

Freedom

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MONTHLY ; ONE PENNY.

A WORD IN SEASON.

THE lost opportunity in Belgium last April should be a useful lesson to all Anarchists. There is little doubt that if our comrades had devoted as much energy to an active propaganda in the labor movement as to talking bombs and dynamite, the result, when the opportunity for action came, would have been very different. What might have been the beginning of a social revolution in Belgium has ended in a miserable fiasco. The workers have returned broken spirited to their round of toil; the middle classes, by an extended franchise which gives them three votes to every one vote of a worker, have riveted the chains more firmly on the neck of the proletariat.

Whose fault is it? The fault of the Social Democratic leaders, who have done their utmost to concentrate the attention of the masses on electoral reform, and to delude them as to the effect such political changes can have in bettering the condition of the people? Surely in part their fault. But by no means entirely.

Comrade Kropotkin, in an article in *La Révolte* for May 4th, addressed, of course, primarily to French-speaking Anarchists, has not minced matters. "Are we equal to the occasion?" he asks. And in the light of recent events does not hesitate to confess that the answer must be "No!"

It is all very well, he writes, to criticise the Social Democrats, but what have we Anarchist Communists been doing? The Social Democrats may have checked the aspirations of the people, but what have we done to arouse them? The Social Democrats may have organised the workers to agitate for petty objects, but what have we done towards organising them to agitate for larger ones? The Social Democratic leaders may indulge a bourgeois contempt for the masses, but are not we inclined to look down on all who have not risen to the level of Anarchist ideas?

There are Anarchists whose Anarchism seems largely to consist in posing as Terrorists; but what has such a pose to do with the reality of Anarchist Communism? All insurgent parties have practised terrorism in turn at a certain stage of their development. The French clericals had their Charlotte Corday, who stabbed the People's Friend, Marat; Italian republicans, German political reformers, Polish and Irish nationalists, all have had their Terrorists: heroic men and women who have taken their lives in their hands to individually accomplish some deed of what they believed to be justice. Of such the Anarchist movement has also its share. Quite lately the Belgian Anarchists have had their Moineau, a man who will be counted amongst the noblest martyrs of humanity.

We have had our martyrs. Also we have had comrades ready to take a hall by assault, ready to defend their arguments by physical force, ready to be torn in pieces by enraged adversaries. What the French and Belgian movements have not yet had is men filled with persuasive power, travelling through all the land, as Favrelli did through Spain in the days of Bakounine; winning the attention of the earnest and thoughtful in each village, each town, each district; leaving behind in each place a little group of convinced Anarchists, ready to federate with other groups, and thus form a revolutionary nucleus for the whole labor party. In Spain this propaganda formed an active, consciously Anarchistic element in the labor movement, which has never died down. Consequently the Anarchist Socialist movement there is larger, stronger, more influential than anywhere else.

It is not one or two but numbers of such men the Anarchist movement requires at this moment. Men known to the people, like Jack Burns is known in England, not merely when they come before some law-court to be condemned to penal servitude for some revolutionary act, but known long and well in the every-day struggles of the labor movement. Men known, loved and listened to as brothers, because while they have a larger revolutionary ideal they live the same life, are possessed with the same hates as the masses, and are ready to risk their skin in any strike and outbreak, however small its immediate object.

A few men of this sort, and the Belgian uprising would have turned out differently. Even if defeated, it would have left its mark on history.

Very many of our readers will find themselves in hearty sympathy with the point of view expressed in the article we thus summarise. For some time past the reports in our propaganda column have shown how English and Scottish Communist Anarchist groups are endeavoring to extend their activity through the country round them; how they appeal to the people Sunday by Sunday in large open air meetings in summer, and by means of a series of indoor lectures and discussions in winter; how many comrades are taking active part in their trades unions and other voluntary labor organisations. Letters from Bristol lately

show that comrades in that centre have been taking active part in the recent labor troubles. There is an obvious tendency in the English Anarchist movement as it grows to take this practical direction. But, comrades, how slow the growth is, and how greatly the tendency needs strengthening! We cannot afford to overlook the lesson of the Belgian fizzle.

If we, as convinced Anarchists, have made up our minds that parliamentary action does more harm than good, it behoves us to make energetic use of all other agencies which seem to us less pernicious. We must protest against the parliamentary delusion by the way, but our main work is to use any and every existing voluntary association, which we can join without compromise of principle, as a means for introducing the thin edge of the Communist Anarchist wedge into daily social life.

When every trade union, every co-operative society, every club, every voluntary association of workers has amongst its members several convinced Anarchists, looking at every question from the Communist Anarchist point of view, and steadily and continually pulling in the direction of Communist Anarchism, then a true Social Revolution will be an immediate practical possibility. Then there will be men in every district ready to seize the opportunity offered by a great strike, or even a political disturbance or war. Let us continue to form special Communist Anarchist groups for mutual help in direct propagandist work. Let all who can do so devote their time to public speaking and writing. But let us take warning by Belgium and avoid the fatal mistake of standing aloof from the daily practical interests of the mass of our fellow workmen. A true Social Revolution can never be brought about by a few enthusiasts. It is a change wrought throughout the inmost depths of the people; a change of heart and mind and spirit in enormous masses of men. Those over whom this change has already passed can only hasten it amongst their fellows by entering into and sharing their lives.

The Hull Strike.

OBSERVATIONS BY ONE ON THE SPOT.

THE old town of Hull has been awakened into activity by a dispute of gigantic proportions between capital and labor. The usually peaceful aspect of Hull has been changed; where once were quiet citizens, now soldiers with drawn swords, policemen with batons in their hands, riot, disturbance, fights, stone-throwing, etc., can be seen instead. The cause of the strike is still fresh within the memory of most readers of *Freedom*, i.e., how the shipowners determined to open what they termed a Labor Bureau, where those who registered themselves would receive a preference of work—which means that the trades unions would be broken. The local dockers' union, seeing this, in the first instance came out on strike as a protest against the covert attempt to bring about the disorganisation of the dockers. And from that moment a bitter war has been waged, so fierce and determined that it has filled the Shipping Federation with dismay. The poor dockers, with no funds at their back, were thought to be an easy prey for the capitalists, but they made a grievous mistake, for the dockers have turned out to be heroes in their troubles, and funds have poured into the town for their relief.

This strike has done much good for Socialism, and revolutionary ideas. Amongst old trades unionists the thought has been expressed to me that we are nearer the Revolution than many think. One in particular, who is very popular in Hull, confided to me that, although he was a law-abiding man, if the day of Revolution came, he himself would help to fight on the side of labor, and would be willing to die if necessary. And so on amongst the rank and file. Many have been converted to Revolutionary Socialism who have up to now been halting between Revolutionary v. Constitutional methods for the regeneration of society.

I was present when the first attempt was made to unload the ship *Romeo* with free (?) laborers. And what a sight greeted my eyes. Truly has it been said that the scum of the earth had been gathered together by the clever capitalist to outwit honest labor. They appeared to be men and boys who were willing to sell themselves to any one as long as they were paid for the bargained work. And I believe that they would as soon have "improved someone off the face of the earth" as merely kill a flea. About twenty "free" laborers on the ship, twelve police guarding it, and nearly a thousand dockers and spectators watching. A sight to make a cynic smile. The peaceful dockers calmly contemplating the "free" laborers at their attempt to work were jeered at and exasperated by the "free" laborers. And when the first bale was thrown from the ship on to the quay, the stevedore, within 3 yards of where I stood, calmly looked the dockers in the face (patting his

trouser pocket in which his revolver was secreted), and said, "This is the first bale, there are more to follow." When the dinner hour approached, an attempt was made by the "free" laborers to leave the ship, the stevedore taking the lead and boldly walking into the crowd of strikers. In one moment the crowd was upon him, in another he had drawn his revolver, keeping the crowd back. The twelve police had all their work cut out to save his life. I expected to see the handful of police and "free" laborers pushed into the dock. The strikers were timid, or else they would have done it. A rush was made for the shed a couple of hundred yards away. The crowd followed. It vented its wrath in stone-throwing, some of the "free" laborers and police being badly hit. The rush became a race: a stampede. So close did the crowd press the police that the stevedore, finding himself out of breath and in danger, drew his revolver again, fired twice into the air, and by this ruse they gained the shed. Thousands of people gathered round it, and the general expectation was that the police would be worsted, and the shed attacked. But the police arrived by scores, no more work was done that day, and little has been done since. And since that day the revolver has been a prominent weapon in the hands of the "free" laborers. The gunsmiths of Hull have been doing a roaring trade; one shop in particular having sold out the whole stock two or three times.

N.B. This should be a lesson to all workers. If the police allow "free" laborers to carry revolvers, the workers should also have some in case of need for defence. One "free" laborer was killed by clumsy use of firearms, one unionist was shot in the thigh by a "free" labor agent, heads have been split by the dozen, the Infirmary contains something like thirty patients through this strike, and *hundreds* have been batoned by the police. All quays and promenades are closed to the public, no one can go on them without a pass from the dock company. Wilson's firm has lent a ship as a floating police station, and two gunboats are in the river in case of a riot. The street in which I live was twice cleared by the police in the most violent manner; the police (nearly a hundred of them) using brutal force in compelling people to go into their houses. Men were knocked about shamefully. The police even went into terraces off the street to make people go into their houses. The shrieks of the women as the police used their staves on the crowd were appalling. The police in Hull are not men but fiends. In one of the rows the police batoned a boy so that he had to be carried down to the hospital. In another instance they struck down an old man with one arm, who for years had acted as night watchman for ships. I have seen such brutal violence on the part of the police that, had the crowd attempted to retaliate, the police would have richly deserved it. The worker is a plodding creature and slow to learn, or these things would not happen. He lets himself be starved, batoned and shot down. Truly he is slow to learn. And why is all this trouble? Simply because capital wishes to play the deuce with labor. And, slow as he is, the laborer is waking up to his rights, and objects.

