 20, 1912, sentenced him to three months' imprisonment, with a recommendation for his deportation afterwards, for having drawn attention to the suspicious behaviour of an Italian named Bellelli, saying he was a spy. The leaflet on which the charge of criminal libel was based was entitled "Errico Malatesta alla Colonia Italiana di Londra," dated April 22, 1912. The

Italian comrades in London, believing that justice would be done to Malatesta by a higher court, lodged an appeal; but the judge, an old Tory reactionary, refused to grant it. "An Appeal to the Men and Women of London," by the Malatesta Release Committee; "Malatesta," an editorial in the *Manchester Guardian*, May 25; "Why we Demand Malatesta's Release: Memorandum on the Malatesta Scandal" (Italian Defence Committee); a special issue called *La Gogna* (July); Kropotkin's note in the *Nation*, etc., bear witness to the indignation roused by that sentence; and as a sop to public opinion the Home Secretary declined to sign the order for deportation. So Malatesta also saw the inside of an English prison!

Some special issues or small London Italian papers represent his opinions; I will mention all those I possess of that period, though they may not all belong to his group—which I cannot verify just now: *Cause ed Effetti* (September, 1900), *L'Internazionale* (1901, four numbers), *La Rivoluzione Sociale* (1902, nine numbers), *Germinal* (May 1, 1903), *L'Insurrezione* (July, 1905), *La Guerra Tripolitana* (April, 1912).

Of course, for all these years the principal Italian and French papers have to be consulted for articles and letters, also the files of FREEDOM. Contributions to daily papers, magazines, etc., on the other hand, do not exist at all, I think; and the news which London correspondents by and by began to circulate about Malatesta, who, for Italy, began to mean "copy," must not be believed.

The Tripolitan War brigandage brought Malatesta to the front in London meetings held in opposition. He also saw clearly through Hervé, whose evolution I was foolish enough not to foresee in what I once wrote in FREEDOM on his London meeting.

Malatesta had one great fault, in my opinion (besides his leaning towards organisation)—that of not writing the real story of his life and times. This is the more to be regretted, as by a fire in 1893 in the house in Islington where he lived for so many years most of his papers, many old documents which he had carefully kept, were destroyed. He was still for making not for writing history, and he was right; he was one of the latent forces of Anarchism, and is still at work when so many others are resigned to slumber, if not to sleep.

I forgot to remark that he gave his hearty support to the Anarchist International founded by the Congress held at Amsterdam in August, 1907.

* * * * *

In 1913 the time for another Italian campaign had come at last. Malatesta published *Volontà* at Ancona (June 8, 1913, to June, 1914). After a lively anti-electioneering propaganda in 1913, the career of this paper culminated in, and was cut short by, a real popular movement in Ancona and the smaller towns of the Romagna, where Anarchists, Socialists, revolutionary Republicans, and Anti-Clericals co-operated for some days in a way the originators of the combination of 1874 (see above) could not have dreamed better. This time there was hard fighting, a final defeat, but no discomfiture, rather a very quick recovery. But Malatesta had to leave Italy once more, after adventures which the press so grossly distorted or misstated that the more we read about them the less we know. I know only that one fine day he arrived safely at Geneva and very soon after in London.

Here the war overtook him like all of us. The readers of FREEDOM know his opinions from articles like "Anarchists have Forgotten their Principles" (November, 1914), "Italy Also!" (June, 1915), "Pro Government Anarchists" (April, 1916), circulated in France as a pamphlet ("Anarchistes de Gouvernement"). Other means of information fail me; the *Geneva Réveil* and the *Cronaca Sovversiva* ought to be consulted before all.

For many months after 1916 Malatesta to a far away blockaded outsider at least, as I am now, appears to have remained silent. In 1919 he saw the time had come to return to Italy. But to escape from England in 1919 was a harder task for him than to escape from Italian persecutions ever so many times during his long career of nearly fifty years of a rebel's life. For although the Italian Consul gave him a passport for Italy, the French Government refused to allow him to travel through France. However, the captain of a ship was persuaded to grant him a passage to Genoa, where he landed in December, and was welcomed enthusiastically by the Italian workers. This time, when he was arrested in Toscana, a threatened general strike liberated him; when his daily paper, *Umanità Nova* (Milan; No. 100 is dated June 24, 1920) was refused printing paper, the miners threatened to strike, and the paper was forthcoming. Just now the Public Prosecutor tries to bury him in prison after a trial—we shall see what kind of strike will paralyse this proposed new blow.

These, then, are some very bare outlines of Malatesta's life. Good luck to him!

June 28, 29, 1920.

M. N.

FREEDOM.

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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Set It Moving!

The Labour movement is essentially our movement, and in it we certainly have no private axe to grind. Only a fool would imagine that Anarchist agitation is conducted for individual profit, or that it can be used as a stepping-stone to honours and preferment. Notoriously we turn our backs on office because we will not sell our convictions to purchase votes. We are in the movement solely because we wish to abolish human slavery. So we are in a position to speak out, freely and impartially.

