

Freedom

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MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

THE LABOUR WAR.

At the present moment the struggle of the engineers for the eight hours day is attracting world wide attention. A new phase in the labour struggle has arisen. It is no longer merely the evolutionary economic concentration of capital that faces the engineering mechanic but the conscious reactionary federation of representative capitalists engaged in the engineering industry. While only a comparatively small section of the workers are quite clear as yet where industrial affairs are drifting—even when members of their trade organisations—it is quite evident that those who control the capital engaged in industrial concerns are alive to it, and are determined to keep undisputed mastery at all hazards.

They state this at least most decisively: that they intend to run their business just as they please and will resent the least attempt on the part of the organised workers to a word respecting internal arrangements. This, as we have so frequently pointed out, is of course the logical outcome of the application of the principles of Trade Unionism—this question of control must arise eventually. The deplorable thing about it is that so few of the prominent persons connected with the daily details of a Union have the time—or worse, the inclination—to think things out, and so we find them unable to comprehend the present situation.

Fortunately there are a few who do, though it was not intended to force the ultimate issue to the front. Now the masters have anticipated them and, like Norwood during the Dock Strike and blue ribbon Livesey in the South Metropolitan Gas Strike, say frankly it is a question of who shall control the business—workers or exploiters. Personally we are more than pleased; they have educated the workers more in a few weeks than we could have hoped to do in years.

Of course, at the back of the present fight is the machine question. Over this the military and financial capitalists want a free hand. They then see increased plunder as a result. If the Union is strong enough to step in it means some of the advantages of increased output going to the workers. It must not be forgotten that a military man is conducting the fight for the capitalists. A pretty pass this, to be sure, when industrial magnates, hungry for profit, surrender their independence and hand over their affairs, especially the settling of industrial disputes, to a man whose social training and ideas have been bound up with military discipline.

The response in the labour world has certainly been splendid. Apart from the stupidity of the boilermakers' officials, almost everyone connected directly or indirectly with the labour movement has ranged themselves by the side of the engineers in the fight. The excitement, though not yet quite so intense in London as during the Dock Strike of '89, is certainly far wider spread. The international solidarity displayed shows the advances made since that date. Never before in the history of modern times has there been such a response to the call of the workers.

As a set-off to the cunning tactics of the German capitalist, Siemens,—who, no doubt, could well afford to jubilate in Berlin since he is there doing the work he finds it impossible to get done here at present—we have the help being sent to the strike fund by the German workers. If the fight continues it will find an echo all over the world wherever capitalism is entrenched. At present the fight is extending and simultaneously the excitement is becoming more intense. Talk of a general strike is becoming common. London leads where formerly the North was to the front. There old officials whose fighting days are over keep a trembling hand on the organisations they have helped to build lest they get out of their depth and disappear in the torrent of new ideas now rapidly coming to the front.

At present only the engineers are engaged; to-morrow may see the cotton operatives, the railway men, the building trades and, if still continued, the miners. Now let us look this matter squarely in the face. What would such a situation mean? It would mean that three or four times as many workers would be out as there are men in the whole standing army of the empire, and six or eight times as many as are at home at any one time. It would mean that industry would come to a standstill and that millions would be starving within a month. It would mean that for once the workpeople would feel their strength and their weakness. That they would have to go forward or backward! Forward, taking up the challenge of the capitalists and assuming complete control and shouldering the responsibilities and cares that it would entail, like free and independent men; or backward to submission and slavery, such as we have been slowly leaving behind us right through the present century.

That already in London a revolutionary feeling has arisen is shown by the following extract from a speech at the Queen's Theatre, High St., Poplar, on Sunday afternoon October 17, when Will. Crooks, L.C.C., who presided, seems to have got a bit funky at the ominous rumblings.

Mr. A. BIGBY (Organising Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers) said that as a result of the boilermakers' revolt in East London, the officials at Newcastle had decided not to give their members any financial assistance in the form of strike pay (cries of "shame"). He would ask them what would be the consequences if the Employers' Federation succeeded in smashing the Engineers' Society (A voice: "Revolution!" and cheers. The CHAIRMAN: Order, order). Continuing, Mr. BIGBY said that the result would be a class war which could only end in one or the other being exterminated. He had little fear as to who would be the survivors (loud cheers).

In fact as we write this, one is forcibly reminded of the Chicago fight of 1886—an eight hours struggle that ended in the tragedy we all commemorate this month. Our comrades there were at the head and front of the movement and suffered accordingly. Unfortunately here there are few, if any, who have their courage, capacity or common sense; so there is little likelihood of any martyrdom. We have the crisis, but the men to grasp the situation and to turn it to account for the social revolution are almost entirely lacking. The mass of men are groping blindly and no doubt will ultimately find their way out. They are wandering in the desert and will yet reach the promised land—but how much easier and quicker would it be accomplished if only those who see somewhat clearly and those who know the way would only give their services freely to their fellows and not remain isolated and idle as is often the case at the present time.

It is interesting to note how mere political affairs dwindle and drop out of sight when an economic struggle begins. Barnsley is eclipsed. The workers feel instinctively that ballots at the polling booth are as out of date to settle industrial and economic questions, as barricades in the streets are to settle political ones. They are at last finding out (now that the capitalists proclaim it from the housetops) that the source of all power, the same as of all supplies, is really in the factory or the forge, the workshop and the mine, on the farm, the ship, the railway, and that whoever controls these controls all else, since they are dependent on these for their very existence.

There is the danger, of course, that when a labor struggle is compromised, that the workers having called an armistice will again attempt the impossible through the political blind alley.

It should be the work of every Anarchist to expose this folly; and while admitting the honesty of some who still have faith in this policy, even as we would of some who even yet cling to the supernatural and believe in miracles, to exert ourselves to the utmost to assist every where any revolt of labor, confident that every conflict will at least hasten the day of emancipation.

The impotence of parliamentary tinkering in industrial affairs is seen in the failure of Mr. Ritchie to effect a suspension of hostilities by means of the Conciliation Act recently passed, and if eventually something should be done under its auspices it will only be what would have happened anyhow whether it had been on the statute book or not.

On the other hand the iron grip of the law has already been felt from the other side. Seven of Thornycroft's men have been sent to prison upon the pretence that they had intimidated some of the blacklegs. Legal intimidation is defined as following and besetting with more than two in number and if booing is indulged in it is an aggravation of the offence. Intimidation! Terrorism even by the masters with the aid of the law;—but the men, why they must not look at a deserter from their ranks for fear he might be frightened.

To conclude: a new era in the labour war has arrived. The mass of the men do not yet understand it. The men are for the most part timid, or, at best, afraid to take a new departure. There is no centre where the whole of the Unions of the country can rally, and the Parliamentary Committee apparently paralyzed at the prospect of taking the matter in hand. It is clearer than ever that, as suggested in *Freedom* a long time since, the Trade Union Congress must have a separate committee formed to deal with these matters and for fighting and propaganda purposes. As there is nothing else for it, I would strongly urge the leaders of the engineers to call a conference of all those Trade Unions who are willing to respond and so get outside all official red tape. They would thus find out who were really willing to help, and then the questions of a general levy, a general strike, public demonstrations of sympathy—they have been much too quiet so far—can be discussed by those determined beforehand to carry through the decisions arrived at. And if, after all, this fails—then a revolutionary situation will be reached, when others may step in and take a hand.

JOHN TURNER.

THE LABOR QUESTION VERSUS ANARCHISM.

BY DR. L. SMIRNOW.

(Being an address delivered before a mass meeting called by the International Workingmen's Educational Club of Waterbury, Conn., U.S.A., revised and enlarged.)