The Hull Socialists have been doing a fair amount of work for their cause. Thousands of *Freedoms*, *Commonweals*, and tracts etc. have been distributed broadcast amongst the strikers. Lectures have been given to the dockers by members of the Club Liberty, and our banners have done good service at all the meetings and demonstrations. You have perhaps seen a picture of one of these in *Black and White*, where our banner is conspicuous, with the motto "Is liberty worth fighting for?" This strike has been a grand opportunity for spreading our aims amongst those workers who do not yet understand what Socialists want. They are learning a bitter lesson. They find that capitalism is only friendly towards labor when it can squeeze out its life's blood. I hope that the workers will take the present crisis well to heart and remember how they, their wives and children have starved.

G. E. CONRAD NAEWIGER.

Hull, May 8th.

SOME LATER REFLECTIONS.

The strike at Hull has been an unfortunate affair. From the beginning there were but little hopes for the men. Not but that their spirit was good; but the bulk of them had suffered terribly during the winter. Long before last Christmas, after a full and careful investigation by the unemployed committee, it appeared that there were entirely out of work, 6,000 men; working about three days a week, another 3,000; and about 6,000 more on one or two days a week. The most determined efforts were made to induce the local authorities to find some kind of employment, but to no purpose. At last the Mayor was induced to open a public subscription, but it was a miserable failure. There was no sympathy for the men. Indeed, the poverty of the riverside workers excites no surprise, and their misery excites no pity. Almost everywhere there is a cold, heartless, brutal indifference to the condition of the workers.

Thus when the strike began there was very little sympathy expected from the public, as it is termed. But the men did expect fairness and impartiality. These, however, were among the last things that should have been expected. From the first day of the strike the press was dead against the workers, with the exception of the *East Morning News*. The *Daily Mail* and the *Hull Daily News* day by day sent forth their columns of abuse and gross misrepresentation. The slightest incident was magnified into a terrible outrage, while almost numberless letters appeared daily calling on the men to return to their work, to cast aside the *paid agitators*, who were living in luxury on the pence of the workers, and who were the *only tyrants* from whose oppression the men suffered! And these monstrous statements are continued from day to day.

Of the gross misrepresentations one instance must suffice, though many might be given. The *Hull Daily News* of May 17th contained "Another brutal outrage on a Free Laborer." It went on to state how the man was attacked in a brutal manner, knocked down, kicked, and left insensible. The injuries of the man were duly described—a scalp wound, a fractured collar bone, and internally "an awful rupture," and so on. The victim's name was Moran. Now, an account so full and in which all the circumstances are clearly pointed out most people would suppose to be correct, yet the following day, May 18th, appeared a letter from Frederick Wilson, surgeon in charge of the case, in which he declares that Moran's collar bone is not *fractured*, that he had no *internal rupture*, and that Moran *was out*. That there have been outrages, and most serious ones, we all know; not by the men on strike, but by the servants of the law—the men in blue.

It may here be stated that, during the last fortnight, a local satirical journal, *The Critic*, has done good service by sending out a halfpenny edition daily, defending the men.

When the great fire broke out, of course it must be the work of the men on strike, and a cock-and-bull story was told that a man was seen to run away from the place when the fire broke out. Another story was that some of the dockers' wives had been watching for hours, expecting the fire to break out. But nothing has been discovered as to its origin, and it would be folly to give an opinion.

With regard to the strike itself, the Shipping Federation is triumphant. And the terms on which the men return to work ought to convince every one of the utter folly of mere sectional struggles. At the first there were two measures either of which might have been successful, but neither of which would the leaders of the dockers adopt. One was to make the strike national; the other was to get out the engineers of all the vessels belonging to the port of Hull. But from the first the leaders appeared to be very tender towards the feelings of certain members of the Federation. They did not wish to widen the breach. They hoped all would again be friends. And that was to be the be-all and end-all of all the fiery speeches, of the monster meetings and the processions of the men day by day. The strike has been a display of patient suffering on the part of the men, of empty bounce and practical folly on the part of the leaders.

The Shipping Federation, we are told, represents £1,000,000,000 (one thousand millions sterling), and controls over five millions tons of shipping. A levy of sixpence a ton would realise over £125,000 for fighting purposes. And to attempt to fight such a power by a mere sectional strike was sheer madness. But here comes the difficulty *and the danger*: these so-called leaders do not, and apparently cannot, comprehend the vast change that has already taken place, and is developing more and more every day. The Shipping Federation is a huge national organisation, around which will ere long rally the whole capitalist interest of the country. Even now it can at any time disorganise, if not paralyse, our whole import and export trade. But, from its very nature, it is bound to become *international*, and that at no distant date. And although the Federation is essentially revolutionary in relation to the general conditions on which the struggles between labor and capital have been based up to now, all the Powers that be are on the side of the Federation. *The Federation is rich and powerful.*

As soon as the strike began the Hull Corporation asked the assistance of other Corporations, who responded by sending to Hull some hundreds of the men in blue. The national government could not be behind the Corporations, so it sent the military and the gunboats. And these things will take place. We may grumble, we may condemn. It is useless. The Powers that be believe in *action*; they depend on accomplished facts. And tyranny will not fall by a mere blast of trumpets. We want to fully comprehend the changed conditions by which we are surrounded. If the leaders of the labor movement cannot do this, they must give place to others who can. We must have unity between thought and action. And we must have consistency, consistency in all its fulness. There must be no more abandonment of principle for some base compromise. No more surrender of the claim for justice for the sake of some miserable measure of expediency. The old story that half a loaf is better than none does not and cannot apply to principle. The workers as a body have got to become revolutionary. The forces arrayed against them are revolutionary and international. The workers must rise and become equal to the occasion, and be prepared to conquer. All the fine talk about acting constitutionally or by constitutional means is simply absurd. There is no such thing as constitutional means if your movement is powerful and your action dangerous to the Powers that be.

The strike at Hull is one of the signs of the times. It contains a lesson which every worker should learn and should never forget. It indicates the basis on which in future will be carried on the war between capital and labor.

Hull, May 19.

J. SKETCHLEY.

A Step-son of Society.

Two comrades have sent us some particulars of the life of C. C. Davis, who was lately sentenced at Birmingham to fifteen months' hard labor, on the pretext that he had desired to steal some jewellery, which he threw into the street, from a shop-window—as a protest against the cruel injustice of society—which we publish, knowing that they will interest our readers.

It seems that Davis's father was a stevedore, who met with a serious accident that rendered him incapable of undertaking such heavy work, and he thenceforth struggled to support himself and his family as a

crossing-sweeper. He was a man of harsh nature, which the conditions of his life did not help to soften, and his two sons, our comrade being one, were treated with rigor, even extreme cruelty.

Often on the brink of starvation, Davis once as a mere child was driven by pangs of hunger, aggravated by witnessing those of a brother he loved, to pawn a coat of his father's to obtain food. The father prosecuted him for this, and so our comrade at an early age had an experience of prison. When free to return home, if one could call such a hell upon earth home, Davis saw his brother die from absolute want: a grim lesson that bore fruit. Then the father turned him out for a year and a half upon the streets. At this time he was but eleven years old. What education he got was from a Catholic school—and the streets. Little wonder that Davis grew up to be a street-ruffian, a terror to all respectable folk, oftener in prison than out. But about seven years ago, chancing to be on Clerkenwell Green, Davis heard an exposition of Socialism, from Champion we believe. The dream of a future where hunger and prison would be unknown, and the tender child-life be regarded as society's most precious trust, instead of being cast into the gutter, filled Davis with strange thoughts. A hope was kindled in his mind that like his body had so long been denied its proper food. Fresh energy was kindled within him, a regeneration, as the orthodox would call it. The old racketty life became a thing of the past, he had found something to live for, to work for. Then came a period of steady work, as a carter, a laborer, a brickmaker. With the manual toil went on the brain evolution. The loafer and rowdy became a Socialist and then an Anarchist, passing, as our informant says, "from the lowest type of character to one of the highest morality, as we who know him can testify." His change of life opened up for him the world of imagination. Books became his best friends. At one time he was never seen without a volume of Shelley in his hand. His passion for disorder had given place to a passion for the English classics, from which in his quaint way he would often quote. For four years we have known him as a faithful, active comrade, who has done much to propagate ideas of true Socialism in the brick fields and in the gas-stokers' union.

Up to last October Davis was employed in brickfields at Harlesden. When his work there came to an end, he resolved to try his luck in the midlands, and for that purpose went on foot to Birmingham, where he found a few comrades. With them he cast in his lot through the bitter winter. Every morning he was out in the small hours looking for work, but, like so many others, in vain. At last his savings were exhausted, and January found him penniless, obliged to subsist on the generosity of comrades, who were scarcely better off than he. And so, on the morning of January 27th, he drew attention to his condition by smashing a jeweller's window (see report in March *Freedom*).

It is not surprising that a nature such as this was beyond the narrow comprehension of an English magistrate, or that of the Birmingham daily press. Mr. Muirhead of Harborne wrote to the Birmingham papers to appeal for a reconsideration of the sentence on our comrade, which he called a "judicial blunder." The Assistant Recorder professed to believe that Davis "would have carried away some of the jewellery if he had not been stopped," but in his heart of hearts Soden knew as well as Mr. Muirhead that Davis's action was no attempt at theft, but a "protest against a system of society," whereby he spoke not only for himself but for the toiling and oppressed millions of the world. To a man who has gone through sufferings, such as Davis has endured, fifteen months in prison are only fifteen months of comparative ease. May the time pass for him as a "forty days in the wilderness," a seclusion that may bring forth great thoughts and greater deeds!

THE CONQUEST OF BREAD.

By PETER KROPOTKINE.

CHAPTER III.—ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

I.

EVERY society which has abolished private property will be forced, we maintain, to organise itself on the lines of Communistic Anarchy. Anarchy leads to Communism, and Communism to Anarchy, both alike being expressions of the predominant tendency in modern societies, the struggle for equality.

