“Communism and Anarchism,” A Reply to William Morris.

 CONTENTS

 Between Ourselves.

 The London Society of Compositors

 Mammon.
 Cartoon. By G. F. Watts, R.A.

 Why I Advocate Physical Force.
 By G. Lawrence.

 Mammon Worship.
 By R. Catterton-Smith.

 An Anarchist on Anarchy.
 By Elisee Reclus.

 My Uncle Benjamin.
 By Clarence Tillier.

 International Notes.

 A JOURNAL OF

 ANARCHIST COMMUNISM

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"COMMUNISM AND ANARCHISM:"
"AN ANARCHISTS' REPLY."

I have read with considerable satisfaction William Morris' reasons for being a Communist. Morris says: "I am a Communist because, amongst other reasons, I believe that a Communal Society could deal with every problem with which a capitalist Society has to struggle to deal, but with free hands and therefore with infinitely better chance of success. I believe that a Communal Society would bring about a condition of things in which we should be really wealthy, because we should have all the material things that we wanted to produce; that we should have so much leisure from the production of what are called "utilities," that any group of people would have leisure to satisfy its cravings for what are usually looked upon as superfluities, such as works of art, research into facts, literature, the unspoiled beauty of nature; matters that to my mind are utilities also, being the things that make life worth living but which at present nobody can have in their fulness." To this I reply, as an Anarchist, heartily subscribe.

And when Morris further states that he does not believe in Catastrophical Communism, I add, neither do I, nor that our end will be gained by open war. How then? Morris believes that we shall reach it by using the Parliamentary method, that is, by sending elected Socialists into Parliament who will decreed for the workers an improved life, "better livelihood more leisure, in short treatment as citizens, not as machines."

That is all very well. I am never sorry to see our fellow beings in the Houses of Parliament show evidence of their humanity, but when these individuals have expressed their views on such matters, wrangled over them, written them on parchment, dated them A.D., and so, and Cap, such a one, sealed them with seals, they have done their share of the work and there still remains the putting of their laws into practice, which is immeasurably the more important part. Men and women are now asking themselves all over the world — why can we not improve our lives without waiting for Parliament to decree that we shall do so?

Many have come to see that this very waiting for someone outside to order a new state of things, is just as futile as attempts at catastrophic reform, that the directive of men's thoughts and hopes towards benefits to result from delegated duties is misleading, that, in short, the immediate and active participation of each individual to the best of his ability in changing his own life is the only real way to change the whole wind of cooperation with one's true cooperation in and the things most needed to develop healthier conditions. The individual effects towards the realization of our hopes, however small, are and can be the only signs of our growth towards Socialism. Anarchist Socialism demands these signs. Its development depends upon them, as indeed must every development whether of a nation as a whole or of its component parts, the human beings, now artificially divided into a government and governed.

Perhaps there are some who, like the sheep that Parnell set hoping overhead by throwing their bell-wether into the waves, will not act without following a leader. Well, the Anarchists cannot but regret that there should be such, and think that at least they ought to have some better reason for following than those sheep had, and that when they move, they should do so, not because their leader jumped in a certain direction, but because they want to go that way themselves.

The advocates of the use of state machinery ask Anarchists from time to time what they propose as a substitute. We propose certainly to use existing organizations, but wish that these exist in a way which will allow people to make use of them. We are not afraid of the task of creating new organizations. We have been admittedly most harassed by present conditions, and through their trade combinations make the present moist mists that William Morris wants made by Socialism to be blown away. Each trade union knows what things its members lack, or rather each member knows what is needful for him. Let us find, and these they should straightway demand in return for what they produce. They want prima facie decent homes to live in, suitable garments to wear, wholesome food to eat and leisure to enjoy these things. The rest will follow.

The wonder is that the workers have not insisted long since upon these things being supplied from some of the wealth they produce. Surely this has been because they were not fully conscious of their needs and of their rights. Socialist teachings have helped and are helping the fullest among them to attain this knowledge; without it the most beneficent acts of parliament would be so much waste-paper; with it what need is there for traveling the roundabout parliamentary road.

Again we say that supposing the workers to have obtained the sanction of the House of Lords and Commons to their living a decent life, they have still to organize so as to live that life and herein lies the whole and true difficulty.

The business of Socialists is to keep the development of the individual as a most necessary part of the development of the Community he lives in, ever before the minds of those they wish to socialize. Man, it has been said, cannot exist outside Society. Society will necessarily find a new subject for itself in the individual. Both are necessary to each other and of equal importance. No Socialist can be more fully aware of these facts than the Anarchists, therefore, for William Morris to suppose that Anarchism is a negation of Society, shows clearly that his exponents of Anarchism did not themselves understand or that William Morris is at present incapable of understanding it by reason of his head being too full of schemes for the socializing of Parliament.