During the last two years the English Labour movement has had opportunities unparalleled. It has not risen to the occasion, or carried out the moderate task expected of it. Nobody who understood the position expected much. Nobody supposed that our Trade Unions would suddenly turn "Red," or that their politicians would propose anything more alarming than a few feeble palliatives. But every one feels instinctively that if a fight is started it ought to be a good one, and no one has anything but contempt for men who lie down at the first blow.

Fights without number have been started, almost invariably on some trivial and personally selfish issue. Always they have been preceded by a terrific battle of words, which led the public to expect far-reaching consequences. Then have come congresses, conferences, deputations kicking their heels about at 10, Downing Street, yieldings here, abandonments there, and finally a wretched makeshift of a compromise whereby the workers in the trade concerned were handed out some extra pence.

When the railway strike broke out last year great things were looked for. The organisation was in close alliance with the transport workers and the miners, and it was felt generally that these three, standing together, could enforce almost any demand. All three were regarded as honeycombed with "extremism," and credited with a determination to put through a programme which would attack plutocracy in its inmost lair and be of incalculable benefit to the much-suffering and discontented public. Then the leaders got to work. Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., went scurrying off to Buckingham Palace. Others allowed the Prime Minister to tangle them up in words, and practically the whole thing went up in smoke. The strikers got a few trifling concessions, and their profiteering antagonists put up prices.

The history of the miners' strike is so recent that it is needless to recall the details, but one remembers that before the Sankey Commission the arraignment of our whole social system was unsparing. Again leaders in never-ending conferences, talk in torrents, a final settlement on the most sordid basis, prefaced by a statement that thenceforth the workers and the tribute-levyers must act together. Mr. Smillie signed that declaration!

Our Labour Members of Parliament have shown themselves so dull and incapable that a strong movement in favour of Direct Action spontaneously developed. Again a huge Conference was held, and 800 delegates, representing 5,283,000 members, met at Westminster last July. Again the same leaders got into the spot-light, and Mr. Thomas dropped some scalding tears over the woes of Ireland. A tremendous resolution, demanding the withdrawal of all British troops, was carried by a vote of 2,760,000, as against 1,636,000, amid thunders of applause. Then some rash individual asked when the Direct Action was to begin, and the chairman, Mr. Thomas, replied solemnly, "Wait and see!"

In the following month the workers were so wrought up

over Russia that a Council of Action was formed, and the same old leaders called on Capitalism to cease its war upon that much-beleaguered country. Apparently the Council is already deadlier than a door-nail; and when we pass to the problem of unemployment, now hammering at our own door, the silence of these councils and conferences and distinguished Labour leaders could be cut with a knife. It is true that Mr. Cramp, industrial secretary to the National Union of Railwaymen, speaking at Manchester on September 7, voiced a fine and true philosophy when he told his audience that "the wealthy desire to retain every privilege and the full margin between your poverty and their wealth," and also, "what is more important to them than anything else—the power over your lives that they had before the war." Unfortunately, however, an individual speech does not commit the movement to any course of action, and it is significant that on the very same evening, speaking at Hull, Mr. Thomas, general secretary of the same Union, warned the railwaymen against any course that "would lead to a social and bloody upheaval in this country." Yet Mr. Thomas was the chief speaker of the meeting at which the Council of Action was created!

The truth is, of course, that neither the Trade Unions nor the Socialist and political bodies affiliated with them, have even a common philosophy, much less a programme. They are living from hand to mouth and wasting their strength in vain efforts to patch up what became long ago unpatchable. It is useless, for example, to orate against the great landowners who levy on us an annual tribute of £300,000,000, at the most conservative estimate. What is needed is a definite plan for getting rid of them and restoring to the English people their natural heritage. Similarly it is stupid to whine about the unemployed unless we are prepared to sweep away the causes of unemployment, or to fulminate against war while shoring up at every possible angle the predatory system that makes wars inevitable.

In the various camps into which Labour is divided there are men who understand all this. What is needed is that these men, getting together, shall sink their petty differences, abandon their worship of leaders and slavery to names, simplify their programme, and get it before the public in such shape that its meaning will be clear to all. At present the public is hopelessly confused, has no confidence whatever in the Labour politicians, and is drifting helplessly and hopelessly. That is the position we are up against, and of all conceivable positions it is the worst. If the entire Labour movement is not to go by the board it must be remedied, thoroughly and at once.

WANTED—£100!

The response to our appeal for funds in last month's FREEDOM has not been so good as we had hoped, and we anticipate the receipt of more cash this month.