Time was when a peasant family could consider the corn which it grew, or the woollen garments woven in the cottage, as the products of its own toil. But even then this way of looking at things was not quite correct. There were the roads and the bridges made in common, the swamps drained by common toil, and the communal pastures inclosed by hedges which were kept in repair by each and all. If the looms for weaving or the dyes for coloring fabrics were improved, that profited all; so even in those days a peasant family could not live alone, but was dependent in a thousand ways on the village or the commune.

But now-a-days, in the present state of industry, when everything is interdependent, when each branch of production is knit up with all the rest, the attempt to claim an individualist origin for the products of industry is absolutely untenable. The astonishing perfection attained by the textile or mining industries in civilised countries is due to the simultaneous development of a thousand other industries, great and small, to the extension of the railroad system, to inter-oceanic navigation, to the manual skill of thousands of workers, to a certain standard of culture reached by the working classes as a whole, to the labors, in short, of men in every corner of the globe.

The Italians who died of cholera while making the Suez Canal, or of

anchylosis in the St. Gothard Tunnel, and the Americans mowed down by shot and shell while fighting for the abolition of slavery, have helped to develop the cotton industry in France and England, as well as the work-girls who languish in the factories of Manchester and Rouen, and the inventor who (following the suggestion of some worker) succeeds in improving the looms.

How then shall we estimate the share of each in the riches which all contribute to amass?

Looking at production from this general, synthetic point of view, we cannot hold with the Collectivists that payment proportionate to the hours of labor rendered by each would be an ideal arrangement, or even a step in the right direction.

Without discussing whether exchange value of goods is really measured in existing societies by the amount of work necessary to produce it—according to the doctrine of Smith and Ricardo, in whose footsteps Marx has followed—suffice it to say here, leaving ourselves free to return to the subject later, that the Collectivist ideal appears to us untenable in a society which considers the instruments of labor as a common inheritance. Starting from this principle, such a society would find itself forced from the very outset to abandon all forms of wages.

We are persuaded that the mitigated Individualism of the Collectivist system could not exist alongside a partial Communism—the nationalisation of land and the instruments of production. A new form of property requires a new form of remuneration. A new method of production cannot exist side by side with the old forms of consumption, any more than it can adapt itself to the old forms of political organisation.

The wage-system arises out of the individual ownership of the land and the instruments of labor. It was the necessary condition for the development of capitalist production, and will perish with it, in spite of the attempt to disguise it as "profit-sharing." The common possession of the instruments of labor must necessarily bring with it the enjoyment in common of the fruits of common labor.

We hold further that Communism is not only desirable, but that existing societies, founded on Individualism, are inevitably impelled in the direction of Communism. The development of Individualism during the last three centuries is explained by the efforts of the individual to protect himself from the tyranny of Capital and of the State. For a time he imagined, and those who expressed his thought for him declared, that he could free himself entirely from the State and from society. "By means of money," he said, "I can buy all that I need." But the individual was on a wrong tack, and modern history has taught him to recognise that, without the help of all, he can do nothing, although his strong-boxes are full of gold.

In fact, alongside this current of Individualism, we find in all modern history a tendency, on the one hand, to retain all that remains of the partial Communism of antiquity, and, on the other, to establish the Communist principle in the thousand developments of modern life.

As soon as the communes of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries had succeeded in emancipating themselves from their lords, ecclesiastical or lay, their communal labor and communal consumption began to extend and develop rapidly. The township—and not private persons—freighted ships and equipped expeditions, and the benefit arising from the foreign trade did not accrue to individuals, but was shared by all. The townships also bought provisions for their citizens. Traces of these institutions have lingered on into the Nineteenth Century, and the folk piously cherish the memory of them in their legends.

All that has disappeared. But the rural township still struggles to preserve the last traces of this communism, and it succeeds—except when the State throws its heavy sword into the balance.

Meanwhile new organisations, based on the same principle—to every man according to his needs—spring up under a thousand different forms; for without a certain leaven of Communism the present societies could not exist. In spite of the narrowly egoistic turn given to men's minds by the commercial system, the tendency towards Communism is constantly appearing, and influences our activities in a variety of ways.

The bridges, for the use of which a toll was levied in the old days, are now become public property and free to all; so are the high roads, except in the East, where a toll is still exacted from the traveller for every mile of his journey. Museums, free libraries, free schools, free meals for children; parks and gardens open to all; streets paved and lighted, free to all; water supplied to every house without measure or stint—all such arrangements are founded on the principle: "Take what you need."

The tramways and railways have already introduced monthly and annual season tickets, without limiting the number of journeys taken; and lately a whole nation, Hungary, has introduced on its railways the zone system, which permits the holder to travel five hundred or a thousand miles for the same price. It is but a short step from that to a uniform charge such as already prevails in the Postal Service. In all these innovations, and a thousand others, the tendency is not to measure the individual consumption. One man wants to travel a thousand miles, another five hundred. These are personal requirements. There is no sufficient reason why one should pay twice as much as the other because his need is twice as great. Such are the signs which appear even now in our Individualist Societies.

(To be continued.)

Glasgow Anarchists are negotiating for a reprint of the Chicago Anarchists' Speeches. Should they obtain support from the various groups or individuals they propose printing two or three thousand, which will come much cheaper all round. Groups or individuals willing to take a quantity please communicate with J. G. Anderson, 105, London-street, Glasgow.

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Important.

An International Workers' Congress is to be held in August at Zurich. Comrades will remember how, at the last Congress at Brussels, in 1891, the Anarchist delegates were turned out wholesale ON THE GROUND OF THEIR OPINIONS, though duly accredited by numerous labor organisations. We Anarchists don't expect any very serious results from meetings where men go to hold up their hands for resolutions which they don't see their way to carry out by their own efforts—Demonstrations on the 1st of May in favor of a legal eight-hour day, and such like. But we hold that international congresses of workers are chiefly of use in bringing about a sense of solidarity and common understanding, and Anarchist workers, who feel their place is among their fellow workmen, wish also to take their share in discussions relating to the interests of labor and to express their own views thereon. They do not see why, simply because they are Anarchists and have their own convictions about the labor question, they should be arbitrarily expelled from a congress met to discuss the interests of labor; especially when they attend at the wish of bodies of fellow workers to put forward the ideas of those bodies. They believe that if the English delegates had understood what was going on at Brussels they would have withstood the arbitrary proceedings of the Marxist clique there. Several Communist Anarchists therefore who are members of the unions of their various trades propose to issue a circular, addressed to all British labor organisations, reminding them of what took place at Brussels and calling upon them to demand fair play for the Anarchist labor delegates at Zurich. Such a circular will probably have its effect upon all fair minded labor associations. All Anarchist comrades belonging to any trade union in England, Scotland or Ireland who are willing to sign such a circular are requested to communicate at once with W. Wess (London Society of Compositors) or J. Turner (United Shop Assistants' Union), at 61, St. Augustine's-road, Camden-town, London, N.W.

NOTES.

LABOR DAY IN HYDE PARK.

Only six or seven hundred London Socialists had the courage of their convictions, and with about six hundred Jewish Anarchists and trades unionists from the East End came out on Monday, May 1st, to demonstrate their rights as men. About 3 o'clock on the afternoon of that day, a procession, small in number, but significant of big things enough, passed through the gates of Hyde Park, marching to the Marseillaise towards the Reformers Tree, where under the Anarchist banners an enthusiastic meeting of between four and five thousand people was earnestly addressed by Cantwell, Wess, Mowbray, Samuels, Landauer (Editor of the *Sozialist*, Berlin), Louise Michel, Merlino, Yanovsky, Agnes Henry, Turner, Gittins, Barker and other well-known comrades. After the meeting many knots of workers remained seriously discussing the points raised. A good many of the police, both "plain and colored," listened attentively to the speeches, and were, we hope, much benefited thereby.

MAY 7TH IN HYDE PARK.

The following Sunday, under the impression that late is better than never, the bulk of the trade unionists, Fabians, S.D.F.s and Hammer-smith Socialists took the field. The police had arranged everything for them, so that it was quite a spectacle to see the various guilds entering the park, bands playing, banners flying, filing right and left, and grouping themselves round their appointed platforms, the prettiest of which was the Fabians', decked with the palms and laurels of victory. Some said, they mistook the Fabians for the "United Greengrocers," or a party of bean-feasters, but that was mere envy; the only mistake was that the Fabian bower can scarcely have been impervious to all the winds that blew in the park that day.

CONCERNING THE SPEECHES.

It was of course impossible to hear all the speeches. Twenty-four platforms and twenty-four times that number of speakers, not to mention the addresses delivered from the Anarchists' trestle under the tree;

it was difficult to choose. We wandered up and down, selling *Freedom*, distributing back numbers and listening to what chance brought us within earshot of. From the Fabian bower we heard Bernard Shaw discourse upon "top hats." In the name of his society he offered a brand-new topper to the first clerk who would become a member, and for every ten members brought into the society by any young man thus beguiled, another new top-hat was to be the reward. From other quarters we heard equally business-like speeches. It was evident that Socialistic, to say nothing of revolutionary, ideas had been left at home with the workday clothes, and most of the audience seemed to be out merely for a lark. The spirit that animated the much huger throng four years ago was altogether missing. Only a faint whisper of it was audible here and there. Andrews (Navvies' Union, Platform No. 4) said:—We are told that if we get an eight-hour day the capitalists would slope. His answer to that was, let them slope. It reminded him of his own brother, who, having lived with him for three years without paying anything for board or lodging, on being grumbled at, threatened to run away from home. Mighty shouts went up from the men gathered to hear John Burns, who, in his speech, made use of an elaborate metaphor about the "Labor Christ crucified by Capital on the cross of machinery and inventive power, between two thieves, Landlordism and Capitalism. The legal eight-hour day, he said, was the parliamentary pincers which should pull the nails out of Christ's hand and feet, take his cross down, break it in pieces, bind up his wounds and send him away." Yes, provided the parliamentary pincers set to work before the Labor Christ has yielded up the ghost. In that case we must only wait in the hope of a glorious resurrection in the hearts of the entire people, when crucifixion will be impossible and parliamentary aids known to be what they are, merely tools that come into play when all the hard work is done. Ben Tillett made some foolish remarks about the dockers going on to minimise hours of labor until they worked no longer than they did in Belgravia, which only shows how little some of the labor leaders understand the true dignity of labor. Do they suppose the ideal life for human beings is one of uselessness and idleness?