THE LABOUR QUESTION

Having demonstrated thus the unnatural life and conduct of the people, it remains for us to find the causes thereof and to invent or consider ways and means for change or improvement. And right here a question presents itself for solution, the answer to which will give us important data: Why is it that all objects and all phenomena follow one general course in the line of least resistance, in conformity with natural laws, while the human organisms have the alternative of following the same or an opposite direction? And the answer to this is: because living matter possesses one peculiarity as aforestated, Life, and this gives rise, in all bodies where nerve matter enters into their construction, to a very peculiar, complex and almost mysterious faculty, which is self-consciousness. It is this very consciousness of self that lies at the root of all human affairs and that governs human actions. Certain laws of nature we all must obey alike; we are held on the Earth by the Earth's magnetism, by the weight of the atmosphere, and by our own attraction to the Earth, gravitation; we go along with the Earth as it revolves around on its axis and as it travels around the sun, not being the least conscious of it: we do not expose ourselves, when we can help it, to hardship and to hard weather; we take care not to fall from any height, knowing that the sudden contact of the skull with the hard pavement will produce sensations not at all pleasant or agreeable. Yet while self-consciousness helps to preserve the integrity of the body and serves for the general well-being of the organism, it also gives rise to greed and selfishness, to excessive and needless ambition; to love of power and wealth, so that, could it be in the power of men, a "trust" or "monopoly" would form to exclude the sunlight from the face of the earth and sell it at retail to all that may wish to see, and this as a result of their consciousness of self as a motive of personal interest. It is the consciousness of self that has divided society into classes, that has made the master, and consequently the slave, that has made people to amass property and accumulate wealth, and hence has caused the instituting of laws and constitutions. It is the consciousness of self—Selfishness—that has heaped abundance and excess around a few and has consequently steeped the majority in misery, that has caused the physically strong to utilise their brute force and thus take advantage of their weaker brother. It is this same consciousness that has, and at present is producing the tyrants, the monarchs, kings and emperors, exploiters, landlords, capitalists, thieves, pirates and bandits of all sorts, infamous and corrupt oppressors, law makers, senators, hangmen, presidents, jailors, etc., etc. And as a consequence the great mass of people fairly break down beneath the monstrous burden; they feel themselves trampled down and their very life nearly crushed out of them. In Russia as in France, in England as in the United States, all through Europe and both Americas, in fact over the entire Earth, wherever there is a laboring class, there is found indescribable misery and dire poverty, while the wealth resulting from their labor goes over into the hands of a few.* After a long train of abuses and ill treatment these laboring people have finally begun to associate and organise and their discussions on the subject concerning them and their interests have given rise to what is called the Labour Question.

Two streams are fed by the same spring—Self-consciousness—one the aggressive, wrong and offensive, the other the right and defensive. The first we have already considered, the second remains to be considered. The first is the arrogance and vanity of the plutocracy, its appropriation of all wealth to itself and the resultant fraud and aggression; the first therefore is the offensive. The second is the organisation of labor, its aims and efforts at restoring wealth and property to the proper owners, its claims to its own productions and its desire to manage its own affairs, and this is the defensive. And it is obvious that the second is not only justifiable but necessary, not only evidential but circumstantial, and that the first gives rise to the second; for if there were no offense or aggression there would be no need for defence. The labor question therefore has for its object the amelioration of the laboring people, and the readjustment of affairs so as to place them in better circumstances. This is comparatively a recent problem, since industry and manufacturing are of recent origin. I cannot here trace the origin and development of commerce and industry and the corresponding development of the labor movement, but suffice it to say that it is almost entirely a matter of the nineteenth century. It was only in 1759 that the first thought of the locomotive suggested itself to Robison, and the first and rudimentary locomotive-engine constituted and set to work

in 1805. It was only in 1709 that the first newspaper, the *Daily Courant*, about the size of a man's hand, appeared in England. It is hardly a century since the first steamboat was introduced by Fulton. In this way it can be shown that almost every branch of industry is of late development, almost every machine, every press, every tool is of modern invention. Therefore the labour question, the problem relating to the conditions of the workers,—the makers of these machines, presses, tools, etc., is only of recent origin. So recent indeed, that some of the greatest labor organisations can only trace their history to about the middle of this century. But, nevertheless, the labor strikes have reached, in these days, the magnitude of wars, and their organisations and unions begin to embrace the majority of workers

(To be Concluded.)

THE CURSE OF LANDLORDISM.

One of the first things that must strike the thinking man on looking up at the front of the Royal Exchange is the inscription carved thereon in the stonework, "The Earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof." However true this may have been in that remote and distant age "once upon a time," it certainly is by no means true to-day; for we find that, wherever we go, the land is monopolised either by private individuals, trusts or public companies, who, thus holding between them that without which no man can live, are enabled to dictate terms to the less fortunate members of the community, who own no land, as to the conditions under which they shall occupy any dwelling. In London undoubtedly, the curse of landlordism, as it has rightly been named, is strongest owing to the centralising there of trade, manufacture, railways, etc., the demand for house accommodation is so great that rents have more than doubled within the last 20 years, and in some districts in even less time. Every new railway constructed means more dwellings removed; more dwellings removed means less accommodation; consequently the competition for the accommodation that remains is so keen that the landlords in a great many cases actually require the intending tenants to book apartments some time before they are vacant, and even then refuse to accept them unless they sign an agreement that altogether deprives the tenant of even the scanty protection afforded him by the law. Thus, occasionally the tenant has to agree that the landlord may, if a week's rent is owing, turn him into the street without any notice whatsoever,—and this is generally carried out. In the majority of places children are objected to, the result being that people with families are compelled to herd together in the most wretched slums, where the rents are still more exorbitant because they allow you the privilege of keeping children! Few people, except those who have experienced it, know the difficulty that besets the poor house—or rather apartment—hunter in the poorer parts of London. To him the landlord is a far greater personage than the highest peer of the realm; he is the autocrat who, at a wave of his hand, can either lend you a roof to shelter your family, or turn you into the street, as the humour may take him.

In the districts of St. Pancras, Soho, Seven Dials, Shoreditch, some "improvements" have been effected, and, to make matters worse, St. Pancras, or a portion abutting upon Marylebone, is accursed with a park. Now, park and street improvements should be, we would think, a blessing to the community; but unfortunately they turn out to be just the opposite! As usual, the richer classes monopolise for their dwellings all those thoroughfares near the parks, which results in a rise in rent all through the district, and metropolitan street improvements mean more houses pulled down, and consequently more crowding in the streets remaining. A fine example of the uselessness of legislation in the direction of the housing of the poor is afforded us in connection with the Midland Railway at St-Pancras. When the railway monopolists desired to remove the dwellings of the workers to make room for the terminus of their system, they were granted permission on condition that they afforded shelter for the people displaced. This they did by pulling down more dwellings and erecting "models," which not only will not contain one third of the families displaced, but are inhabited by an entirely different class of people, such as policemen, railway employees, postmen, etc., while the rent which goes into the coffers of the M. R. company—is far higher than in the dwellings demolished.

Another example is that of the County Council Buildings on the Boundary Street area, Shoreditch. Admitting that the present dwellings are far healthier than the rookeries that were removed, at the same time the people who were cleared out of the old slums, it is admitted by even the advocates of Municipal Dwellings, are not living in the Buildings to-day. Why is that? For the same reason as the people displaced did not go into the M. R. Buildings,—because the regulations were too strict, and the rent too high. Whether it is because they do not want to interfere with the interests of the landlords of the vicinity or not I do not know, but although it is said that the Council does not wish to make profit out of them, the lowest rent for a suite of rooms is 13s.! How many workers can afford that? Besides, the Council have power to eject at one day's notice if any rent is owing. The majority of the former dwellers on the site have drifted into other slums, where, as a natural result, the rents are being raised all round. This is the result of Municipal tinkering.