FREEDOM, first published in October, 1886, has now been in existence thirty-four years, and has been kept running all those years by the steady and persistent work of a few devoted comrades, who hung on through fair weather and foul. Only those who have published an advanced paper can really understand what a struggle those thirty-four years have meant. In now appealing to our readers to help us, we wish to point out that FREEDOM is the only paper in the country that stands for personal liberty for men and women. Other papers look for salvation to a Labour Government or a Dictatorship, but we know that liberty and government are impossible at one and the same time. Therefore, as a champion of personal liberty, FREEDOM should get your ungrudging support. Collecting sheets will be sent to all who will solicit subscriptions from sympathisers. The following sums have been received:

R. J. Davey £1, T. S. 2s. 6d., Belgian Comrade 1s., Zero 5s., T. Foxall 2s. 6d., F. Bosazza £1, Tom Parry 3s., R. Peddie 2s., H. Compton 6s., A. Sanders 2s., J. S. 1s. 6d., A. Symes 2s., M. L. Imboden-Bonvin 2s. 6d., M. J. O'Rourke 2s. 6d., Gateshead Group (per J. R. Armstrong) £1 1s., F. Goulding 3s., E. C. R. 3s., H. Taylor 2s., Collected by E. Nurse 7s. 6d., L. Organ 4s., A. Organ 1s. 6d., N. Organ 2s., S. C. Potter 5s., W. C. Owen £1, H. P. B. 10s., B. Black 7s. 6d. Total—£7 19s.

Push the sale of "Freedom."

THE REACTION IN ITALY.

When the Italian metal-workers had for weeks taken hold of the factories, they and the other organised workers must have known two things, first, that in spite of their favourable position the revolution was not a walkover, but that another very serious effort would be required, and, second, that if they made no further effort and left it to their habitual leaders to settle matters for them on routine lines, not only would their "victory" be a very poor and paltry one, but also that a general reaction would set in, affecting the whole movement. Nevertheless, they agreed to the compromise arranged by the leaders (see FREEDOM, October) and returned to work. Very soon the more independent spirits were weeded out, and slow, steady, underhand work began to take revenge and to fortify the capitalists' position again. At the same time a free hand was left to the Nationalist bands (*fascisti*) who burned the offices of Socialist papers (at Trieste), Socialist book-stalls (at Bologna), besides using personal violence of every description, working hand in glove with the police in perfect immunity, manipulating handbombs, and so on. This work, and the shooting of workers by police and gendarmes, has been going on ever since the end of the war, and lists have been published showing that the dead are numbered by thousands, not by hundreds, and that thousands of others were thrust into prison on such occasions, where they still remain. In these circumstances meetings were held all over Italy on October 14 "*per le vittime politiche, per la Russia dei Soviet*" (for the political victims, for Soviet Russia). The day after these meetings arrests began to be made, mainly of Anarchists and Anarchist Syndicalists (*Unione Sindacale Italiana*); thus at Milan about eighty arrests were made, including that of the whole editorial staff of the Anarchist daily, *Umanità Nova*.

Malatesta on October 15 was present in Bologna, where delegates of the principal organisations who had convened the meetings met and resolved to continue this agitation, which had in no way overstepped the limits of that at ordinary meetings of protest. When he returned to Milan on October 18 he went to the office of the daily paper and then to his house, where he was arrested. He is detained in the sick-room of the S. Vittore prison, where a gun and some maxims are conspicuously in view. After about a week it became known that the arrests were made in virtue of Art. 120 (raising an armed insurrection against the State authorities), with penalties of from six to fifteen years and in case of a real insurrection happening with penalties not under eighteen years for leaders and from three to fifteen for participants. With all this the collaborators of that daily paper to which Malatesta belongs are threatened.

It is obvious that this charge has not a leg to stand upon, but it is in reality preferred to see what the patience and endurance of the Italian proletariat will really stand. Some months ago Malatesta was also arrested at Tombolo, a small country station, and not two hours after, when he was brought to Florence, the general strike was declared at Leghorn, and he was forthwith liberated. This time at Massa Carrara and Spezia only were such efforts made; beyond that there were only shoals of telegrams of protest and a generous cheap decision of the directors of the Socialist Party, meeting at Florence, to issue a —manifesto. The period of depression following the metal workers' regrettable weakness was thus well chosen by Giolitti and his henchmen to strike a blow.

But there are ups and downs and the last word is not yet spoken by far. We send greetings to Malatesta who has seen worse days than these in his stormy life. N.

PETER KROPOTKIN.

Der Syndikalist (Berlin) states that it learns from a trustworthy source that our comrade Kropotkin is in "absolute want of food and clothing." He has asked for passports for himself and his daughter to go to Switzerland or Italy, as a warmer climate is a necessity for his health in winter.

We have been told by Miss Bondfield and Jack Tanner that Kropotkin was very well indeed when they saw him; and Mr. Meakin, of the *Daily News*, said that the Soviet Government had allowed him to keep his cow when a general perquisition of cattle was made. In any case, we hope the Soviet Government will grant him a passport, as a hard winter in blockaded Russia would be dangerous for our comrade, now in his 78th year. Unfortunately, many others in Russia are in the same position; and the Bolsheviks will be flooded with demands for passports if they give one to Kropotkin. However, we hope to hear soon that his request has been granted.

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Spain.