ANARCHISM IN BERLIN.

Meetings were held by the Anarchists and the Independents on May Day. About 600 were present at the Anarchist meeting in Schutzenhaus. Comrade Weise explained the historical development of the May Demonstrations, and that Anarchists demanded not a legal eight-hour day, but far more serious changes from bourgeois society, which after all "rests merely upon the proletariat in the red coat." Comrade Hermann wished the Anarchist and Independent parties to unite. Comrade Pless, enumerating "dangerous men," had just come to the Emperor when the cry of "Ware spies" was heard, and the police then at once dissolved the assembly. Thereupon the Anarchists formed in procession and marched to the Independent Socialist meeting. After Feder's May Day address, the Anarchists joined in the discussion, and Hermann urged the Independents to join them in the common struggle against the longstanding tyranny of capitalism and imperialism and the new tyranny of Social Democratic bureaucracy.

It is greatly to be wished that this fusion may take place. Comrade Landauer's lecture (see reports) implies that the Independents have already reached the negative side of Anarchism, but are still confused as to its positive conception of a free state of society. Their attitude seems to be the result of a revolt against Marxian dogmatism, against the theory that if monopoly is allowed a free course it will destroy itself, and existing society evolve gradually and peaceably into a socialist state (Fabianism in fact), and against the red tapism and tyranny of the Social Democratic leaders. Whilst, on the other hand, their positive views are still influenced by the philosophy of Nietzsche, the brilliant critic, whose deep sighted and biting satire has mightily stirred the spirit of social revolt throughout the German reading public, but whose positive ideal is the narrowest aristocratic individualism.

ACROSS THE ATLANTIC.

"Here we suffer most from the fact that superstition has veiled many wrongs, so that many believe themselves free and independent in the enjoyment of equal opportunities whilst they are slaves and paupers. We can do little with working men until the hopelessness of their condition becomes apparent to them. But the causes which have made our movement so difficult in the past are disappearing.

"The number of workingmen leaving their class is becoming less and less. The concentration of wealth and the more perfect organisation of capital make it more and more impossible for a workman to enter the capitalist ranks."

Thus writes Comrade Jefferson Ray from New York, confirming the view taken by Comrade Owen in the interesting survey of actual American conditions which we print elsewhere.

LAW AND ORDER IN ABERDEEN.—In Aberdeen an intense hatred of the police is becoming general; the "little, brief authority" of the Chief Constable and his loutish subs has been striven to such an extent that the peaceful, law respecting citizens of the Granite City are no longer quietly bearing the gross insolence and petty tyranny of the ignorant bullies who think themselves capable of guarding the public morality. One man was taken from his shop at midday and kept in prison till next morning, because he would not say he had bought stolen goods (which he had not done). Another was taken from bed in the middle of the night, because he objected to his mother-in-law coming to his house and had ordered her out. Worst of all, five young fellows (unemployed) who were resting on a seat in a public park were marched through the streets escorted by policemen, because a man, supposed to be drunk, said six young men had insulted him at a place about a mile distant from the park. In all these cases the prisoners got off, but not so the poor devil who was arrested and imprisoned for thirty days, because he was on the outside of a crowd who were attempting to rescue a prisoner, and at the same time enjoying themselves by thrashing

Policemen (good sport). No one but the purest of police liars could have given evidence of a kind to convict this man. We understand that the Trades Council has taken this case in hand, and that there is every probability of the police being prosecuted for perjury. The respectable middle class "don't know what things are coming to" when the law is so little respected by the workers of Aberdeen that assaults on policemen and rescues of prisoners are almost every day occurrences, but the Anarchists do. They know that behind the workers' hate of policemen lies a deeper hate of Law itself.

E. S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

FRED CHARLES AT PORTLAND.

To the Editor of FREEDOM.

On the 27th April, Mrs. Henderson, Miss Skerritt, and I paid a visit to Portland to see our comrade Fred Charles—and your readers will be glad to hear that he was in good health and keeping up his spirits. We were allowed to meet in a room, with only a warder and a table between us—and though we might not shake hands, it was a little more human than talking through a grating. Charles was in the usual convict's dress—thick grey stuff marked with the broad arrow, knickers, stockings, and strong boots—but he looked none the worse or less loveable for that. He greeted us with the old cheery smile, and was evidently delighted to see friends; we were pleased to see that he did not look thin or emaciated at all, but—though of course not stout—was in good flesh. He said at once that he liked the present place "ever so much better" than Stafford. He was working at carpentering most of the time, he said, in a shed or workshop—but occasionally got out of doors; and he was much better supplied with books than before, and got moderate time to read. By putting down the name beforehand, books that one wanted could be secured. There was time to read midday after dinner, when the dishes were washed, etc., and the same mornings and evenings. He was getting into very regular habits, he said! rising at 5 and going to bed at 8. Slept in a hammock, but his cell was very small, and being in the basement was rather dark. We brought him many messages from friends from Sheffield, Leeds, and Bristol, and he was pleased to hear how well the cause generally was going on. Made many enquiries, after Glasier, Shortland, Watson, and other comrades—also after Cails and Bertolla, but we were not able to tell him much of these. We told him there were still good hopes of getting his sentence reduced, and he said he hoped it would be so; but that anyhow he would be all right, and his sister was not to worry about him. The monotony was the worst part—that was bad at times; he had also suffered a bit from toothache.

Of course we felt that he was making the best of the matter all through; but there was one thing, namely, that his face did not look worried or distressed, but calm and untroubled, and as brave and clear as ever—so that one hopes the monotony is the worst thing. Unfortunately, the interview only lasted twenty minutes—and then we had to say Good-bye. Visitors, too, being restricted from giving public news, and the prisoners from talking about prison regulations, prevents very free communication.

The convict settlement is at the top of the island, 200 feet or so above the sea, and about half an hour's walk from the Railway Station. The air is certainly fine and healthy there, if somewhat rough in winter, though probably, owing to the situation, there is not much frost.

The warders, on the whole, were not bad looking specimens—fairly good-natured some of them; but the worst of our English prisons—worse in this respect than the foreign ones, I believe—is the absolutely mechanical nature of the whole arrangements—a kind of clockwork monotony of punishment, which allows no loophole for change or variety or human interest of any kind—an effort thus to kill the best part of a man. Our prisons probably do not allow so easily of capricious ill-treatment by warders as foreign prisons do; but then they remove all hope of human relation with any one. An instance of this sort of thing is the fact (I believe it is a fact) that in all our prisons now-a-days the windows are glazed or so arranged that the prisoners cannot look out—even at a passing bird or a cloud or a star. Here is a refinement of torture—to damage the very soul of a man, by cutting him off from the sight of Nature and the remembrance of the great world in which his fellows live, and confining, not only his body, but even his thoughts within the dismal limits of his cell.

E. C.

THE SOCIALIST MANIFESTO AND ANARCHISM.

To the Editor of FREEDOM.

Dear Comrade,—The Anarchist hissing with which I was greeted in Hyde Park last Sunday was an incident almost comical in its irony. The reason given for this unfriendly display was my signature at the foot of the Socialist Manifesto. The irony lies in the fact that I alone of the fifteen delegates opposed the introduction of the paragraph on anarchism, and did what little I could to get it expunged. It was very little I could do, for the others talked my solitary protest down with a unanimity remarkable even in a Joint Committee of Socialists.

"Then you shouldn't have signed the Manifesto," an ardent Anarchist will perhaps exclaim.

I had doubts on the subject—strong doubts at first; but in a later revise of the pamphlet those doubts were set at rest by the introduction into the paragraph of fresh matter, the effect of which was to make it evident that the ideas attacked were those of individualist anarchism. Read the passage carefully and you will see it means that—or is absolute nonsense. There is really therefore nothing to object to in the paragraph, beyond its superficial ambiguity, and I see no reason why all good Socialist Anarchists should not send to Gray's-inn-road for a packet of the Manifesto, and sell them to the public; for by so doing they will be rendering service to the Revolution.

Yours, fraternally,

ERNEST E. WILLIAMS.

17, Vardens-road, New Wandsworth.

May 9th, '93.

[The reason why no Anarchist Socialist would think it worth while to distribute the Manifesto is that politically it is Democratic, not Anarchistic. It opens with an excellent criticism of existing social evils, leading up to a tolerably lucid description of the Socialist ideal, but goes on to assert that the people "through the franchise have the power of dominating and controlling the whole political and, through the political, the social forces of the Empire." Of course after this it naturally advocates the usual Social Democratic policy of palliative measures, State control of railways, then banks, Limited Companies and other big monopolies, as they grow up, and the formation of a Socialist parliamentary party. In fact, the ancient political theory and policy of the S.D.F. When a man calling himself an Anarchist signs a statement of this sort, he need hardly be surprised if his reception amongst Anarchists afterwards is dubious.—Ed.]

NICOLL VISITED.—Comrades Samuels and Cantwell visited D. J. Nicoll in Chelmsford jail on May 15th, and found him well and brave as ever. He has five months more of durance vile.

The New American Revolution.

Substance of a lecture delivered by our comrade during his recent visit to England.

THE United States offer to-day a far more instructive lesson to the student of sociology than can be found in any other nation; in the first place because of the rapidity with which the economic evolution has moved, and the point it has attained; and, in the second place, because of the revolting contrast between the democratic ideal which the masses desperately cling to and the plutocratic Tsardom into which the march of the capitalistic system is hurrying them.