As a matter of fact every attempt to improve the condition of the working classes to-day, at least so far as the housing question is concerned, is futile as it will simply be turned to account by the landlords. Every new park, every street improvement means increased rent. And

* The condition of the people in the United States is graphically described by Congressman M. H. Howard, a short quotation being given here.

"The almshouses are full to overflowing, the jails and penitentiaries have a plethora of prisoners, the madhouses are packed, the streets are full of homeless wanderers, the morgue has each year a large number of suicides. The sweatshops resound with the groans of helpless children and frail women, the brothels are daily replenished from the ranks of our fair American girls. Thousands are driven to a life of shame each year. A few greedy, grasping plutocrats and the wealthy trusts and corporations have gotten possession of all the wealth, so there is nothing left for those who labored early and late to produce it. The daily newspapers are full of accounts of suffering, poverty, starvation and death; and even then the one-hundredth case is not reported.—*The American Plutocracy*, page 52.

let it be remembered, too, that out of the misery of the very poorest class of the community are drawn the vast incomes of some of the greatest of our statesmen; Lord Salisbury is the owner of that portion of Drury Lane, where the death-rate is 146 per 1,000,—the highest in the Kingdom; compare that with Croydon, the home of the bourgeois, where the death-rate is 13 per 1,000, and we can then see what havoc is played by the Curse of Landlordism!

ERNEST YOUNG.

AMERICAN NOTES.

This month's budget bristles with bayonets and other things. Before my last appeared in print the news of Hazleton came. It is common property of the world now that at the bidding of the mine-owners the constituted authorities of Pennsylvania shot down three times the number that fell at Lexington by order of the British general, Gage, in 1775; aye, and 11 of them shot in the back. It is common property of the world that this government, the right to create which cost seven years of bitter war and which was erected in good faith as the safeguard of rights wrung from English tyranny, has now become the abject and conscienceless tool of capital, a scandal for monarchies, and made America a harlot among the nations—aye, and a bluish harlot, bought and sold reeking with rottenness and blood-covered. And she was to be "the asylum of mankind!" She was to receive "Liberty, hunted around the world!" Ah, well did Thomas Paine write fearfully of the possibilities of America in a thousand years; that some traveller gazing on her ruins might say "here the fair temple of freedom rose and fell." A hundred years, and the temple has long since fallen, and America is a moral ruin.

Well, we knew it would come to that from the first: a great strike always means shooting with us. The wonder was that the strike went on so long without it. Human life is nothing to those who believe in the Holy Gospel of Things. To show how thoroughly they hold the situation, an order for the arrest of Martin and his deputies for murder was issued by a judge. But Gobin, the commander of the United States troops, taking the murderers under his protection, refused to allow their arrest. These are the men who respect the law!

Meetings of protest have been held variously all over the country. Socialists have made capital out of it to start their campaign of "vote your own man in." Daniel de Leon, pope of the Socialist Labor Party, at one of these meetings declared this affair "an assassination," for which he was cheered by 6,000 people. And De Leon is the man who said of Angiolillo's act: "Swine rends swine." A swinish observation, certainly. Would he say the same if somebody, "incited" by his remarks, were to assassinate Martin now. It would be a narrow view of the capacities of conspiracies made in police circles if he could not be implicated.

The Anarchists of New York also held a meeting of protest at Clarendon Hall, addressed by Edelman, Kelly and Goldman, which was reported in the usual scurrilous style of the New York papers.

The end of the strike in the soft coal district has been announced as a victory for the men. They demanded 69 cents a ton, and compromised on 65 cents. It must be understood, however, that this means 65 cents for screened coal, and that the miners get nothing for what goes through the screen; and, further than that, they are robbed in a hundred ways which no one unfamiliar with the method of working the mines can imagine.

On September 27, a labor conference, intended to unite all labor reform organisations in the sympathy of acquaintance, was called at Chicago. The call was signed by Mahon (President, Street Railway Men), O'Connell (First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor), Sovereign (Master Workman of the Knights of Labor), and Eugene V. Debs. It is the first convention at which no line was attempted to be drawn save the one of a wage-worker in some reform movement. I have not yet seen reports of the work of the conference.

The *Firebrand* people have come under the hand of Comstock. A small circular letter informs its readers that the issue of 19 September, containing a supplement pertaining to the Barcelona matter, was seized at the post-office when Abner J. Pope was about to mail it; that the latter was put under arrest as well as Henry Addis, and comrade Isaak will likewise be arrested when he returns from the hop fields. The circular concludes with an appeal for financial help to fight the case, donations to be sent to G. E. Miller, Sellwood, Oregon. To English readers I may say this is an old affair with us. Every journal with any pretensions to success in disseminating free opinions has been a target for Comstock. The *Truth-Seeker* under Burnett, *The Word* of Ezra Heywood, *Lucifer* of Moses Harman, have all been attacked. The so-called Comstock law is a United States law forbidding the transmission of "obscene" matter through the mails. It was passed at the instance of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, Anthony Comstock president. It has served chiefly as an instrument for blackmailing medical specialists and prosecuting reformers. It is hard to say what will be the outcome of the prosecution; but, whatever it be, the main effort now should be directed to keeping the *Firebrand* afloat until those now under arrest are free again. This was done in the case of *Lucifer*, notwithstanding John Most's erroneous statement to the contrary in *Freiheit*. Through the personal sacrifice of C. L. Swartz and Lois Waisbrooker and the steadfastness of its friends, *Lucifer* came out reg-

ularly both during the trial and the two incarcerations of its editor. The same can and should be done in the case of the *Firebrand*.

One delectable little item as I close; I do not vouch for its truth, but I have heard that Hugh O. Pentecost has become a priest! If so, he has gotten around the circle and it is to be hoped will stop. But no! He will be coming among us shortly and telling us he did all this on purpose to get the actual experience of these rascals and then give it away! I wish his parishioners much good of him.

P. S. The Labor Conference failed to come off; it is said, because of the settlement of the strike. V. DE CLEYRE.

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE'S TOUR IN SCOTLAND.

It was with much misgiving that the Scotch comrades decided to have Miss De Cleyre amongst them. For after her prolonged stay in London, and the series of successful meetings arranged by London comrades, we thought that in the event of her visiting "puir auld Scotland" her favourable impression of the Anarchist movement might be dispelled. But (and much virtue in that *but*) we just set to work and "cannily"—"weel, no very cannily either"—arranged "oor" little show; and with what success the following record will tell.