Organised Labour in Spain has had little liking for the Catholic Syndicates which the Church busied itself in forming. Managed by the employers, and instructed at every step by the priesthood, permeated with that spirit of paternalism which robs the worker of his virility and teaches him to trust in charity, these Syndicates have been regarded as full of danger to the revolutionary movement. However, even in these carefully-guarded folds the sheep are turning. In Azcoitia recently the workers, all members of the Church, had the temerity to strike. Did their pious masters offer the other cheek? On the contrary, we regret to say they promptly called in the Civil Guard, who as promptly fired on the strikers, killing seven. This lamentable affair seems to have created an unusual stir, for it indicates that even the church-coddled organisations are no longer safe. On the 13th of last month, eleven years ago, Francisco Ferrer, founder of the Modern School, was shot to death within the walls of Montjuich. A fatal error on the clergy's part. To-day his spirit lives incomparably more vigorous than ever. *Solidarid Obrera* is publishing a series of articles on Syndicalist tactics. In the last one to hand the writer, Julio Roiz, declares that "in politics we Syndicalists are Anarchists, and we combat all tyranny, that liberty may triumph." Almost immediately, however, he remarks that "often we should sacrifice our liberty, which we love more than life itself, in the interest of the cause, and accept temporarily the dictatorship of the proletariat—paradoxical though this may appear—if imposed for the conquest and triumphal overthrow of the monstrous capitalist regime."

We welcome the appearance of a new and handsome revolutionary journal, *Paginas Libres*, which comes to us from Seville (Plaza de San Marcos 13). Its opening editorial states that it is Anarchist Communist, as it considers that the philosophy expressed by that name "tends toward the emancipation not of any one class but of the entire human race, and admits of no dictatorship, be it even that of the proletariat." The first number contains the first instalment of the Life of Malatesta now appearing in FREEDOM. There is a review by Kropotkin of the life of Elisée Reclus. The literary articles, reviews, and poems, some of them resurrected from the once famous *La Revista Blanca*, seem to us far above the ordinary level.

France.

Bitter attacks on leaders, both of the Socialist Party and of the Syndicalists, seem to be the order of the day, so far as one can judge from the latest papers to hand. *Germinal* comments caustically on the turn of events in Italy, where Malatesta has been arrested and the Giolitti Government is hunting down all Anarchists. It remarks that as a result of their manoeuvres the Socialists now have some 180 odd members in the Italian Chamber, and that, although the General Council of Workers has declared in favour of the Moscow International, that has not hindered it from leaguering itself with the Socialist Party to crush the true proletariat movement. It reminds its readers that at the time of the insurrection in Germany, following the *coup d'état* and the Kaiser's flight, the Social Democratic and Syndicalist leaders compromised with the Government and stopped the movement. "Result: massacre of the Ruhr workers; ferocious reaction." France had a similar experience last May, and England is now having it in connection with the miners' strike. "When you raise a man to a superior position he adapts himself, little by little, to that position; acquires the manners of the bourgeois and profiteer; in a word, ceases to belong to the class of the exploited, of those who suffer. He no longer has the same interests as you have." One could quote much more from other articles to the same effect. The old Anarchist philosophy on this subject, which seemed for a time to have been buried, is coming to vigorous life once more. In *Le Reveil* Bertoni emphasises with great clarity the difference between Socialism and Anarchism, remarking that as the former has no understanding of what is meant by free unions, all its ideas of co-operation and association are saturated with militaristic thought. Bertoni had no illusions respecting the situation in Italy, and considered from the first that it would not be possible for Socialists and Anarchists to present, for any length of time, a united front. That can come, he thinks, only when the revolution is an accomplished fact. As we ourselves should put it, in Darwin language, events will then prove which is fittest to survive. Bertoni finds a study of the "so-called" Communist press "particularly painful" just now. "There are," he says, "always the same evasive declarations which end in Parliamentary equivocation, the same contempt of the highest human values and glorification of absolute submission, of violent discipline, of the power of the sword, and the same conception that there must be Saviours, no longer elected by God or by the people, but by the Marxist revelation."

United States.

The crushing defeat of the Democratic Party, which carries with it a pronounced repudiation of Wilsonian policies and tactics, seems to us more than a mere political event. It reveals a disillusioned people. President Wilson dominated his party and insisted that the Peace Treaty and the League of Nations be made the leading issue in the campaign.

The result indicates, as we think, most clearly that the people of the United States are disgusted with the outcome of the War, believe that Europe is rent asunder by the conflicting ambitions of the predatory Powers, and wish to hold themselves aloof from all such embarrassing entanglements. But there is more than this. Wilson, in direct violation of all democratic principles, has proved himself an autocrat of autocrats, the creator of an established bureaucracy which has been ruling with the highest and most oppressive hand. There has been during his second term a suppression of free speech and other constitutional rights worthy of the most ferocious Eastern despot. All who dared to protest against the suppression of their liberties have been hounded down remorselessly, and we rejoice to think that the brutal sentences imposed at the instigation of Wilson's attorney-general, Palmer, and his postmaster-general, Burleson, have received, in the heavy vote cast against their party, a well-merited rebuke. The punishment is, of course, ridiculously inadequate, but it is better than nothing; and we are confident that our revolutionary comrades, however divided among themselves by honest differences of opinion, contributed materially to the result. In the United States persecution has driven the movement largely underground, but it has been rendered thereby more persistent and implacable.