Perhaps the best thing for Anarchists to say to such Socialists as William Morris would be, "If you think you will reform society through the ballot box by all means try to do so, but I claim the right to use other methods. Your ballot box shall not have control over my life. My methods shall not hinder yours. If we are honest and our methods just, we must meet eventually at the point towards which we are both tending. Good luck go with us!"

There is no despair, idealized or otherwise among the Anarchists, of Evolution. What is spreading are gaining adherents every hour, and in the "genuine and spontaneous" growth of socialism among the working classes there is more cause for hope to the Anarchist, who believes in organization without domination, than to the State-socialist, who can only exist where the masses remain in ignorance of their power. All things are setting our way. The greatest thinkers, dreamers, poets, including William Morris, men of science, the most intelligent among the professors of religion are all in favor of Anarchism. The workers and the toilers are growing daily, and fully, and they are, as well as we, demanding the change as promptly as possible.

The spirit of the age is changing and then the form. We see, or rather hear, of rich men ashamed of their riches, because they doubt the purity of their source. Everyone is maternal, ashamed of their poverty because it has been in these days to their heart's work men in the belief to become less and more of their fellow workers. William Morris is in fact becoming to them the most precious thing, better than mere wage, trade union officials are choosing to receive the fruits of their union, because they think that they can be more helpful to their societies as ordinary members and they do not care to sell their help for a pittance, our youth prefer to
The London Society of Compositors.

This Society has in the past been looked upon as a model trades union, and the members generally are not very slow to take credit to themselves for belonging to it. There can be no doubt that as a trade organization it has had a remarkably successful career, but the last three or four years or so should have shown the members that the old conservative policy is well nigh useless to grapple with the present economic conditions. In this respect I conclude it is the same as other trade unions.

The capital of the society has decreased about £10,000 during the past three years. Last year it paid out £11,636 in unemployed allowances, and its out-of-work members averaged about 6 per cent. of a total membership of 10,000. It is, perhaps, scarcely necessary to say that the object of a trades union is to safeguard the interests of its members for the sale of the only commodity possessed by the workers, viz., labour power; but this fact appears to be entirely ignored by the great majority of the L.S.C., amongst whom may be counted those who are mainly responsible for the conducting of its affairs.

The card of membership covers a multitude of sins. We find members who, whilst they are determined to be paid the minimum rate of wages, are equally determined to keep their situations; to do which they may considerably more than their wages (of course I am now speaking from the trade union standpoint, but I recognize the curse of the wage system) and allow the scale to be violated in various ways.

It is the boast of the L.S.C. that this scale was mutually agreed upon at a joint committee of masters and men, which boast in itself illustrates the composition of the society, as I am fully convinced that in this instance the masters agreed to the scale because they had considerably less than the agreement, the men, because they either did not recognize their true interests, or had not the courage to insist upon them. It is apparent that if a man does £2 worth of work for £1 wages he must be working against himself and against his fellow workers, as well as against his professed principles—he is no more a trades unionist than the man without the trade card. Although individual members are much to blame in this respect, it is the members as a body who are most in fault, this being the composition they banded themselves together to avoid.

In the various trades where machinery has been introduced, the workers have been almost unanimously been convinced that it would be a failure, believing that no machinery could do their work; nevertheless machinery has done it, and the compositors are just awakening to the fact that the introduction of machinery is no more impossible to their trade than the others. Committees have been sitting in conjunction with the provincial societies to consider this question, the great object of which appears to be that the machine operators shall be paid a little extra, ignoring altogether the lot of those who will be thrown out of work by their introduction. So it amounts to this, that H to Z have been bearing a large proportion of the expense of these deliberations to enable A to G to get a slight increase in wages, with the greatest certainty that they themselves will be thrown out of work. Now with the increasing number of unemployed, the decreasing capital, the increasing working expenses, and the successful introduction of machinery, it will be interesting to know how long the members of this society will be allowed to make any attempt to discuss their position, to be sheltered by the Executive (which has hitherto been done) to say nothing of embroiling to better their condition.

How long will they refuse to recognize that a large unemployed army is a direct entrenchment to their masters to reduce the wages and very likely try to break their combination? Do they not see the absurdity of expecting the unemployed to support a union which looks upon them as unworthy members, notwithstanding they are allowed the magnificent amount of £1.05 (or less) per week to live upon (and how long before they determine upon a policy, not for better wages merely, but for using their combination to help to work out their emancipation from the accursed system of wage-slavery?