Miss De Cleyre started her lecturing tour in Scotland by delivering two lectures under the auspices of the I.L.P., in Albion Hall, Glasgow, on Sunday, September 5th, before large and sympathetic audiences. The subject for the afternoon lecture was "Why I am an Anarchist." The lecturer's treatment of the subject was lucid and scholarly, and with her sincerity and originality of thought combined she kept the vast audience interested until the close. After the lecture V. de Cleyre recited one of her poems, "The Gods and the Peoples," the poem was listened to with the closest attention, and when she had finished the audience showed their appreciation in the usual whole-hearted Scottish fashion. Next, we had the discussion, which was mostly of a high standard; the principal point of disagreement being her desire, or rather dream, of an era of chemical food. But, as her critics did not bring forward any arguments to overthrow her dream, I expect she is still dreaming that pleasant dream, though it may not be so Utopian as some of her critics thought. "The Poetry of Reform" was the subject for the evening lecture, and it was one of the ablest lectures it has been my good fortune to hear. The lecturer having studied her subject, every point carried with it a fund of pregnant thought delivered in a convincing style; with a wealth of illustrations from various authors she clearly brought before the audience, and budding poets in particular, the necessity of understanding the essentials of true poetry before they try to write. With all this I believe the audience fully agreed; but when she began to utter heresies, asserting that our "immortal" Shakespeare, "the silver-tongued bard of Avon" was not above reproach; and then she gave two or more quotations from his works which—worst of all, oh tell it not in Gath—proved her case, and then to make comparison between *our* Shakespeare and a person bearing the name of Henrik Ibsen who, it appears, has written some plays, etc.! Now this Mr. Ibsen cannot be of much worth *seeing he is not popular*—at least the audience showed conclusively that they had never heard of him, and therefore the comparison went unchallenged. Next, the lecturer dealt with Browning; but I leave the lecturer to the tender and sisterly attention of E.A.S. Another heresy was, that Byron was no scientist. I am sure that Jim Connell fairly proved the error of that assertion. When Jim was speaking he gave some original suggestions to help the novice in working up his inspiration; the last suggestion he gave I am going to try when I get the opportunity. On Wednesday, Sept. 8, V. de Cleyre lectured for the Woman's Labor Party; subject, "Sincerity and our need of it." Here there was an appreciative audience and lively discussion; most of the critics, while agreeing with the lecturer that sincerity was what was wanted, thought it more judicious to be as sincere as they could.—Ahem!!!

On Sunday Sept. 12, in Aberdeen, Miss De Cleyre delivered two lectures under the auspices of the Aberdeen Group; subjects, "Why I am an Anarchist," and "The economic phase of Anarchism." Two large audiences, and everything went fine. I have no doubt some of our comrades in Aberdeen will furnish *Freedom* with the details of Miss de Cleyre's visit.

Monday Sept. 13, in Dundee, one lecture under the auspices of the combined advanced bodies. Good audience; subject, "Why I am an Anarchist," with which the audience were so pleased that they wanted more; so an effort was made to get the Hall for another meeting, but failing in that direction they had to let the matter drop.

Saturday Sept. 18, attended an "Agitator at home" social evening in Labor Hall, Main Street, Glasgow; comrades Jim Connell, Joe Grady and V. de Cleyre guests. Here the assembled audience filled the hall to its utmost capacity; with tea, songs, recitations, etc., we spent a happy time—in spite of the fact that all the recitations delivered during the evening (including one from Voltairine and two from J. Connell) were about police courts, battles, assassinations and executions. Monday Sept. 20, under the auspices of the Eclectic Social Union and Solidarity Anarchist Group in Albion Hall, Glasgow, Miss de Cleyre delivered a lecture on "The Philosophy of Anarchism." This lecture was an intellectual treat which will be long remembered by the audience; the way the lecturer dissected our social and political lies, and the bold—nay, defiant—and uncompromising attitude she took on her and *our* philosophy was well worthy of all the unstinted applause that followed. The discussion was animated and included critics from all schools of thought; but with all her critics the lecturer seemed to leave a good impression. It was toward the end of the discussion that a quite Christian-like gentleman arose at the back of the hall and asked the following question, "Is it true that the homes of the rich are dens of vice, where they are trained from childhood, not to live by their honest manly or womanly endeavour, but rather to live upon the labor of others; to fatten and batten like *ghouls* upon the credulity or the necessity of their fellow creatures?" Miss de Cleyre answered this all-important question as only a person of her keen intellectual perception could answer, by saying that it would take several volumes to answer that satisfactorily.

Thursday September 23, Miss de Cleyre lectured for the I.L.P. in their hall at Paisley on "Social plants and transplants." There was a large and sympathetic audience, but not much discussion; V. de Cleyre recited her poem, "The Gods and the Peoples," with her usual success. One of the most interesting features of this visit was to know that the hall in which the lecture was delivered belongs to the Branch. When the members obtained possession it was a dilapidated warehouse, but the members, who are all artisans, set to work and renovated and fitted up the hall, made the seats, erected the platform and well did everything; and now they are the possessors of a magnificent hall. More power to you, comrades! you are the true stuff out of which revolutionists are made.

From the above report it will be observed by any casual reader that Voltairine de Cleyre's visit to Scotland will be the harbinger of good to the idea we are all working for; that it is so I have positive proofs, for I have received letters from several advanced bodies wishing to know if there is any probability of her paying a return visit. Let us hope it will be soon. That the impressions she has left behind her in Scotland are of the quality that make for good and the advancement of the movement there can be no doubt. I conclude this short report by requesting her to carry to all good and true women and men in America our fraternal greetings.

W. DUFF.

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The Editors are not necessarily in agreement with signed articles.

NOTES.

PETTY PERSECUTION.

Our readers will not be altogether unfamiliar with Ned Dyke, the cabdriver and author of that sweet, true and forcible little song "Workers arise." We regret to learn that one of the "leisured classes," in the person of Mr. Lushington, has deprived him of his living by rescinding his licence, owing to an alleged—and unwitnessed—assault on a "blackleg."

Those who know this man, declare him to be an honest revolutionist at heart, but too gentle in spirit and conduct to be guilty of either such an act or the further charge of "scurrilous abuse."

He seems to have fallen a victim to police officialism, being a "spotted man." We, however, wish success to Mr. Simmons in his endeavour to obtain the re-issue of Dyke's licence.

'Tis a pity he should be under the necessity of appealing to the law for the right to live.

SAVAGES?

Berber has been captured and its barbarous inhabitants welcomed the victors with wild enthusiasm. So Reuter's correspondent telegraphs, but he fails to mention how many teeth these poor beings knocked out of their head and how many hairs each tore from his scalp as an exhibition of downright sincerity.

We know that such a procedure is common among many coloured tribes, it having been often practised before missionaries (save the mark) for their kindness in introducing syphilis and small pox, also laws forbidding innocent amusements, such as often counteract indolence, and rendezvousing in their valleys without being well clothed—and well coloured—so as to preserve their modesty until the law declares "now tis human."

We are unceremoniously informed by this "English gentleman" that there is a great opening for the following important goods:

"Manchester goods, hardware, rope, scents, beads, superior cloth of rough and strong texture, as well as finer stuffs, muslins, silks, looking glasses, pins, cheap jewellery, enamel, pots, pans and cups. Confectionery and sugar are always in demand, as well as pipes, cigarettes, cigarette-holders, and leather belts adapted to suit the requirements of the natives, blue spectacles as a protection against ophthalmia, and nails, padlocks and knives."

What a boom! When the scourge of civilisation has run its full course in the now sad deserts of Africa, and its populated places become depopulated, and its fertile spots will be rotting with the odium of British gold and the blood and corpses of thousands of these people, then perhaps a remaining chief of these—now jubilant—poor people will in the words of Pomaree II., King of Tahiti, address the civilised gamblers as follows: "You have come to see me at a very bad time. Your ancestors came in the time of men, when Tahiti was inhabited. You have come to behold just the remnant of my people."

And the high priest of Paree may well have sung:

"The palm tree shall grow,
The coral shall spread,
But man shall cease."

This sweet child-like people are now practically extinct, but such words should be brought home with all their tragic purity to the brutal and unimpressible European.