General discontent, however, was undoubtedly at the root of the Democratic Party's reverse. Prices, which are now coming down with a run, have been outrageously high, and the profiteering has been colossal. Great strikes, such as those of the Steel Workers and the Switchmen, which affected the entire country, collapsed ignominiously. Alien Labour—the Lithuanians, for example—indignant at the abuses to which it has been subjected, is leaving the country as fast as it can get ships to carry it away. Despite this, the unemployment problem is once more grave. The enlistment figures are in themselves a proof of that, for it is only when men cannot support themselves by industry that they turn to the army as a house of refuge. In April last there were 7,749 applicants for enlistment. Four months later there were 19,247, the number having grown with every month.

Naturally the masses will gain no relief by voting the Republican ticket, and probably most of them know it. The election points to a great restlessness, and evidently even Organised Labour, so profoundly conservative, is beginning to realise that success in its war against the powerful monopolies now dominant in the United States calls for a programme far more radical and drastic than any hitherto in use. Numerous articles in our exchanges testify to a sense of that; and, in defiance of official persecution, they show a boldness and intelligence which signify that the revolutionary movement of the masses in America is full of life.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ANARCHISTS AND DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—The old adage, "Adversity makes a man acquainted with strange bedfellows," would appear to be applicable to movements as well as individuals, for how else is it possible to explain "the attitude taken up by many Anarchists towards a Proletarian Dictatorship," as set forth in Comrade Plattin's letter under the above heading in last month's FREEDOM? But I am loth to believe that our movement can have fallen upon such evil days, and can only hope that our comrade is mistaken in thinking that many Anarchists have been converted to the view that "keen and convinced revolutionaries . . . must be ready to play the role of a strong Government" (italics mine). For this would mean that large numbers of our comrades had gone over to the ranks of a Proletarian State Socialism which would be no less objectionable than any other form of State Socialism. (Instead of developing the argument on this point, I will save time and space by referring disputants to Lenin's pamphlets entitled "The Soviets at Work" and "The State and Revolution.")

Comrade Plattin seems to infer that we are in the position of having only the choice between two admitted evils, viz.: two Dictatorships—one Plutocratic and the other Proletarian. But is this really the case? The so-called Capitalist Dictatorship is a condition of things which could not exist for a fortnight in the absence of the willingness of large sections of the workers to play the dirty game of assisting the parasites in perpetuating the wage-slave system, thereby incidentally procuring their own damnation. After all, it is the worker who makes and uses the weapons by which, in the last resort, the existence of Capitalism, or any other form of slavery, is maintained. The remedy surely is to impress these facts upon the consciousness of the worker, instead of attempting to change old despotisms for new. Armies are essentially the implements of Authority, and no "Red" Army can possibly be an exception to this rule. If the anti-militarist principles of Anarchism are scrapped (temporarily, we shall be told) for the purpose of taking a supposed "short cut" to emancipation, the only result will be the building up of another huge organisation which will in the end, like all Power organisations, be used against the workers, this time by the particular faction which will succeed in identifying itself in the popular mind with THE REVOLUTION. In imitation of the French king who said "The State? I am the State," the Jacobins

of the Communist Party will proclaim "We are the Revolution!" and those who will then set out to become "the most notable and uncompromising opponents of the dictatorship called into being by the exigencies of the revolutionary crisis" will receive short shrift as traitors to the Revolution. Like the existence of "emergencies" under Law and Dora, the duration of the revolutionary crisis will be defined by the "powers that be" at the moment.

According to Lenin's estimate the "transition period from Capitalism to Communism" will last several generations, and who shall decide whether it will be ended even after that length of time? As Anarchists we have always been opposed to the idea of a post-mortem Socialism, for we believe that Liberty can be won as soon as the *Will to Liberty* is awakened. Towards that awakening all our energies should still be directed. We must not allow ourselves to be led in pursuit of a phantom Will-to-Power—to be side-tracked into the devious paths of fatalistic authoritarianism. Never, perhaps, has there been greater need for a definite, clear-cut Anarchist propaganda. We must indeed utilise the lessons of history, as taught by the French and Russian Revolutions, even to the extent of profiting by the demonstration of their mistakes and limitations, instead of blindly imitating their example. And finally, though we be dubbed "doctrinaires" and "Kropotkinists," let us not follow the fanatics of Marxism in their utter lack of psychology, but hold firmly to the principles of Liberty, which are the only sure road to the well-being of all.—Fraternally yours,

TOM SENHOUSE.