My Uncle Benjamin.

Chapter II.

Who My Uncle Was.

My uncle Benjamin lived at his sister's; he was five feet ten inches in height, carried a big sword at his side, and wore a coat of scarlet taffeta, breaches of the same color and material, powdered his hair, and looked the grand old man of the family. His coat was so big that it almost covered his whole person. He was the most aristocratic person I ever saw. His coat was so big that it almost covered his whole person. He was the most aristocratic person I ever saw. His coat was so big that it almost covered his whole person. He was the most aristocratic person I ever saw. His coat was so big that it almost covered his whole person. He was the most aristocratic person I ever saw. His coat was so big that it almost covered his whole person. He was the most aristocratic person I ever saw.

Nevertheless my uncle Benjamin was not what you lightly term a drunkard, make no mistake about that. He was an epicurean who pushed philosophy to the point of intoxication,—that was all. He had a very elevated and distinguished stomach. He loved wine, not for itself, but for that short-lived madness which it brings, a madness which engenders in the man of wit an unreasonableness so naive, puerile, and original that one almost prefers it to reason. He could have intoxicated himself by reading the mass every day. My uncle Benjamin had principles; he maintained that a fasting man was a man still asleep; that intoxication would have been one of the greatest blessings of the Creator, if it had not injured the head, and that the only thing that made man superior to the brute was the faculty of getting drunk.

Reason, said my uncle, amounts to nothing; it is simply the power of feeling present evils and remem-bering them. The privilege of abstracting one's reason is the only thing of value. You say that the man who draws his reason in wine brutalizes himself; it is the pride of caste that makes you hold to that opinion. Do you really think, then, that the condition of the brute is worse than your own? When you are tormented by hunger, you would like very much to be the ox that feeds in grass up to his belly; when you are in prison, you would like very much to be the bird that clasps the azure of the skies with a free wing; when you are on the point of being turned out of house and home, you
Between Ourselves.

Colonel Majoreau’s assertion that Martial Beurdin’s “intentions were the immediate cause of the explosion” probably sounds reasonable to the ordinary observer, but it is important to distinguish between what we may call the natural and the anthropological. The State Magazine seems to be advice to give a prize to the most practical lesson to the desperate, wounded or diseased set we who work to regenerate society by promoting dynamic explosions, as in the February issue an article on “Panacea and Panopticons” in which detailed illustrations and explanations are given of the various devices and methods used to control the sources of evil. The illustrations appear to be from official photographs.

The arrest of Colonel St. Martin has excited quite a sensation not only with Anarchists and Socialists but also with the public, and to him he has a number of personal friends, and sympathy, being well known as a lawyer and writer on political and economic matters.

Among his contributions to the Social Question, we will only mention two of his most important books, viz: “La Violence” and “Panopticon”, both of which have been widely read in Italy as it also contains valuable and well arranged documents on the exploitation by the financial blackguards.
MAMMON WORSHIP

By R. CATTERTSON SMITH.

Watts' picture is devoted to the worshipers of Mammon. At first sight the meaning of "Mammon" seems plain, but when I turn upon my thoughts to examine them more carefully, the meaning and its bearings are not so evident. Appealing to the dictionary I find that mammon means riches, or with a large M the God of riches. Turning to the "Book," Jesus says: "Ye cannot serve God and mammon." Meaning one cannot seek riches on the path to God. The God in this case demanding self-renunciation as the highest tribute.

All things considered it seems that Mammon is the God of those who seek to gain power to indulge themselves, and cut a fine figure, without regarding the consequences of their actions upon others. Here crops up the question of "the consequences of their actions upon others," and it is just in that, that the hardest nut to crack comes. Men certainly are right to do the best for themselves. The man with foresight and energy sees his way to prosperity, and attains it, he sees the food he is to eat come, and void of gift, with little or no food sight, plodding along with a ring in his nose led by riches, and he naturally thinks he is the king which ought to be, and sees in himself Nature's product of many horses and his carriages, his place, his pictures, his innumerable living and beautiful wife. And why not? because well, I cannot argue, although I believe it for ever right for a man to do the best for himself, it does not follow that the best should be the reward of the pursuers of riches disregarding the welfare of others, and that brings me back to Watts's picture. For in it he has given his opinion on the matter, or perhaps rather the opinion of many or most of the greatest moralists of this and ages.