Poor Dervishes, there is trouble in store for you, there is a serpent in your country, and when missionaries are well established, you will repeat those true words of the diseased Tahitians, who, holding up their afflicted children before the preaching missionary, screamed out: "Lies, lies! You tell us of salvation; and, behold, we are dying. We want no other salvation than to live in this world. Where are there any saved through your speech? Pomaree is dead; and we are all dying with your cursed diseases. When will you give over?"

"We will only 'give over' when you can pay us back in our own coin," replies the white man; but then, by that time, there may be little simplicity in the lives of the coloured races that will be worthy of preservation or fighting for.

Thus the misty desert with its great sand storms and the old Nile with its many histories, Nature with its impressive silence all creating within us a distant charm, ere disappearing.

In the rush and struggle that commercialism entails, in the ever con-

tinuing noise that tends to destroy our remaining pure emotions, some small joy is found in the knowledge, that far far away there live people who know not of all these turmoils and pains, and whose "slavery is nobler than our 'freedom'". But even of this joy we are robbed; as here, so there; and when we shall have whipped these hounds from our homes, they will have their African resorts to concentrate on.

The coloured man must also learn what revolution means. Commercialism grows almost as rapidly as Socialism; but Socialism alone will reap the great harvests already ripening and to be gathered in the near future. There must be other missionaries who shall go out to these people, and preach the gospel of Solidarity and Fraternity instead of Rum and the Bible. J. P.

FREE LABOR AND ITS EMPLOYERS.

Of course everyone expects to hear much of "free labor" from such men as colonel Dyer when a struggle like that which is now in progress between the Engineers and the employers Federation is agitating the country. The crocodile tears shed by the hypocritical capitalists who pretend—the knaves—that they are for liberty as against coercion, will, we hope, deceive very few of the workers. This Colonel Dyer, who masquerades so grotesquely as the champion of liberty, is at the present moment a bright particular star in the capitalist heavens—if the simile may be applied to such an inferno as the capitalist regime. Why the rascal, Dyer, would be the first to dance on the grave of liberty if he could only have it dead and buried. But the fight is not likely to go all his way. Hundreds and thousands will learn the lesson that he and his crew are teaching them. The moral will not be lost whatever else may be.

We notice that a Mr. Groom at the Annual Meeting of the Free Labour Association urged the need of "protecting the intellectually weak from the hydra-headed monster, the so-called New-Unionism." Well, we are quite convinced that any section of the working-classes who would expect to have their interests protected by the Employers' Federation must indeed be intellectually weak. This statement also implies that the *strong-minded* are in the Unions, and with this we entirely agree. The employers may be sure the strong-minded will win.

HENRY GEORGE.

The death of Henry George and the circumstances under which it happened have drawn special attention to the life-work of this remarkable man. There is hardly another who has done so much propaganda for the land question; and the success of his volume *Progress and Poverty* was simply phenomenal. The single tax theory which he propounded could never be a solution of the evils attending the present holding of land. But the good accomplished was not in setting forth a theory, but in the clear reasoning, the simple logic, the scathing criticism he brought to bear against landlord iniquities. His mind was so focussed on the land question that he failed to grasp the significance of other economic phenomena of equal importance. But for all that he was no doubt an honest and sincere worker, and his efforts formed one of the great tributaries to the great stream of progress which after all is made up of many varieties of thought and opinion.

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE'S FAREWELL.

After a too brief stay in the "mother country" (we are not quite sure Voltairine de Cleyre admits the parentage), our esteemed comrade bade us farewell in an eloquent little speech at the Athenæum on Thursday October 10, and sailed from Southampton the following Saturday. All comrades who have met her have been impressed as much by her courage and sincerity as by her firm and intelligent grasp of all questions relating to Anarchism. We are sorry indeed that she should have caught our movement at the ebb tide; but at any rate she found work being done—especially in Scotland and the North—that will bear good fruit when the tide turns.

We trust it is not too much to hope we may see her with us again in the near future. Meanwhile we feel sure she will return to the American movement with renewed energy, conveying at the same time our sincerest greetings to all American comrades, and bearing with her some pleasant memories of her stay amongst us.

ERRICO MALATESTA AND POLITICS.

The following declaration appeared in *L'Agitazione* of Oct. 7, 1897: "We cannot explain the reason why some parliamentary Socialists are spreading false rumours about the conversion of some of our comrades, for example, E. Malatesta, whom they declare as having uttered identical declarations to those of Merlino."

"Funny fellows! One might say that they are paid for hindering our organizing work. Besides, the faith we have in our comrade makes us regard such malignant insinuation with contempt. E. Malatesta is our collaborator and holds *absolutely* the same views as defended by our journal. Whosoever is interested in knowing Malatesta's manner of thinking needs only to read *L'Agitazione*. Anybody who attributes to him views opposed to those of our paper tells an untruth."

NEW TACTICS FOR TRADE UNIONISTS.

In labor struggles at every juncture, the solidarity of labor and public opinion are appealed to, and prove valuable, or rather invaluable helps to the isolated action of smaller or larger groups of workers. Fortunately their strength and broadness and soundness of views are ever improving—yet this increase of solid co-operation with individual

EXTRA SUPPLEMENT

TO "FREEDOM," BY SPECIAL SUBSCRIPTION, NOVEMBER, 1897.

Montjuich, and after.

The cries from Montjuich have subsided but not ceased. It was fully expected after the arrival of the 28 exiles in England, that the remaining prisoners in the fortress would speedily be released, and this hope was justified by an official dispatch in the Spanish press that such was to be the case; but the Ministry, headed by Senor Canovas del Castillo, which issued the dispatch, did not anticipate the execution of its chief. Some weeks ago it was predicted that the fate of the 120 victims in Montjuich was sealed; and this conjecture is borne out by the *Heraldo del Madrid* of Sunday September 7, which declares they are all to be sent to Rio d'Oro. Vengeance is the breath of life of the Spanish government—the vengeance that is wrought of desperation. Spain sees her colonies, which once made her great among nations, fast slipping from her grasp; and in her midst she is overrun with enemies, who, with modern aspirations, revolt against the mediaeval customs of her officials.

The aged and infirm mother of Francisco Gana, with his wife and only brother—on whom the two aforesaid are dependent—have been subjected to severe persecution. The police have threatened his wife with deportation to Africa, and his brother with incarceration in the fortress of Montjuich. Why? Gana has committed no crime, even against the law. It is because he has established the truth of the tortures and his own innocence to the satisfaction of the people of Europe that mean satisfaction is found in wreaking vengeance on an already unhappy home. But a government that thinks nothing of destroying a whole nation under pretext of governing it—as in Cuba—cannot spare time to consider the unimportance of wrecking the home of a worker.

The aged mother of Francisco Callis is being subjected to similar treatment. She is 75 years of age.

Among the exiles who are at present in Perpignan, in the south of France, is one named Ramon Petchor, who is by trade a die-sinker. When he and his wife were first placed in Montjuich, his two daughters were lodged in a religious home in Barcelona, and forcibly detained during the whole of their parents' incarceration—12 months. While in Perpignan he demanded that the authorities should send him his daughters; but it was not until August of this year that they were set at liberty in a penniless condition, and after severe privations reached Perpignan. His daughters were arrested as women of ill fame.

This tactic seems a common infamy with Spanish officials: well known respectable women have been thrown into pestilential prisons in Cuba on the same charge, and for having presented a petition to General Weyler on behalf of Evangelina Cisneros.

This was Canovas del Castillo's policy, of whom General Weyler was only a tool.

It appears that Petchor was found guilty—as an accomplice of Ascheri and the others who were shot, and of those sentenced to 20 years' hard labor—but the court-martial at Madrid, after perusing his depositions, declared him "not guilty" and acquitted him.