ANARCHISM AND BOLSHEVISM.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR SIR,—Mr. Oxley, judging from his letter, could have replied to Mr. Winter admirably. I fully agree with him, with one reservation. Two years ago, as he does now, I tentatively suggested Liberty communities. Since then the feeling grows that they are neither feasible nor desirable: the influence of the higher (Liberty) man should not be lost by segregation.

Mr. Winter instead of clearing his mind of abstractions and being a living Liberty example, states prejudices which blind him to the fact that there is a more desirable way of getting Security. He must cease to think that the consciousness of Lord Leverhulme or Winston Churchill is any more important than his own or the people who listen to him; to do this is Looking to the Top, which is a Power prejudice. Nor must he think that Tyranny can be abolished by the same kind of men as keep it going. Another prejudice he voices is that taking sides is an aid to Progress; it is only when conscious men can be got to take sides that Exploitation of them becomes safe and easy. Any man who points out Tyranny, Servility and Deception is said to belong to the other side. Hence Mr. Winter's suggestion that the Liberty Ideal is more suitable for the *Morning Post* than for FREEDOM. Does he wish the editor to refuse any letters which do not cloud men's consciousness, and which do not advocate Power's blind inharmonious violence? Socialists often say "let us copy the capitalist,"; it is easy to understand—they are all obsessed by a belief in the necessity of Power over each other. Fortunately Power men while they are clouding men's consciousness are at the same time developing them; it is the higher man's task to clear them. The new general widespread growth of consciousness is one of the most encouraging features of the Life of to-day. It may be hindering the abundant production for the World Market (see "News from Nowhere") which the old unconscious Tyranny-Servility made possible, still the loss is more apparent than real, as much of it was only rubbish made for profit and leading to luxury and waste. As men get their new consciousness cleared, as it reaches out from themselves and embraces all, one expects them to make an end of the T.S.D. and Fear as the links between the chains of human life and put in place of them the impulse to be helpful and attractive to all.

The alternatives are the end of our civilization, perished of Will-to-Power, the Eternal Recurrence of Barbarism of Nietzsche or the loss of the faculties of consciousness and thought (as hinderers of "Work") making us into a human ant hill. Should the higher men prevail one expects that the cessation of the thwarting of the impulse for Liberty which now causes so much apparently wasted thought will allow thought and consciousness to be put into Artistic Production ranging from cottage gardens to Liberty Cathedrals. Art and Philosophy will no longer be tempted to prostitute themselves to Power.

When one is told that Economic Determinism compels men to build mansions when houses are required, make luxuries when short of needs and comforts, become units of militarism or join staffs of superfluous attendants when the old, the sick and the weak are neglected, it shows that the possibilities of a widespreading of the Liberty impulse have been lost sight of. Socialism and Anarchism are movements which owe their impetus to being based on a conception of a more desirable social intercourse, which is only possible to a higher kind of Life—the Higher Life of Thoreau—the Higher Men and the Superman of Nietzsche.

I and my friends do put many of these impulses into action; as the ideal spreads and larger numbers help us, we shall be able to do still more.

Respect for abstractions and Power's inharmonious violence is

only necessary for security and one can only aid Progress by leaving them. I do not ask any one to leave them abruptly. Life is made up of imperceptible gradations and Progress is the same. I ask them to find out the characteristics of the higher man and make themselves shade by shade more like him. This week I asked a London lecturer on "Economic Laws," "What law which a man with a consciousness can respect made some people short of food while around him were folk with so much that they could afford to waste it?" He gave me no answer.

"Waste, misery and degradation" are inevitable in the Power Life which Mr. Winter is not helping to get rid of.

"Capitalism," notwithstanding Mr. Winter's statement and the use of the term by Authority (Power), is not Reality; it is unmatched in Life or Nature. "Down with Capitalism" as a battle-cry commits a man to no real change in the mode of Life, should his Power organization prove victorious; it is only another of what Bakunin called the "devouring abstractions, the vampires of history, ever nourished on human blood."—Yours, etc.,

SIDNEY COOPER.

[Now that both sides have stated at length their points of view, we think this correspondence should cease.—ED. FREEDOM.]

FOR ORGANISED EFFORT.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—I was really struck by the publication of the desire laid down in a letter you received from our French comrades as to their making a serious effort to bring into direct communication the adherents of Free Individualism. Apart from the principal and theoretical side of the question, I wish to draw your attention to the practical side. For years we, the Dutch Communist Anarchists, have been striving for the creation of an international organisation. The Dutch Individualists were not in favour of that idea. I remember, however, that an international organisation was founded at the Anarchist Congress at Amsterdam in 1907, and our comrade A. Shapiro was acting as secretary in London. I do not know what has become of that International, for since then I have never heard of it. But the idea is still living amongst the Communist Anarchists, especially at the present time. The "social patriots" have their International, and also the authoritarian Communists. The Third International of Moscow is known all over the world. Even my little children are speaking of it, and I foresee the Third International is going to rule the international Labour movement.