The conquest of Europe by the privileged minority that to-day holds her in its grip has been the slow and arduous work of centuries. In America we have changed all that. Here we have shown to the world how cunning is mightier than the boggling sword; for, within a couple of generations, it has laid at the feet of the plutocracy a realm that—exclusive of Alaska—has more than double the area of the Chinese empire, and that, with modern machinery and a population trained to the use of inventions, has powers of wealth-production beside which the capacities of China shrivel into impotent pauperism. As an inventor and improver of machinery England easily leads the other nations of the world; but, for every patent that is taken out in Great Britain, there are four issued in the United States. As a manufacturing country England has been supposed to bear away the palm; but, so far back as 1880, the "infant" industries of the States—that cry so loudly for the fostering hand of a protective tariff—exceeded in output the British factories by \$629,000,000. It is by reason of her coal and iron resources that England has been able to claim the title of "Workshop of the World," but, while iron is mined in at least twenty-three States of the Union, there are several of these which are to-day capable of supplying single-handed the world's demand. In a word, though bled at the throat by five years of fratricidal war, the United States could show, in 1880, wealth greater than that of Russia, Turkey, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Italy, Australia, South Africa and South America combined, these countries only being able in all to muster up \$43,000,000,000 as against \$44,000,000,000 of the United States. By 1890 the wealth had increased from \$44,000,000,000 to \$61,000,000,000, and it is advancing daily by leaps and bounds.

But what has become of it? That is the question in which we are all interested. It is certain that there must be a vast number of us who have not shared in this unparalleled prosperity, for, even as I write, the American papers are quoting the statement of an expert who tells us that there are at present some two million men out of work. In the metropolis of the "Golden State" from which this article is sent—in San Francisco alone—there are said to be to-day from 12,000 to 14,000 unemployed. To those, however, who can understand the simple proposition that, if Tom gets more than his share, Dick will have to go short, the conundrum is explained when one states that in San Francisco there are over 100 millionaires, and, in the States at large over 6000. These figures are quoted from Senator Ingalls, himself a member of the American House of Lords. But the average reward of the wage-worker still sticks at a trifle under a dollar (4s. 2d.) a day. It may suggest itself, perhaps, that in this is the secret of the millionaire fortunes.

How has this inequality been rendered possible?

In the first place, the plutocracy have seen to it that the land has got into—the proper hands. Here, there being no cumbrous settlements, or laws of entail and primogeniture, to hamper transfers, land has been treated from the start as ordinary merchandise, and has found its way, if not nominally, yet with terrible reality, into the clutches of the man with the money-bag. The coal and the timber lands have, by a series of notorious frauds, slipped entirely into the hands of a few great syndicates, and, if there are still thousands of farmers who figure on the assessment rolls as owners of land, they are crushed to the very ground with mortgages. As a recent number of the *Twentieth Century* aptly put it: "Nine million mortgages are reported in the census. There are not much more than 12,000,000 families in America."

In the old countries, bad though conditions are, there is still some relic of the traditional feudal sentiment that makes eviction the last step to which a landlord will reluctantly resort. In America there is no such sentiment at all. If the tenant cannot pay, out he goes. Thus, though the wail of the evicted Irish tenant has filled the earth—and good luck to him for having the sense to cry out when he is hurt—in Ireland, during 1890, the evictions only numbered a little over 5000. In New York city alone, in 1890, there were 28,000 evictions, 6,100 of which were in one judicial district. By the same token it is a fine country for the lawyers is America.

I would lay much stress on the absence of sentiment in all business affairs here, for it shows how completely we have left the feudal stage behind and entered the commercial era. The cash-nexus is the only bond we recognise; we are not at our offices ten hours a day for fun, we are there to make money. We do not go into politics that we may belong to the most gentlemanly club in the world; we go into them because "to the victors belong the spoils." Similarly, if we can make an extra dollar by discharging an old employee, we are not to be stopped from it by the customary whine about a starving wife and children. Why should we, forsooth, be called upon to support them as pensioners of our charity?

So, as I have already shown, we have proved ourselves the most inventive of all nations in appliances for doing away with human labor, and what we have already accomplished in the domain of *production* we are now extending to the domain of *distribution*. Taking a leaf from

the Socialists' book, we are practising in our "Trusts" the economics of combination, concentrating our industries in a few selected centres, shutting up useless branch offices, and discharging armies of superfluous book-keepers, salesmen, and the like. But for the stupidity of Mrs. Cyrus V. McCormick we should have had by this time a "Trust" of all the agricultural implement houses, an economy that would have saved us the wages of 13,000 of these office drudges.

As it is, what *The New Nation* calls the "Armed Camp of Commerce" is now organised in 159 "Trusts," representing as many monopolies of various industries. One of these has a capital of a hundred million dollars; taken all through, they average nine and a half millions each, and the man who can compete with such a capital is somewhat of a scarcity. As a side advantage may be mentioned the fact that the workman in any of these industries has now no longer a choice of masters. If he does not like our service he may lump it in some other occupation; if he kicks, as he has been kicking recently at Homestead and elsewhere, why—let him kick.

I fear that I have already occupied too much space in my endeavor to show that the democratic ideal of equality does not square with the existing facts; that competition has already past into monopoly; and that, alike in the matter of economic evolution and in that of the spirit of revolt—as shown by the constantly increasing bitterness of the struggle between capital and labor—the United States are to-day in a most advanced stage.

One other point: while in England the advanced reformers are pottering about "one man one vote," "payment of members," and the like, here we have passed that infantile period years ago, having had all these alleged blessings for generations past, and having them with us still. Their name is "Tammany," and others of that ilk.

W. C. OWEN.

California.

Dyer D. Lum.

COMRADES:

Across the sea I send the echo of a mourning knell. The brightest scholar, the profoundest thinker of the American Revolutionary movement is dead. On Thursday, April 6th, they found him sleeping the last sleep, in a hotel near the Bowery in New York. Utterly without pain he must have passed away, as he had always wished he might—into the painless rest.

Dyer D. Lum was born at Geneva, N.Y., fifty-three years ago. He was descended from an old Puritan family, hence an American as much as it is possible for any Anglo-Saxon to be an American. In early life he was brought up under strict Presbyterian discipline, but piety never seems to have taken any deep root in his sceptical nature. According to one of his own inimitably told stories, such religious sentiments as he had all departed on a bright Sunday, when God failed to send a thunderbolt upon him for having played ball, torn his trousers, and uttered an oath on the Lord's day. And yet in the nobler and better sense of the word Dyer D. Lum was a deeply religious man. He was full of that earnest, self-sacrificing devotion to whatever ideal of the future seemed highest to him at any period of his life, and he never stopped at any command of "the inward must," though it cost him friends, worldly success, or the danger of death itself.

He has frequently said and written that the labor movement of America really began with the Pittsburgh riots in 1877; previous to that time, however, he had taken part in the great struggle, now recognised as an economic one, known as the civil war. He fought on the northern side, and so bravely that he jumped from the rank of a volunteer private soldier to that of captain by sheer force of merit. At that time, there is no doubt, he believed himself to be fighting in the good cause. But since he became an economic thinker he has often expressed himself sarcastically as having "gone down there out of patriotism (?) to fight the battle of cheap labor against dear." After the war he resumed his trade as bookbinder, and began his studies in the economic field. In 1876 he was associated with Wendell Phillips as candidate for lieutenant-governor for Massachusetts on the Greenback ticket. Out of the old nursery of Greenbackism came nearly all of our present radical thought, while few of its original exponents are any longer satisfied with the Greenback program: it was simply the beginning of the Socialistic movement. Mr. Lum was not one to remain long satisfied with the "illogic" of Greenbackism. He was too consistent in mind to accept a mixed authoritarianism and liberty. At first he went over to authoritarianism, and was for a time State-socialist. Subsequently, however, he became an Anarchist, a contributor to Parsons' *Alarm*, and a most cutting critic of State-socialism.

While living in Washington he was appointed on a committee to investigate the conditions of labor, and in the course of that investigation studied the co-operative system of the Mormons (a much abused people here in America). The result was a pamphlet in which he set forth the principles of their labor exchange, disabusing the reader of many false notions in regard to Mormon life. This pamphlet had a wide circulation.

In 1886 he was conducting a bookbinder's shop at Port Jervis, N.Y., when the question of who should keep alive the paper of the imprisoned Parsons arose. Although Lum was an individualist and Parsons Communist, no one else could be found able and willing to continue the work of the doomed editor. Lum did not hesitate. He sold out his business, went to Chicago, put about \$1500 into the work, no penny of which he ever received or expected to receive back, ran the gauntlet of police, detectives, and the crowd of haters of Anarchy, then very numerous in Chicago, and held the banner aloft as long as he could. During this time he was a constant visitor at the prison, the loved and trusted comrade of those who were about to die, the jealous guardian of their highest honor. Like all who knew those men, he grew to love them all, and never in after years was he able to speak much of them without tears filling his eyes. And yet he counselled them to die. When Parsons asked him his advice as to signing the petition, which he and Lum both knew from sure sources of information would have saved his life, he said, "I cannot advise you." But when Parsons pressed him, he said, "Die, Parsons." And the other answered, "I am glad you said it. It is what I wished." For this he was blamed by some, blamed as "wanting their death." Yes, he did want their death, as he loved liberty, and honor, and pride, and the future, and their true glory—more than his own life and more than theirs. For those who knew him best knew there was not one moment when he would not have taken his place by their side and walked proudly to the scaffold had the State decreed it.

After the failure of the "Alarm" in Chicago he was enabled, partly through the courtesy of John Most and others, to re-commence its publication in reduced form in New-York. But owing to an accumulation of difficulties he could not continue it long. It was a great sorrow to him, for his last promise to Parsons

was to do everything to keep the paper alive. From that time on his life was a bitter struggle with poverty whose miseries he endured with shut lips, only his intimate friends knowing how great they were, and even they hardly daring to offer him any help for the fear of offending his proud, uncomplaining spirit. This poverty chained his hands, tied his aspirations, compelled him to a forced inaction that wore him out more than the severest active strain. Although of a strong constitution he became a victim of insomnia: and burnt up the oil of life without replenishing.—Yet no one would have guessed all this to have met and talked with him, always merry, always full of jokes, always ready to sympathize with the humblest thing that suffered or was glad. At one moment talking Philosophy with the scholars, at the next stroking the sore foot of a dog, or playing hide-and-seek with the children, it was hard to determine what lay deepest beneath those smiling gray eyes that never told aught of the hard personal struggle within.