There sits the God, and at his feet his victims. He has attained the very presence of their God, to look upon the vanity of riches for surely there never was an emptier attainment. Look at the features of the God. The eyes are no longer stupidly they are like eyes of prophet. There is neither love nor possibility in them; they cannot perceive anything; they are as hopeless as death. The forehead is wrinkled and withered; the mouth flabby, and without a more sink. Many such faces may be found amongst us decorating the heads of some of our provident citizens. Look again, the eyes are as to denote an inner sub-consciousness. On either side of this empty head is another, not more empty, human skull, but decorations to the regal seat, for to the God Mammon, art is of no avail, he being blind. Drop your eyes from this head over the gold broadened mantle which by the way, has no show of art upon it, but is gaily only, to the grasping hands, the right clutches ruthlessly by the bun a female, tender, beautiful and young, meaning I take it, to convey the idea that beauty is not used but abused by Mammon. This woman may be the type of worshipers who have gained all that riches can give, or of those less unhappy victims who have suffered from the consequences of the pursuit of riches by others, i.e., the workwomen. Under the left foot manhood lies crushed, again whether it be the attainer of riches or the poor slaves who minister to the wants of such it matters not. The whole scene taken as a whole impresses me with the silence and horror of a charnel house.

Now though I believe the pursuit of riches leads to the throne of an uncreative God, a God of consumption only yet, I do not believe that the cure of the evil has to be try, to persuade people to give up the pursuit of power, for I do not think they will, so long as the possibility of riches is left open to individuals. So long as we allow a monopoly of the means of life and comfort, we shall have the ruthless, selfish, clever, rich, and strong men to waste life's highest possibilities. And when, the first steps towards closing the paths to this wasteful power, is in the direction of the common ownership of the earth and the tools necessary for production. I cannot after dwelling on these unpleasant aspects of life, return from adding the hope inspiring words of Shelley, so far off the outcast of self-renunciation or the brutal self-indulgence of mammonism.

\[\text{MAMMON.}\]

By G. F. Wattis, R.A.

If you divide please good and bad, and blest.
Each part exceeds the whole, and we know not
How much, what part remains behind.
To pleasure may be added, or may be added;
The truth that does well, elsewhere may show
The move confused of many, and each other.
By which, though we, to enjoin the word of life
Is a garden razed, and whose parts
Trees for the possession of a truth.
The wilds of life are dear.

"England has become a nation of thieves. Every body is trying to rob everybody else, and that not bravely and strongly, but in the cowardly and base ways of lying treachery."

John By"
One day my cousin Page, a lawyer in the bailiwick of Clamecy, came to invite him together with Machecourt to celebrate Saint Yves. The dinner was to take place at a well-known tea-garden situated within two gun-shots of the fouleuvre; the guests, moreover, were a select party. Benjamin would not have given that evening for an entire week of his ordinary life. So after vessels and grandfather, adorned in his wedding coat, and my uncle, with his sword at his side, were at the rendezvous.

Almost all the guests were there. Saint Yves was magnificently represented in this assembly. In the first place there was Page, the lawyer, who never pleased a case except between two glasses of wine; the clerk of the court, who was in the habit of writing while asleep, the government attorney, Rapan, who, having received as a present from a litigant a cask of tart wine, had him cited before the court that he might get a better one from him; Artus, the notary, who had been known to eat a whole salmon for his dessert; Millet-Ratant, poet and trior, author of "Grand Noël"; an old architect that had not been sober for twenty years; M. Muxat, a doctor of the neighborhood, who consulted armies; two or three notable merchants, notable, that is, for their gaudy and appetites; and some huntsmen, who had provided the table with an abundance of game. At night they pronounced all the guests a show and a welcome, and declared that it was time to sit down to table.

During the first two courses all went well. My uncle was.charming with his wit and his sallies; but at dessert heads began to grow hot; all commenced shouting at once.

Soon the conversation was nothing but a confusion of epigrams, oaths, and sallies, bursting out together and stifling each other, the whole making noise like that of a dozen glasses clashing against each other simultaneously.

To be continued.

Liberty the Mother of Order.

Order springs from the free activity of all; there is no government. Whoso lays a hand upon me to govern me is a usurper and a tyrant. I declare him my enemy.

WHY I ADVOCATE PHYSICAL FORCE
TO ELIMINATE THE AGGRESSIVE FORCE OF THE GOVERNING CLASS.

By G. LAWRENCE.

In order to make clear my advocacy of such force as has been used on the Continent (and which will now be used sooner or later in this country too) it is well to state what position in, or rather outside, Society it is from which I have to deal with the social problem.