The wife of Paulino Pallas, who was shot in 1893 for attempting the life Marshal of Martinez Campos, has been in prison during the last 4 months, and her children taken from her and placed in a convent, where they still remain.

Jaime Torrentz is a master-printer and brother of Juan Torrentz, who was sentenced to 20 years hard labor; his only crime was that of editing a freethought journal named "*Luz*" (Light). He was among the 28 arrivals in July.

For the treatment of Teresa Claramunt see the "*Sunday Times*" September 26th. entitled "In the witness box."

The "*Labour Leader*" of August 21st. contained an interview with Francisco Gana, the tortured Freemason, giving particulars hitherto unmentioned. On September 25th. the same paper contains extracts from the verdict given by the French "jury of honor."

Antonio Guri relates how he, in company with Pierre Corominas, Villela and Vilas, clutched hold of sticks and threatened to kill or resist the torturers; the two latter are now under sentence of 20 years each. After this incident Narcisso Portas entered the cell with armed soldiers, when Villela spat in the face of Portas and then tore his shirt apart and presented his naked breast to the steel of the soldiers. But nothing was done to him. He stands 6 feet high, and is a man of iron physique.

On July 19th. all the prisoners from Montjuich—who were under sentence of hard labour arrived at the Castle of Malaga, on the north coast of Africa; among them being Sunyer, Callis and Oller. After a few

days stay, Sebastian Sunyer was deported to the Chafarinas Islands; Callis, whose mouth has been terribly mutilated through the application of an iron casque and the gag, was sent to Penora de la Gomera, and Juan Oller to Alhucemas; these prison stations are all on the African coast. [See the *Labour Leader* of August 28th for further particulars concerning these victims.]

Some 17 other prisoners have been distributed among the following islands: Valladolid and Burges (Spain), Melilla (Africa), and those stations where Callis, Sunyer, and Oller have been sent.

Writing from the Canary Islands on September 3rd., J. Pamiros says: "I find myself under the necessity of communicating with you, showing you the precarious condition in which I am placed, in consequence of the death of Antonio Canovas del Castillo. The authorities would have it that I was an accomplice of Angiolillo; I was arrested and placed in a military prison; I denied the accusation, and protested that I could not be forced to give information on matters of which I am entirely ignorant. I was told 'poison ought to be given to every Anarchist.' Their brutality went so far as to keep me 24 hours without anything to eat or drink, with the object of eliciting from me the whereabouts of Anarchist societies; which, though I knew, I did not disclose. Being here in a focus of the wildest religious fanaticism, away from family and friends, during the days that I reside here my only wish is to communicate with my friends in London." The importance of this letter consists in the evidence of Spanish methods when dealing with suspected accomplices in any so-called criminal act. The torture in this case is trifling when compared with the others; but its horror is intensified when such practices are continued in spite of the appeals that have been made to Spain to cease this barbarism, and in defiance of the protest of European peoples and the independent press against such conduct.

The *Echo de Paris* has interviewed an ex-colonel of the Spanish army who happened to be among the prisoners in Montjuich. He declares that "though not tortured, for nights he was kept awake by the cries that rang through the fortress, from the adjacent cells of the tortured." I have been informed from very authentic sources that the sentence of death passed on Ramon Sempau was due to the Queen Regent; on hearing that the prosecuting attorney demanded only 42 years, she expressed her wish that the prisoners should be "more severely dealt with." The fact of the sentence of death having been passed in defiance of all Spain's constitutions—by exceeding the sentence demanded by the prosecuting attorney—may result in a new trial, and possibly a considerable reduction of the sentence demanded, especially since Lieutenant Portas still lives.

The barristers of Barcelona intend meeting together to protest against the institution of court-martial proceedings against Sempau, in consideration of his act occurring in times of peace and being one which should in the ordinary course of events be tried by the judicial authorities.

For the first time we publish the names and occupations of the 28 exiles who arrived here on 28th July last:

Teresa Claramunt	José Artigos	Francisco Manovens
Antonio Gurri	José Bonet	Augustin Bel
Juan Montseny	Tomas Codina	Magin Funoll
Cayetano Oller	Anselmo Ramonet	José Pons
Vicente Pi	Pedro Burés	Emilio Navarro
Alfredo Rugiero	José Testart	Juan Ventura
Manuel Barrera	Pedro Padro	José Tarrès
Salvador Praty	Narciso Puig	Sebastian Serdanyóns
Cristobal Ventoroo	José Miquel	Jaime Torrentz
Abdón Navarro		

The occupations are divided as follows: Shoemakers 7, compositors 2, weavers 2, stone-masons 3, and one of each of the following trades: tram-conductor, upholsterer, engineer, lamp-maker, baker, carman, sculptor (of tombstones), quarryman, wood-turner, foreman weaver, schoolmaster, electrician, joiner and hosier (Teresa Claramunt). They each bear good characters and recommendations from their last employers.

September, 1897.

The execution of Canovas del Castillo afforded Spain for the moment the excuse for further persecutions of the Anarchists; so that to-day any person whom the police choose to style a "suspect" is liable to arrest, his chances of justice being equal to those of the man who was committed for trial in Cadiz at the beginning of this century—seven years having elapsed before the actual trial took place. We might do Spain a grave injustice if we disregarded her customs in this direction when criticising her present conduct.

The following letter has come to hand, having been addressed to the *Daily Chronicle* and *Times*:

Dear Sir. We shall be grateful to you if you could insert the following appeal in the paper of which you are the esteemed editor.

AN APPEAL TO THE LAW.

"The Public Prosecutor, the Judge and the Executioner say respectively to the Criminal: It is not I who demand your punishment; it is not I who pass sentence upon you; it is not I who execute you—it is the Law.

Every body throughout the world, in all kinds of cases, appeals to the and all powerful Law. We, too, have appealed to it many times, and though hitherto in vain, we now appeal to it again and we shall continue our appeal until we obtain entire reparation for the injustice and illegality with which we are being treated.

The law of 1896 respecting Anarchism says: In cases of exile it is necessary that the individual to be exiled shall be apprehended at the moment of making Anarchist propaganda either verbally or by writing, or by pictures, etc. Well, we have not propagated Anarchism either verbally or by pen or by any other means whatsoever. We were simply arrested. Nevertheless, we have endured up to the present more than fourteen months of the harshest imprisonment without, it seems, one's just protests having reached the ears of those whose sacred duty it is *by law* to hearken and attend to us.

We were imprisoned before the above-mentioned laws for Anarchists were made public; so that even if we had wished to become propagandists, we should not have been able to do so, as we were at that time on the other side of the bars. According to law, therefore, the punishment of exile should not be imposed upon us, otherwise there is no such thing as logic in the world. Unconditional liberty should have been long since given to those of us who have not even been tried, because we have not propagated the things the law prohibits.

And what shall be said of those who have been fully acquitted by the Supreme Military and Marine Court? If the law be held in any respect these men ought to have gone back to their bereaved families more than three months ago, with their individual rights fully restored. To those tried and acquitted by civil tribunals, liberty is at once restored without further obstacles, why should it not be the same with those acquitted by military tribunals? And we who complain have passed through not one, but two Courts Martial.

Is civil absolution a gold of higher carat in the eyes of the law than military absolution?

When the confessor absolves the penitent is not the latter made clean from all the sins to which he has confessed? How much cleaner must we be who, without having committed any offence, have been absolved by the most severe of all tribunals of justice? Let those answer who should?