Of his many pamphlets, articles and poems it may be said all evinced profound thought; but unfortunately were too often in a heavy style that rendered them difficult to the ordinary reader. In fact few students went deeper into psychological depths than he, and his habit of reading the masters, living in the company of books, made language which to most of us is stilted the ordinary channel of his thought. His early studies in Buddhism left a profound impress upon all his future concepts of life, and to the end his ideal of personal attainment was self-obliteration—Nirvana. He had not the slightest use for the Hedonistic doctrines of most of the individualistic school, and often sent the sharp shafts of his wit into the heart of an argument hinging upon the "pleasure the motive of action" premise.

As to his revolutionary beliefs he always avowed them when there was any reason for so doing. When Berkman shot Frick he was one of those who dared to defend the act. But he did not believe in continually talking about it. He did not believe in telling other people to "do" anything. He never said, "arm yourselves and prepare." He had his own plans probably; but if he had he trusted to himself, and neither depended upon nor asked aught from others. For the rest he believed in revolution as he believed in cyclones; when the time comes for the cloud to burst it bursts, and so will burst the pent up storm in the people when it can no longer be contained. So he believed, and trusted in the future.

And I who trust in his philosophy trust that in that fire-hued day the spirit of my beloved teacher and friend will burn in the hearts of the strugglers for freedom, till it consumes away all fear, all dependence, all the dross of our "American slavery," and leaves them erect, proud, free, dauntless as he who has left to them the rich legacy of a life of thought and work in their behalf.

VOLTARINE DE CLEYRE.

Philadelphia.

Anarchism.

THE following paper on Anarchism was read by our late comrade J. M. Brown at a meeting of the Sheffield Anarchist Group, about the beginning of the present year; and it was his intention to send it for publication in *Freedom*. Apart from its intrinsic interest, that of its authorship will doubtless make it welcome to many readers who knew in Brown a man whose warm, sympathetic heart and keen intuitions enabled him to enter into the feelings and ideas of comrades of very diverse shades of opinion, and whose singleminded devotion to the cause of all the oppressed made all honest revolutionaries feel that in him they had a true comrade and brother.

So far as I can find, the other prose articles from his pen were those that appeared in *The Commonwealth* as follows:—"As in Great so in Little," Oct. 6th, 1888; "Revolutionary Socialism and Labor Representation," Nov. 1st, 1889; and "Some Objections to Socialism," January, 1891.

R. F. M.

Looking back on the world's history as far as human tradition and written scraps of history and the evolution of man will permit us—far back into the distant ages—the first thing that strikes us notably is this fact, looming clearly out of it all, that the world has always had its dreamers. Men and women in whose hearts grew the feeling that all human beings were equal and that all men were brothers. In the vilest and most corrupt of societies there have always been men to assert and proclaim this fact, and for their unflinching advocacy of this doctrine have received the cross, the faggot, and the scaffold. States have punished them, but the idea has always lived and never in the whole history of man, with the combined might of kingcraft and priestcraft, has it been wholly blotted out.

I will not give you a detailed history of all the Utopias that have been placed before the world, for most of you already know of them—from Plato down to the last struggle of the Commune of Paris. I will not treat of the necessary development of machinery and commercialism, and its strange devolution of the workers into machine-made men—the very counterpart of the machines they attend, with their ghostly faces and automatic minds—but merely point out that this is the last development of human society and contains all the elements of its own decay and corruption, and within it also the germ of a free society. First Priestcraft had its sway and darkened the mind of man, then Kingcraft with its feudal tyrannies, then Commercialism, and out of that came the spirit of Democracy, with its clamour for political equality and salvation, through voting and rule of the majority.

In nearly every European country have the masses, after many a severe struggle, gained the empty shell of political equality, and still the shackles bind their limbs, and still they are in the same state of economic servitude. Out of this failure has grown the hydra-headed and rather confused Labor Question, with its Babel of Tongues. Now we see a quickening that has never happened before in the world's history, and for the first time labor is throwing off its stupor and asserting, though in many cases very confusedly, its independence. Naturally at first do men look towards State-socialism, as they did towards political equality, and no sooner have they made a step in that direction than the cry of Anarchy is heard in the air with its formula of No law and no master. Incredulity is on every face, and it goes through its form of ridicule; and then comes the stage of discussion—and it makes

progress in the minds of men. The rule of the majority is doubted, and faith in man grows as this greatest of all ideals is placed before them. As the development of Anarchist ideas goes on, slowly but surely will the whole character of the labor movement be revolutionised, and as the ideas filter down into the minds of the people the more rapid will be the march towards the final goal. Law, like religion, is already discredited in the minds of the people, and not all the labor leaders in the world can rehabilitate it. Labor leaders themselves are helping on Anarchial methods through their susceptibility to corruption and bribery; and the very faith that is thus lost in them reacts to our advantage. And this will go on, for men starting honest enough, on entering Parliament, look around them and see their helplessness to thus checkmate the ruling classes with their own Institution—feather their own nests and swim with the crowd.

Now all this is very comforting, as it can only teach the workers one lesson—more than a merely negative one—that the road at any rate is not towards State-socialism. A few years ago, the dominant idea of the working classes on the continent was State socialism, but who can say that now? A change of front has taken place, and the dreaded people are now the Anarchists. In England we have now two well-defined parties of Anarchists—the middle class,* with their academic ideas, tolerance of everything and the musty air of respectability round them, filling their minds with comfortable theories and shouting "Less noise there!" to their more uncomfortable neighbors. Having never felt the economic blight in their lives, they are content to wait and have plenty of Patience to preach. The workers' party again, having learnt too sadly the facts of life, are filled with impatience, and methods become the all in all to them. They preach more about methods and less about principles, and their cry is for Action! Action! with the undisturbed faith that everything will come right afterwards. However, the more I look at these two parties the more convinced am I that the workers themselves, relying solely on their own efforts, must work out their own salvation, and none but themselves truly understand the position of affairs. The workers' party translate the theories of Kropotkin, Elisée Reclus, and other philosophers into action, while the middle class party talk about it, but dread the fire! They still cling to the bourgeois morality and see a sublime glory in patience. Nothing can ever come from them but mere converts to theory.

(To be concluded.)

Judge Gary's Apology.

Judge Gary, it seems, has been much disturbed these seven years past by the "clamor uncontradicted that has gone round the world" that those Chicago Anarchists "were heroes and martyrs, victims of prejudice and fear." So he sat himself down to change universal opinion, and to prove in the *Century* for April that they were "more bloodthirsty men, who deceived and deluded the people whom they professed to love, and whom they endeavored to convert into murderers." By a curious irony of fate Gary, however, has only succeeded in bringing forward additional evidence in their favor. "I had no idea," said a man of law and order after reading the article, "that your comrades had such a strong case. Under the circumstances they would have been fully justified if they had thrown a hundred bombs instead of one that night." The justification in this man's eyes came out of the account Gary gives of the slaughter of the workers on strike by the police outside McCormick's factory. Indeed there are many passages in the article which, considering the ostensible reason for its having been written, are quite amazing. One can only imagine that Gary wished to impress upon his readers that he was no partizan judge. He tells us that he was brought to manual labor, that he spent the summer of 1840 at a carpenter's bench singing campaign songs at night, and that he thinks he would have as readily fought for the right to do the one as the other. Pity it is that he did not stick to that bench, the world might then have gained an honest carpenter and Gary been saved the guilt of murder.

"Those of us who have craved unsuccessfully for permission to do what the Maker of us all has fitted us to do, alone understand how revolutions are generated. Talk about the atrocities of the Revolution! All the atrocities of the democracy heaped together ever since the world began would not equal, if we had any gauge by which to measure them, the atrocities perpetrated in a week upon the poor, simply because they are poor; and the marvel rather is, not that there is every now and then a September massacre at which all the world shrieks, but that such horrors are so infrequent. Again I say, let no man judge Communist or Anarchist till he has asked for leave to work, and a 'Damn your eyes!' has rung in his ears in reply."—From "THE REVOLUTION IN TANNER'S LANE," (by Mark Rutherford).

THE PROPAGANDA. REPORTS.

LONDON—

During the past two months open-air meetings have been held in Hyde and Regent's Parks, on Mile End Waste and at Kensal Green and Peckham Rye, while new stations have been opened at Victoria and Finsbury Parks and on Clerkenwell Green. Speakers: Leggatt, Cook, A. Henry, Merlino, Samuels, Barker, Banham, Mowbray, Cantwell, Tochatti, Hyde, Malatesta, Atterbury, Wess, Young, Cores and McQueen from Leicester, etc. Meetings large, lasting for hours, followed by interesting discussions. Sale of literature encouraging. On May 1st the *Commonweal* reappeared as a fortnightly, Editor H. Samuels; address, 24, Sidmouth-mews, Gray's-inn-road, W.C.

Last month the Autonomie Club was burnt out, and is therefore closed for the present. The *Workers' Friend* office has also been destroyed by fire. Fortunately the lives of all in the house were saved, largely by the heroic presence of mind of Vologinsky, whose son was severely injured. The plant of the paper was rescued without very much damage, and our comrades are pulling together and hope to be able in a few days to resume its publication.

* Scattered middle class sympathisers rather. They turn up everywhere now, but have not yet developed enough energy to form anything to be called a party or done anything to give public expression to their opinions.—Ed.