The Anarchists are criticising it, but what have they built up themselves? What International can they show to the libertarian elements amongst the workers as a concrete living thing?

The Syndicalists are also at fault. The Dutch Syndicalists are not affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions, guided by Appleton and Co. They neglected, however, to oppose to this reformist International an International on a revolutionary basis, and therefore the French "Minoritaires," for instance, joined the Third International of Moscow, violating the principles and traditions of Syndicalism.

The working of the Third International should have given an impetus to both Anarchists and Syndicalists to convene an international conference with a view to concentrating their organised forces, and I think steps should be taken in this direction.

The Dutch movement is dying away from lack of organisation. I am not acquainted with the state of affairs in other countries, but I doubt whether the Anarchist movement is of great significance in the actual social period we have reached. I regret this, and therefore a remedy should be found which would enable us to exercise our influence upon the international Labour movement.

The propaganda made by the Communists is enormous. We cannot deny that. Their organisers and agitators are arousing the masses. They know how to sway their audiences, and are considered as Messiahs who have been sent by Providence to liberate the working class. Labour puts its hope and faith in the Communists and Saint Moscovia.

We, the Communist Anarchists, have to prove that we are not dreaming of ideals which will be realised in a far distant future, but we have to do practical work by preaching our ideas and spreading our views amongst the toilers. We have to agitate and to organise nationally and internationally.

I therefore propose to deal with this question in your paper and to open discussions on it.—Yours fraternally,

Rotterdam.

S. VAN DEN BERG,
Secretary of the Netherlands Transport
Workers Federation.

In a letter too long for reproduction our comrade H. OAKLEY also deals with the question of organisation, and says:—"The object of the conference proposed for last Easter, which came to naught, was for the purpose of initiating discussion on organisation, the question of tactics in the light of the Russian Revolution, and other important items. . . . I appeal for an immediate conference in London to get a foundation built at once—the need is imperative."

THE FIRST AMERICAN ANARCHIST.

Each being should be a law unto himself without violating the like freedom of any other person. . . . Under the plausible pretext of protecting person and property governments spread wholesale destruction, famine, and misery over the earth where peace and security might otherwise have prevailed.—JOSIAH WARREN.

The following sketch of Warren's career is taken from the excellent study of Warren by Wm. Bailie, published by Small, Maynard and Co., Boston. He was born in Boston in 1798, and as a young man was a keen follower of Robert Owen, and he decided to join his grand experiment which was then being inaugurated at New Harmony. But Warren did not, as so many did, leave this unsuccessful experiment a bitter reactionary. On the contrary, he left it as a serious student who had spent his time to good purpose, in studying the causes of the New Harmony failure. Warren believed the chief causes of this dismal failure were the suppression of individuality and the lack of individual responsibility, defects which Warren concluded were inseparable from authoritarian Communism. All the affairs of this community were ordered either by the will of the majority or by Owen as proprietor. Personal liberty was at a discount, incentive to individual effort was lacking, and each was inclined to ascribe the faults of the system to the shortcomings of his neighbour. He was convinced, therefore, that the basis of all future reform must be complete individual liberty. "Man seeks freedom as the magnet seeks the pole or water its level, and society can have no peace until every member is really free." This cannot be under the existing organisation and ideas of society. For the future society new principles are needed. The first of these is individuality. The sovereignty of every individual must at all times be held inviolable. Every one should be free to dispose of his person, his time, and his produce as he pleases. But always at his own cost. The cost of production was to be made the limit of price. This is the core of Warren's teaching. Thus, Warren, before Marx or Proudhon, and as early as 1827, enunciated the principle that *Labour creates all wealth*.

Such are the views that Warren had arrived at when, at the age of twenty-nine, he returned to Cincinnati to open his first Equity Store, designed to illustrate the cost principle as applied to commerce. When the advantages of this store were understood it became the most popular mercantile institution in the city. It was known as the "Time Store," because of the original method adopted to fix and to regulate the amount of the merchant's compensation. This was determined upon the principle of the equal exchange of labour, measured by the time occupied, and exchanged hour for hour with other kinds of labour. A clock hung in a conspicuous place in the store. In comes a customer to make his purchases. All goods are marked with the price in plain figures, which is their cost price plus a nominal percentage to cover freight, shrinkage, rent, etc., usually about 4 cents on the dollar. The purchaser selects what he needs, with not overmuch assistance or prompting from the salesman, and pays for the same in money. The time spent by the merchant in waiting upon him is now calculated by reference to the clock, and in payment for this service the customer gives his labour note, something after this form: "Due to Josiah Warren, on demand, thirty minutes in carpenter work.—J. Smith." The storekeeper thus agreed to exchange his own time for an equal amount of the time of those who bought goods of him. Profits in the customary sense there were none.

Warren's store was also a magazine for the deposit of saleable products. A report of the demand was posted up each morning; the depositor was at liberty to take in exchange other goods to an equal amount from the store, or to take Warren's labour notes instead. As these labour notes were expressed in hours and not in dollars, it was found advisable to exhibit a list of the cost in labour-time of all staple articles.