It is about two months since the government in giving effect to the law of 1896, that is to say, not by respecting it but by setting it at naught, published a decree to exile us from Spanish territory. We protested unanimously against this decree, but our just protest was lost in space. We therefore elected to pass our exile in hospitable (?) France: some going thither by land and some by sea. Those who chose to go by land were the more fortunate, for the majority of those who chose the sea are still suffering in the purgatory of Montjuich and other national (Spanish) prisons for offences they have not committed. For about five or six weeks those who could afford to pay their travelling expenses (s. 22, d. 3, pes. 10, a mere trifle), have been eating the bitter bread of exile in England, the fatherland of Victor Hugo and Racine having denied asylum to any more "exiles of the prisoner type."

What is to become of us? Shall we be obliged to pass our life (life, eh!) where as the poet Campoamar says:

"No se castiga el delito;
Le castiga la pobreza."

(Poverty, not crime is punished.)

If the law had been respected, our affair could have been settled very easily. Even now it is not past remedy, for, although it is somewhat late, it is "better late than never."

Let the end of it be what the beginning ought to have been and the law be respected, because for this purpose it was made. We have always respected the law. Can legislators and those whose duty it is to interpret the law say as much? Let the law of '96 be respected and the R. O. which decreed our exile be repealed and let us have back the liberty of which we have been so long deprived. What less could be done for innocent persons who have already endured fourteen months of unjust imprisonment? If the guilty are punished in the name of the law, so in the name of the law should liberty be restored to those against whom the courts of justice could not find the faintest evidence of their having had any share in the execrable crime of the *Calle de Cambios*.

It only remains for us to end as we began, with this appeal: Let the law be respected and fulfilled!

Fortress of Montjuich and the National Prisons of Barcelona.

August, 25th 1897.

(Here follow 91 signatures.)

The *Daily Chronicle* of 27th September publishes two interesting leaderettes on the above communication and concludes: "But for those who still linger on in Spanish prisons—we believe there are about 120 in all—the outlook is dark. In dealing with political prisoners by "royal decrees" and methods of that kind, the Spanish government is outdoing the French Court before the Revolution."

This is true, but is it a sufficient response to the injustice of the case? The whole of the Spanish press is either bribed, terrified by or favourable to these methods. The weak journals are bought; the official justify and the advanced fear. So that in Spain nothing is known or reported of the doings in Montjuich.

But the voice of the press in other parts of Europe is not yet loud enough to wake the corrupted sleep of that dying society.

The fight against tyrannical governments has often been fought outside their own territory and such will have to be the case with Spain. The Spanish Embassy in London is kept well posted with all matter that is published bearing on Montjuich, and I hear from a Spaniard who knows the Ambassador (Count Casa Valencia) that he (the Ambassador) marvels at the origin of our information.

The innocent have no need of fear.

Little or nothing has been heard of the prisoners who are now lodged in various Spanish dungeons, but happily a friend in Paris who has been in communication with Francisco Callis and others, has received two communications, extracts from which appear below:

"Your letter was a great delight for it showed me with what energy you are defending the cause of the oppressed. At the moment of writing I perceive the order for my removal to Alhucemas.¹ I do not know the reason of it unless it be that I am so innocent they want to try me again. I am to leave by the same steamer as this letter. Courage my comrades. Victory must be with us for reason is on our side. At present we can do very little for our defence, our means are so scanty, but we have the assurance of being able to stand firm and that is what upholds us in the struggle for the emancipation of mankind."

J. CASONAVA.

Penoy de la Gomera, 4th September 1897.

"I have just received your letter and that of comrade X. and was delighted to have news of you showing that you remember us, who are banished to this corner of the world, which the inmates with good reason call "the land from whose bourne no traveller returns." Since we parted in the accursed dungeons of the terrible castle of Montjuich, where we lost our health for ever under the bloodstained hands of the cruel torturer's orders of the inquisitor, Portas, and the stony-hearted Marzo, since that moment our sufferings have never ceased. Our journey lasted two months—two months we went chained together, along muddy and dusty roads, without clothes or money. For we were not allowed to see our wives or families, lest we should tell them of the terrible sufferings we had undergone. So we went along with nothing but the clothes we had in the accursed bastille, which we could not change; and on the way we got covered with vermin and arrived at our journey's end quite starved, after having passed some time in the Madrid and Malaga prisons. They call them model, but they are only models of new methods to murder man. They have dreadful punishment cells, and the food is so bad and insufficient, worse even and more disgusting than in the place where we are now. A house of "correction" as it is called, but "corruption" would be a more appropriate term. From this you can guess what we have suffered. I do not want to dwell upon it, for fear of distressing you, and I know that you have had sufferings enough of your own. When we arrived in these islands we were all worn out and emaciated. Some of us were very ill from the terrible tortures we had undergone in the castle.

But a new form of torment was before us now. We could not fall in with the brutalising life about us, and you know well that we value morality better than material comfort. The labour to which we are put is much too hard for our enfeebled strength. You know how worn out I was from the tortures I underwent. So that under such conditions the work cannot be endured and you may guess how desperate our plight is."

I salute all companions and friends.

FRANCISCO CALLIS.

Penoy de la Gomera², 4th September 1897.

It will be remembered how horribly Callis was tortured, and while under torture he was requested to put his signature to a document in return for which he was offered better treatment. He was also informed its contents had no reference to the Cambois Nuevos affair, and in a desperate moment he consented, without knowing the actual contents; he is now informed he is to again appear before the Court-martial to answer the charge of exploding a bomb at the Athæneum to which he confessed guilt by appending his signature to the said document; the prosecuting attorney demands an increase of ten years on his present sentence of 20, making 30 years in all. We shall give full particulars about this miserable affair in our next issue.

Comment on this cruelty seems useless, but if Callis is really to be tried on this charge it is an opportune moment for the Spanish government to acquit itself of the charges against it. Let them dispense with the secret Court martial proceedings and judge him before a public tribunal where the press of Europe can be represented and the condition of this unfortunate man be seen in the light of the day. There are surely reliable medical men in the world who would be only too happy to examine him and report impartially.

¹ Alhucemas is a penal Settlement in North Africa.

² Penoy de la Gomera is a penal Settlement on the East of the Straits of Gibraltar in the North of Africa; it is recognised as a very filthy and unsanitary prison. I have as yet been unable to learn the nature of the work done by poor Callis. Usually the work is not very hard, so that he is evidently been put to specially hard work or his weakness produces the same effects.

Will she do this? No, she will judge this poor man as she has treated him; and it would not be surprising to hear of a note issued by Senor Sagasta requesting the press of Europe to say nothing of his trial, and the degenerate press will of course obey one of its pillars.

The *Daily Chronicle* of September 23rd, writing on Cuba says: "For the wretched conscripts who are shipped off to die of fever and privation in the island we have all compassion. But the Spanish government has alienated by its cruelty all the sympathy which we might otherwise have felt for a proud nation brought low. The charges of torture in Montjuich remain *unanswered* and unnoticed. The treatment of Cuba has been almost as bad, and in the Philippines a similar story of blundering has to be told."

This is the first firm stand the *Chronicle* has taken on the Montjuich tortures, chiefly due in my opinion to the horrible tales from Cuba.

On September 25th, the *D. C.* published an extract from a letter sent by a person long resident in the Philippine Islands to the Howard Association in which he finally declares: "I can confirm nearly all that has appeared in the press on the torture. I know personally many of the victims, prominent and enlightened Philipinos who have been maimed for life; and others have succumbed; whilst many of the tortures applied are too disgusting for publication, some of which I have myself seen practised".