C.A.B.V., Grafton Hall.—Saturday, May 6th, lecture by Comrade Landauer, Editor of *Der Sozialist* (organ of the Independent Socialist party in Berlin). Subject, "Socialism and its Consequences." After pointing out that the social question cannot be solved by any parliament, but must be dealt with by the direct efforts of the proletariat, the lecturer stated that his party called themselves "Independent" to signify their aloofness from the Social Democratic faction, but, in his opinion, a name more significant of their ideal was desirable. As they recognise no authority, no master, the name Anarchist would suit them; but he could not quite endorse the Communist idea of Free access to the means of life. Produce could not be treated like air or water not made by man. Further, there are sorts of work which no one will do unless obliged. Men are not yet sufficiently developed to work voluntarily for the community. He would appeal to their egoism by proposing an exchange of products between individuals or groups. But, leaving questions of theory, as regards practical tactics the aim of all Socialists, Anarchistic or Democratic, should be to enter existing labor organisations, and thus permeate the mass of the workers. It is a crime against the proletariat for Revolutionists to waste time talking in clubs, discussing minor questions of theory, whilst the all important task of enlightening the masses is neglected. The lecture, which lasted more than an hour, was listened to with great interest and a long and animated discussion followed.

Anarchism amongst London Tailors.—Comrades Mowbray and Roland have been busily engaged amongst the London Tailors for many months past. Mowbray has been speaking constantly at both indoor and outdoor meetings of English and Jewish tailors including branch meetings, putting forward Anarchistic ideas of the labor question and labor organisation. Dependence on officialism and leadership has been much broken down, and the power and responsibility of deciding trade questions have fallen more upon the members themselves, not left so much to the sweet will of officials. Another consequence of the work done is that there has been and is a greater recognition of the fact that the mere modification of hours of labor and rates of wages will not suffice, and freedom means the abolition of capitalism. To accomplish this much hard work has had to be done. As a result many improvements have taken place entirely out of accord with "constitutional" or "legal" methods of procedure. Anarchist tailors ought to turn up and take an active interest in their Society, towards the maintenance of which they contribute. It will not bring the Anarchist Revolution immediately on the spot, but will go far towards it ultimately. It will disabuse the minds of the ordinary unionist of the error that Anarchism favors "blacklegism." A course of free lectures were organised at the Tailors' Club, Wardour-street; Comrades Mowbray, Samuels, Barker, Tochatti, Turner, Brocher and Agnes Henry, besides J. Macdonald (S.D.F.) and W. G. Pearson (D.U.) being the lecturers. Although the meetings were not so well attended as Anarchists would wish, at least the attempt to extend the educational work on labor problems was worth making. Perhaps the past false "education" or absence of education, combined with the demoralising influence of capitalism upon the working tailors, accounts for the indifference exhibited. In order to avoid inconsistencies in our tactics, it is proposed to form a propagandist group of members of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors in which to discuss the intricacies of any situations that may arise; circulation of better ideas on labor problems amongst this important union of workers would also be an object of the group. Comrade Roland would be glad to hear from comrades wishing to co-operate in this way. Attention is desired to be drawn to the tone of the trade manifestoes. *Freedom* and the *Weal* find regular readers among members of the Society of Tailors. This work, although it does take up some time which might be employed in the ordinary methods of propaganda, has not occupied the whole of Mowbray's time. He has spoken at Anarchist meetings in Hyde Park, Trafalgar Square, Mile End Waste, Autonomie Club and elsewhere. With more solidarity amongst ourselves better work will be done in all directions.—G. C.

Peckham.—On Sunday, May 7th—the authorised "May-Day" of the respectable English trade-unionists and Social Democrats—we joined the Peckham contingent and marched in procession to the Park, with our large red flag and a new black banner, painted for the occasion, with the inscription "Away with Authority and Monopoly; we demand Free Access to the Means of Life. The *Daily Graphic* next morning wanted to know why "this revolutionary emblem" was allowed in the procession.—On Sunday, May 14th, we broke fresh ground, when Comrades Atterbury, Banham and Tochatti addressed a good audience at the corner of Commercial-road, Old Kent-road. Calling for discussion, a clergyman of the Church of England got up on the platform, and spoke largely in our favor. He agreed, he said, with the lecturer that the people must clear their minds of governmental superstition and capitalist superstition, but said we must in the end fall back on Christ, who was the founder of the teaching of "the brotherhood of man," propounded today by the Anarchists.—Good meetings following Sundays; two new members joined; steady sale of literature.—On Sunday, May 14th, we were honored (?) by the presence of two of the Melville gang at our meeting. For the benefit of these, and also for the benefit of our local police (who have paid some of our comrades great attention lately), we may state that we have removed our stock of dynamite from 40a, Peckham Rye to other premises; also that we have no great plot on hand, neither are we organising the blowing up of public buildings, or the taking of "innocent lives." It is a curious fact that since we have started active propaganda here there is hardly a policeman in Peckham who has not either declared himself an Anarchist or in sympathy! So much for the police. Other enemies we have to fight in this neighborhood are the Social Democrats—for these men, in reality, are our enemies, as some bitter experience of ours goes to show. Lately their speakers have gone out of their way to wilfully misrepresent our principles, and consequently we have taken to opposing them, and have created good discussions. We have also pushed the sale of literature round the S.D.F. meetings at Camberwell and Walworth.—Our paste-pot brigade have also done good work during the past month; some 500 copies of the "Anarchist Address to Workingmen," besides hundreds of the *Commonweal*, *Freedom*, and the "Manifesto of the Anarchist Soldiers" being presented to the gaze of the law-abiding inhabitants of this locality. In conclusion, we appeal again for the help of speakers at our meetings.

PROVINCES—

Leicester.—During the past few weeks some very good propaganda has been carried on here. A few members of the Trades Council proposed to have a demonstration on Labor Sunday, but the "compact majority" went against it. However, those who made the proposal ignored this decision and went to work to organise the demonstration. We lent them all possible aid, and chiefly through the efforts of our comrades on the committee it proved a great success. The arrangements having to be made at such short notice, it was held May 7th instead of May 1. Five large meetings were held in the morning and a great mass meeting, of over 10,000 people, at night in the Market Place. There were three platforms and an abundance of speakers; the more revolutionary and Anarchistic the speeches, the more the people were pleased. We were able to exclude from the resolution all reference to "legal" action, and a resolution was passed (drawn up by an Anarchist) calling for the abolition of capitalism, and for the possession and control of the land and instruments of industry by the "Co-operation of Labor." £27 was collected for the Hull Dockers at the meetings. One local paper kindly published the remarks of Cores at one of the meetings to the effect that, when the workers realised the truth that they were entitled to the full produce of their toil, they would not depend on street collections, but would take possession of the stores, warehouses etc., and send the capitalists

out begging. During the day Comrades Ben Warner (Hosiery Union), G. Cores (Boot Operatives), W. MacQueen (Amal. Soc. Decorators), Glassman and Stanly spoke at the various meetings. We have done so well that a local Chapionite has bitterly complained that "the Anarchists have bulldozed the unionists." The committee has not dissolved, but is endeavoring to establish a Labor Club and Institute. This is chiefly through the efforts of the secretary, Comrade Geo. Cores. We have good reasons to hope it will be founded, and be a useful means of education and propaganda.—All our outdoor meetings at Russel Square, Market Place and Humberstone Gate are kept well going, for we have a good lot of speakers now. Andrew Hall, "the navvy," was here on the 14th, and, with his usual "go," addressed three meetings. "Scrivenor Jun." and McQueen have begun our village work again.—A brisk correspondence has been running in the *Midland Free Press* for some weeks now on "Socialism and How to obtain it." We seem to be "one too many" for our bourgeois and Fabian opponents.—Besides our open-air meetings, we have taken an active and permanent part in a series of Sunday afternoon "Talks" with Workingmen at Gallowtree Gate Chapel—a non-conformist "place of worship." Through the agency of our Comrades A. Gorrie and McQueen, the "Talks" have been very largely on Revolutionary Anarchism.

Hull.—A labor demonstration in favor of an 8-hour day was held in this town May 7th, attracting unusual interest on account of the disturbed condition of the things existing for so long between the capital and labor of Hull. About 40,000 workers went in procession through the main streets early in the afternoon, and congregated at the Corporation Field round five platforms; three occupied by the Trades and Labor Council, the fourth by the Independent Labor Party, and the fifth by the Socialists. A large crowd assembled round this platform, from which our Comrades Conrad Newiger, Gustav Smith and J. Sketchley made stirring speeches, urging the need of an International Union to enable the workers to free themselves from the fetters of capitalism; a need made only too plain by the result of the recent struggle in Hull. The resolution put from their platform declared the chief reason for desiring a shortening of the hours of labor was that it would enable the workers to study the reasons of their poverty. The chief speech of the day from the Trade and Labor Council platform was made by Mr. F. Maddison, who dwelt upon the late display of organised capitalistic opposition to the demands of labor in Hull, the effects of which would never be obliterated from the minds of the workers. He also alluded to the fact that even that M.P. for Hull who expressed himself as being "steeped in sympathy" for the workers declined to take any part in the dispute. Other speakers alluded to the death of Edward Wilson, docker, who was starved during the strike. A large number of people attended Wilson's funeral.

Manchester.—Labor-Day, May 1st, we did not celebrate here by a public demonstration, but let us hope for better things. The occasion was brought under attention as much as possible, in which *Freedom* and *Commonweal* for May, which we were selling before that date, largely helped.—A big demonstration was held on the Sunday after, composed of Labor Church, I.L.P., Fabian Society and trade unions. The procession marched from Stevenson Square to Alexandra Park, there being bands and banners in abundance, taking two and a half hours to do so. It is estimated that 20,600 people were present in the Park. The Corporation had denied the use of this place on application, on a lying pretext, but found it impossible to stop the people going in, and dared not close it. So there being no platforms, as last year, the resolutions, which contained a strong censure on the authorities for their action, and some speeches were delivered from chairs. Corporate wisdom decreed for the preservation of order, etc., the presence of the police, and they were all over the show. The County Constabulary having been specially drawn on to augment the city force. A most remarkable display of "Bobbies" on horseback, armed with pistols, swords and kid gloves. For us the opportunity afforded a means for the sale of literature, which went very well, and for distributing leaflets.—May 2nd, Barton lectured at our weekly meeting on "The Impossibility of an I.L.P.," when there was a good discussion. We are arranging for our political action friends to lecture, the next one being a reply to the above. May 9th, Comrade Healy on "The Dignity (?) of Labor," and May 17th, Comrade Barton on "The Coming Crisis of the World and the Social Revolution." We advertise these subjects in the *Clarion* weekly, and hope to make them a success. All hail the Social Revolution!