I am an economic slave; that is, I have to sell my labour, being the only thing I possess, to anyone who will purchase it; considering myself lucky if even I can sell it to advertise the adulterated food which passes me, to build a church which robs me of my intellect, to build a wall which prevents my looking upon natural scenery; or, worst of all, to advertise the candidate for office whose interests I believe to be diametrically opposed to mine; I am in a vice. I must used myself to help do some job I would rather not have done or I must starve if I refuse to sell myself. I am a slave because I cannot choose my work according to my aptitude or my principles; a slave because I must starve, beg, or steal, if not employed on the terms I had down by another; a slave because I cannot choose whether, even outside of my own, I will be employed and so be able to live or not. A slave, because Society treats me not as one of its members, but as a tool or a weapon, to be disposed of at any market value like a bag of timber or a bale of goods. I must do the
holding of the commercialist if I choose to live, the alternative is starvation and death. Thus, being an economic slave, I have no political rights.

Now while those who form Society, i.e., those who hold the property of the nation and as a consequence enjoy political freedom, are discussing the situation, I am suffering under it. It must not be forgotten that there are plenty of nostrums advocated for the regeneration of Society, by men who are politically free. Hundreds of nostrums; but no particular hurry come to any agreement about them. And it only comes to view the many schemes put forward, it is plain that the advocates of the same are only willing to do something, provided only that the something to be done does not affect the sclerger's in individual position. The consequence is that nothing actually is done. It is all very natural: self-preservation is the first law of nature. But we must remember that the economic slave is also a natural being, and must therefore act in precisely the same way.

It is because I believe so strongly in the law of self-preservation that I predict, that the conflicting schemes propounded by the proper class, each of which schemes is so devised as not to interfere with the present position of those who devise them, will inevitably fail. What then? The same natural law which thus robs the rulers of power, will assert itself in the slaves, causing them to revolt at the only means of self-preservation which they possess, namely, physical force. They will thus compel Society either to make concessions or to dissolve. In the latter case a new society would begin to grow according to the real aspirations of the people who, having no longer any immediate interests apart from the rest of humanity, would be inclined to act in a perfectly just and equitable way. But now what about acts of individual revolt? are they beneficial?

They are just as truly a natural phenomenon as the general revolution itself; justifiable, therefore, in the same way and proportionately beneficial. They are, as short, part and parcel of the total revolution, an important part, as much as they contribute to its success. Letting upon the attention of Society the desperate condition into which it has got, bringing home to people otherwise indifferent, that something is really and radically wrong. This cannot but induce thought as to how matters can be remedied. Even though Society concludes that it is best to hang the individual, at least it has been moved. The chances are that when action becomes more frequent Society will begin to alter the manner of its response. Deeper consideration will be given, and minds thus unconsciously prepared for the actual revolution.

My belief is that through the acts of such men as Darrow, Tallus and Vaillant all Society is moved to give at least a passing thought to the social question; and the hard ground is broken for those whose task it is to teach the philosophy of that question.

"DEFEAT!"

Where it is not possible
fold a Carcass -
Is what I say to you.
To the power of Speech.

And such as you,
As such as you,
As such as you.

And Custom.

When it is not possible

To the power of Speech.

AN ANARCHIST ON ANARCHY.

"LIBERTY" 1831.

And we know the means whereby we can tune the very nature of our taxes. Our chart, as we may say, reveals the powers that are rooted in the soil by a race of serfs, our chart by any possible means to the root of the very thing. And in this manner we are able to think of our economic consciousness as a force of which we may make the most of it; a force which must be used in the service of those who can see the secret only that they may use it well. In England, above all, is this the case. Among aliens women who are committed to breed their boys to be a type of the whole nation, there are some who have seen the secret only that they may use it well. In England, above all, is this the case. Among aliens women who are committed to breed their boys to be a type of the whole nation, there are some who have seen the secret only that they may use it well.
Liberty Bookshelf.

The following can be obtained at the Office of "Liberty," or will be forwarded on receipt of stamps.

By Peter Kropotkin.

AN APPEAL, TO THE YOUNG. Translated from the French. Price Id.

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM. Its Basis and Principle. 36 pp. Price Id.

WAR. Reprinted from the "Anarchist." Price Id.

ANARCHIST MORALITY. 36 pp. Price Id.

THE PLACE OF ANARCHISM IN SOCIALISTIC EVOLUTION. Price Id.

LAW AND AUTHORITY. 21 pp. Price Id.

By William Morris.

MONOPOLY, OR HOW LABOR IS ROBBED. Price 1d.

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Freedom,Journal of Anarchist Communism. Monthly, One Penny

La Revolte, Organe Communiste Anarchiste. Weekly, Three halfpence.

Justice, Anarchist at the Bar. A Speech delivered at the Old Bailey by David Nicol in answer to a charge of "Subverting to murder," on May 5, 1892.