The plan of accepting only such goods as were known to be in demand prevented a glut, and thus avoided the mistake which was largely responsible for the collapse of Owen's Labour Exchange in London.

So apparent were the advantages of equitable trading that the co-operative spirit spread rapidly, and the innovation affected the retail trade all over the city. Warren's store became a bureau for unemployed labour as well as a labour exchange.

Warren now determined to test his principles on a larger scale, by applying them to a community on the land; so he terminated the store experiment after two years' successful operations, and although he only enjoyed a very modest livelihood from this venture, he had gained the utmost confidence in the soundness of the simple principle of full individual liberty and responsibility as the only basis for social harmony and prosperity.

In 1847 Warren set out to demonstrate that people whose only means was their labour-power and free access to natural resources could in a short time, by exchanging their labour on equitable terms, build their own houses, supply their own necessities, and attain to comfort and prosperity. Warren found at Claremont six families who had formerly belonged to a Communist enterprise there, which had failed as he had predicted, and who now were almost destitute. Land was secured on very fair terms from a friend of Warren's, and in six months most of the families had good houses, nearly or wholly paid for. This

little reciprocating society grew into the village known as Utopia, and had the surrounding land not been controlled by speculators this experiment would have expanded considerably.

In 1850 Warren moved to New York, where he expounded his doctrine of individualistic co-operation, and later took part in the venture on Long Island, known as Modern Times, a colony founded upon the equity principle. Moncure D. Conway visited Modern Times in 1858, and was very favourably impressed; he published a description of the village and its inhabitants in the *Fortnightly Review* (July 1, 1865), and refers to it in his Autobiography. Modern Times prospered until the Civil War, when most of its inhabitants were dispersed. Although Warren did not aspire to be a leader, his ideas attracted considerable attention, and were represented in England by Bronterre O'Brien and others. The closing years of his life were occupied with valuable printing inventions, for aiding the propagation of his ideas. He died in 1874.

S. C. P.

"The Upper Classes."

Look at the ordinary industrious citizen. He wants to "get on" in his beastly trade, and to have a house in Mayfair and a place in the country, and marry his daughters well, and get into Parliament, and have a title to clap on to his squalid name. Or perhaps he wants to be applauded in the papers and be treated as a personage wherever he goes. I ask you if these are ambitions for a white man?

Last time I was at home I went with Blanche to a ball at the Templetons. It was a big affair—royalty and ambassadors and a brace of foreign grand dukes, one of whom once hunted with me in the Selkirks. I stood for about half-an-hour beside a pillar and watched and meditated. The noise round about me was just like the jabbering of monkeys in a Malayan forest. None of the people looked you squarely in the eyes, and the women had all faces like marionettes. I saw my aunt's head bobbing and grinning, and her talk was some scandal about her oldest friend. Two fellows were standing near me—one was in the Cabinet and the other was a tremendous legal swell—and they were laughing at some of Manton's last sayings. Hanged if I could see any humour in 'em! One of the two came and spoke to me afterwards, and said he supposed the scene must be a pleasant change to me after the Congo. I told him it wasn't much of a change, only the monkeys were caged instead of running wild on the tree-tops. He laughed as if I had said something funny. After a bit I got very sad and sober. Young girls passed me with romance still in their eyes, and others, a little older, with the romance dead. I seemed to be looking on at a vast puppet-show, and I began to wonder if anybody was alive except myself. And then the comedy of it struck me, and I laughed to myself till people turned round to look at me, and Blanche came and asked me if I was ill. Of course, it was a game, and a good enough game, but yet to most of the people it was a tremendous reality, all they knew of life, and they would have shrieked in holy horror if I had told them that they represented not the last word in civilisation, but a return to a very early stage of barbarism. The rough fellow clearing trees with an axe for his home was miles further up the scale of being than they.

JOHN BUCHAN ("A Lodge in the Wilderness").

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

- Soviets in Russia and Britain.* By Colonna. 1d. London: International Communist Federation, 44 Micheldever Road, S.E.12.
- Influence of the Great War upon Shipping.* By J. Russell Smith. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
- Le Problème de la Liberté.* Par Paul Gille. Bruxelles: Maurice Lamertin, 58-62 Rue Coudenberg.
- Die Prinzipienklärung des Syndikalismus.* Von Rudolf Rocker.—*Wie fördern wir den kulturellen Rückgang der Geburten.* Von Dr. Alfred Bernstein.—*Organisierte direkte Aktion.* Von Karl Roche. Berlin: Fritz Kater, Kopernikusstrasse 25, O 34.
- Die Waffen nieder! Die Hämmer nieder!* Rede des Genossen Rocker. Berlin: Hans Patersen, N.W.23.
- Application du Communisme en pleine Société Bourgeoise.* 60 cent. Paris: Conseils d'Ouvriers Syndiqués, 88 Rue Pelleport, XXème.

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