Edinburgh.—We have had a visit from Miss Kate St. John Conway, of the I.L.P., who lectured to large and enthusiastic audiences in Edinburgh and Leith. She gave an excellent address in Queen's Park from one of the platforms of the Trades Demonstration, held here on the 6th. She fairly carried the immense crowd with her, the interest in the subject of Socialism seeming to be always increasing. Where Miss Conway falls short is, when appealing to the people to assert their manhood and womanhood, to organise themselves and put a stop to all the injustice of this present system for ever, which system she had pictured vividly. By "organisation" she means that of the German S.D. party, who are organised to vote as their leaders may direct, and this is called asserting one's manhood. But many will outgrow that teaching and assert their manhood in a different fashion—i.e., by action and by ceasing to put their trust in leaders, who invariably become corrupt, however honest they may be at first, but who any way are powerless to do any good. We see signs of this corruption among the would-be leaders of men everywhere, their one idea is *power*, only let them get into power and all will be well, so they say; but we know differently. Two or three comrades distributed at said demonstration nearly 10,000 leaflets setting forth the policy of the Edinburgh Anarchist Communist Group, and sold all the *Freedom* they had, as well as 5s. worth of other Anarchist pamphlets. If we had but one good speaker here there would be a certainty of an immense amount of good propaganda.

Glasgow.—The Glasgow Socialist League, which, during the last eight years, has done splendid work in propagating the ideas of Revolutionary Socialism, is now no more, but a healthy Anarchist Communist Group has been formed in its place. For some time past the bulk of our members have been vigorously propagating the ideas of Anarchism, and succeeded in catching the ear and enlisting the sympathies of many earnest workers in the labor movement. The change in our designation was rendered imperative, if we desired our true position to be understood by the people. Under the name "Socialist" every "Twilight Reformer" nowadays shelters himself, the word having become so vague and comprehensive that it includes all sorts and conditions of men—from Sir William Harcourt to William Morris.—Now that we have openly proclaimed ourselves, the Bridgeton Anarchist Group have amalgamated with us to carry on our summer propaganda. Two meetings are held every Sunday in Jail's Square. The most successful meeting held as yet was on the Green, at the Labor Demonstration, on Sunday, May 7th. At first we intended having only a small and unpretentious one, but on agreeing to bring down Comrade H. H. Duncan of Aberdeen we decided to do the thing "respectable" and to have a platform similar to those of the Labor Party. We marched in procession from our Rooms, arriving on the field half an hour previous to the Labor men, and began our meeting with a song—The March of the Workers—thereby capturing a large audience. Our speakers were Comrades Turley, Muir, Robb, Duncan, McNaughten and Bent. Comrade Duncan was our principal speaker and rendered the cause (and us) invaluable assistance, speaking for about an hour, and holding his audience, which according to the *Press* numbered 3000, in earnest attention. Comrade Bent (of Leicester) got up an unassuming little banner, bearing the words:—"Glasgow Anarchist Communists; Anarchy is Order." The *Press* had a laugh at us and what it termed "our paradoxical motto," but, as comrade Turley observed, with a wink, "they won't laugh at us *someday*." Comrade Lebeau sang "La Car-

magnone" in French, the chorus of which was taken up by a large portion of the audience, who also responded to our cheers for the Social Revolution. We were thoroughly well pleased with our meeting, the success of which went beyond our most sanguine anticipations. Literature was sold to the amount of 34s. 5d. 7,000 leaflets were distributed, including a reprint of "Our Policy" from the *Weal*, and as far as Glasgow is concerned Anarchy is fairly on the boom.

Dundee.—We commenced our open-air meeting on Saturday, April 30th, with a visit from Comrade Duncan of Aberdeen, who spoke to a meeting on Shore Terrace that night, and to three meetings on Sunday doing splendid work. There was a large sale of Duncan's pamphlet. Monday May 1st, a strike broke out among the Mill and Factory workers against a five per cent reduction, and by Wednesday had become general, between twenty and thirty thousand being out. Thursday the "Leader"—a Rev. Gentle an—of their Union which includes only some two out of the forty thousand in the town had a meeting with the masters' Committee, and conciliated matters by making a compromise for a 2½ per cent reduction. The evening and morning papers both came out in large type with the strike settled this way; but on Friday morning the stupid workers proved intractable and remained out, firmly refusing to be conciliated on these terms. By midday the masters had given in and work was resumed on the old terms. We have made use of this at our meetings as an argument for Anarchy and free action as against the interference and juggling of leaders, as at Hull for example. We are getting our group into good working order; but we stand much in want of a good open-air speaker, still we are quietly attaching new comrades.

Dublin.—May 7th a procession of twenty thousand workers passed through the principal streets of this city and proceeded to the Phoenix Park, where nearly twice that number of citizens were assembled. Three platforms were erected from which speeches were made and resolutions put and passed in favor of an Eight-Hour Day &c. William Field M.P. in his speech alluded to his having been warned to keep out of popular movements as they were dangerous and would not succeed, but he had discovered all movements that had for their object the emancipation of the workers were dubbed dangerous. Tevenan, Irish secretary of railway workers, observed that the politicians of Ireland had kept that country divided for centuries, but that the workers were now beginning to get below that principle. Referring to the Hull dispute he said, the capitalist should be told that they would not allow him to strangle their fellow workers. The day before he had been in Derry and had brought from thence a message to the men of Dublin to the effect that politics were no longer going to oppose them in the North of Ireland. Many of the speakers alluded to the explosion, which had taken place at the Four Courts the night before, as an act by some enemy of the people who wished to discredit the Cause of labor. A voice from the crowd suggested that it had been done by a policeman. Be that as it may the Dublin police are subjecting many honest citizens to a very disagreeable supervision, and many arrests have been made only to be followed by release. Similar labor meetings were held in Derry, Drogheda, Dundalk and other places. The only place at which a meeting was held on the First of May was Newry.—During April several interesting addresses were delivered at the Fabian Society, that of Miss G. Johnston attracting the most attention. The subject "the position of Woman under Socialism" was treated ably and exhaustively, and excited a well kept up two night discussion. J. O. Varian lectured on the "benefits of Socialism" and J. O'Gorman on "Evolution and Revolution." The Fabian Society took part in the May Day meeting, two of its speakers A. Shields and J. Notan delivered addresses.

Aberdeen.—Duncan was well received at the Dockers' Union meeting. Several comrades assisted at demonstrations held by the local branch of the Seamen and Firemen Union in support of the Hull Strike; at our meetings collections were made for the strikers. On May 1st, in conjunction with the Socialist Society we held a May Day Demonstration which, considering that May-day this year fell on the Aberdeen Annual Holiday, was immensely successful. Speeches were delivered by Cameron, R., G. and W. Cooper and Drack of the Socialist Society, Stanley Jones of the National Secularist Society and Duncan, Fine, McFarlane and Shepherd of our group. All the speeches were free from the constitutional twaddle which has been too conspicuous in this year's May-day speeches elsewhere. Our banner with the handwork of Comrades Taylor and Fraser with sketches from Cynicus on them, attracted much attention. Our usual open-air meetings continue to be largely attended by an interested crowd. Fine, McFarlane and Shepherd have been taking a turn at open-air speaking, and so reducing the amount of labor which falls on Duncan. In the beginning of the month we issued as a pamphlet Comrade Duncan's lecture "A Plea for Anarchist Communism" which has gone off very well. We have succeeded in getting a bookseller to display *Freedom* for sale, by which means several copies of the paper have been sold this month. Our sale of literature during May has been very good. Secretary's new address: c/o Mrs. Davidson, 6, South Constitution-street.

NOTICES.

LONDON—

Open-air meetings: Sundays, 11.30 a.m., in Hyde and Regent's and Finsbury Parks, and at Mile End Waste, Kensal Green, and Triangle (Peckham Rye); 3.40 p.m., Hyde Park; 5 p.m., Clerkenwell Green; 7 p.m., Mile End Waste. Saturdays, 8 p.m., Hyde Park.

Lecture: June 8, A. Henry, at North London Fabian Group, on "Why Anarchists are opposed to politics."

Manchester.—Meetings, Sundays, Stevenson Square 3.30; New Cross, 7.30. Wednesdays, Labor Church Institute, at 8.

Literature.—Freedom Pamphlet No. 5, "ANARCHY," by E. Malatesta, second edition now ready.

Aberdeen Anarchist Communist Group Publication I., "A PLEA FOR ANARCHIST COMMUNISM," by H. H. Duncan, one penny, or 1s. 4d. a quire; can now be obtained from H. H. Duncan, 46, Marischal-street, Aberdeen.

Now ready—"THE CRIMES OF GOVERNMENTS," by J. Sketchley, twopence. People's Book Store, 52, Salthouse-lane, Hull.

SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR SUPPORT OF LITTLE VICTOR NICOLL.

RECEIVED FROM APRIL 24th TO MAY 30th:—

Anonymous, 2/6; Pope list, 3/-; R. Avis, 3/-; E. N. G., 2; Joy list, 7/-; H. S. C., 1/-; C. G., 1/-; C. E. Skerritt, 10/-; A Friend, 2/6; Leicester Comrades, 8/-; E. Walkden, 2/-.

All communications should be addressed in future to M. Galbraith, 19, Conderton-road, S.E.

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