When we remember that the Philipinos, just as the Cubans, only demand less taxation and a milder government, and that the infliction of horrible tortures are the replies to such tame demands, it is easy to understand the consistent barbarities practised on conscious revolutionists in Montjuich. Consistent from the legal point of view, which punishes crime according to degree.

It is only the bloodless or blind who could have been surprised at the act of Ramon Sempau in shooting at Narcisso Portas. It appears that Sempau has been visited by his parents, and the *Heraldo del Madrid* reports him as having said to his father: "I must have been mad to have committed such an act". It continues by declaring "he begged his father's pardon and asked how the wounded were and expressed gladness to know they were recovering. He was also very grateful for the good treatment he had received at the hands of the Montjuich officers".

Any one who knows Sempau recognises in him a man of conviction, one who would appear the least likely to shoot at any man, also one with a powerful intellect. He was educated in the Barcelona University. He is also a linguist. The act of this man was the result of conviction, he wished to kill Portas and failed; if he expressed any regret at all it must have been at his failure. He is too much of a man to regret his act and one who knew too much of Portas and the Montjuich officers to be thankful for their "kindness" or to express "gladness" at the recovery of the brute in whose presence and at whose instructions the actual tortures were inflicted. The father of Sempau is a Consul-General and an important man in Spanish society, and it is to destroy any discredit that may fall on him through his son's act that the *Heraldo del Madrid* publishes such "startling information."

The Republican movement is alive in Spain and any great political crisis that may at any moment result from any further crushing defeats the Spaniards may receive in Cuba will be taken full advantage of by them.

In Murcia a great Republican demonstration took place on September 10th, when a leading Republican declared among other things: "The Cortes seems to be a theological Council; its members only create tyrants with base ideas; the embassies are a sort of trade for ruined aristocrats. A revolution is necessary to remove by violent means that which was instituted by violent means."

These sentiments practically interpret the spirit of all advanced parties in Spain, and such revolutionary utterances are the gatherings of the storm which is fast approaching and which no beneficence on the part of the authorities will stem. For the sake of the people of Spain, let us hail the day.

From further letters to hand we hear of new methods adopted by the authorities of Barcelona.

The families of those Anarchists who are still in Montjuich have been informed that if they can influence the prisoners to renounce Anarchism, they will never again be subjected to persecution.

However, *El Imparcial* of October 3rd, publishes a long defence of the Queen Regent in connection with the Montjuich tortures, in which it is asserted she demanded an enquiry from her ministers (Canovas, etc.) the non-fulfilment of which grieves her very much. Naturally, when she beholds what effect their non-denial has had on internal affairs in Spain! Her sympathy is measured by pounds, shillings and pence.

La Publicidad of October 7th, doubts the truth of *El Imparcial's* report, but Senor Sagasta's paper *Covreo*, *El Liberal* and *El Noticiero Universal* practically support *El Imparcial* (indirectly) by announcing that the urgency law of 1896 will be applied to the Montjuich prisoners. If that be the case, all Anarchists will be detained in Montjuich—in spite of their innocence having been established and acquittal ordered 14 months ago.

From further communications we have received, we learn the prisons of Barcelona have been full of workmen since the assassination of Cano-

vas, and are now being slowly emptied. The recent famous plot in Madrid was a police attempt and several condemnatory articles have appeared in the Spanish press, notably *Heraldo del Madrid*, Sept. 29th.

On October 8th, *El Imparcial* announced that a Jesuit was visiting Barcelona to support the children of those who were shot. The Captain General of Barcelona alone is aware of his movements and it is with him the Jesuit is staying. What irony!

It is anticipated that the Anarchist prisoners will be expelled from Spain, while the other prisoners will be released unconditionally.

The agitation in England has been vigorously continued, being confined more to the press than outside demonstrations.

For report of meeting in Trafalgar Square on August 22nd, see *Manchester Guardian* and *Times* of August 23rd. A great demonstration was held in Glasgow on August 25th, at which Francisco Gana, J. Perry B. Smith and others spoke, Councillors J. Shaw Maxwell, P. G. Stewart and J. Cronin, I.L.P.ers, promised to attend and speak, but eventually declined to come "for fear of being identified with Anarchism". The "Chorlton-cum-Hardy Socialist Society" held a meeting of protest.

In Newcastle-on-Tyne, Manchester, Leicester, Portsmouth and other large towns in Great Britain, protest meetings have been continually held.

La Barbarie Gubernamental is a book of 204 pages in Spanish, confined exclusively to the details in connection with the agitation throughout Europe on behalf of the victims of the Spanish inquisition. Eight editions of this volume have already been circulated.

The *Daily Chronicle* of August 9th contained a report of Gana's speech in Battersea Park on the day previous. On August 2nd, the charge against Spain is well framed in an article called "The true Story of Montjuich". On the September 10th, a leading article on the act of Ramon Sempau. October 11th contains two leaderettes on *El Imparcial* of October 3rd and October 11th, a well written and very important detailed account of the tortures in the Philippine Islands.

Its continual articles on Cuba since August 3rd last should be perused, as their correspondent on that island is well posted with all important information bearing on the rebellion.

The *Star* of August 9th on "Europe shocked" should be read as an example of honest treatment of the subject.

The *Times* of June 7th and August 3rd should also be referred to.

On September 10th, *The Catholic Times* contained a report by their special correspondent in Barcelona respecting the tortures; it should not be taken seriously, as the writer was evidently intent on his bank balance while penning his "impartial report". A reply appeared in the same journal on October 22nd. The Barcelona correspondent on Oct. 29, made some reference to my communication and said he would reserve his reply until the decision of the "New Commission" whose duty would be to try men who had been twice acquitted. While commenting on this cruel declaration, the *Daily Chronicle*, November 6, describes this threat of Senor Ramon Larocca as "impertinence" and concludes: "Are not those Courts good enough to acquit? They were good enough to torture and to execute."

The *Weekly Times* and *Echo* of October 9th and 16th contain points of reference, in letters, bearing on recent developments in Montjuich.

The appeal addressed by the 113 in Montjuich to Senor Sagasta, is, we think, couched in terms to which this man is not entitled, one part running as follows:

"EXCELLENT SIR.—The undersigned victims of a governmental policy have the honour of submitting, with the greatest respect, the following, for your Excellency's consideration." It continues giving reasons on sentimental grounds for their release, and after explaining the exact situation of the prisoners in Montjuich, continues: "There is a great need that such an abnormal state of things should cease, as a guarantee of which we rely on your Excellency's genuine love for liberty and your unquestionable gifts of just and experienced statesmanship." What insincere flattery this must be, when some of the very men who signed this appeal were victims to Sagasta's system of torture in 1893.

It must be evident that these men who have been acquitted as innocent some 15 months back, are giving way in their unfortunate position, no longer doubting the future of their being, but seeing no possibility of speedy release, and now in sheer desperation appeal in this almost humiliating manner for sympathy from a professed benefactor—such as Sagasta is—as if their release was more a question of generosity than justice. There would be a taint of unfairness to these victims in making further criticism on such conduct, though it is a pity the attitude of dignified defiance that has held in dishonour those who have foully punished these innocent men, should have been thus weakened by the victims themselves and appreciation given where severe condemnation is more called for.

On October 16th, *L'Intransigeant* reports the case of Gustave Catala who is among the 113 men in Montjuich. Some 7 years back he was ordered to leave a street in Barcelona by an officer, and retorted "I always believed the Spanish army to be chivalrous, but I now see it is not so;" this charge has since his incarceration been brought against him and resulted in a condemnation to 6 months, which he completed on September 4th, but he is still detained in Montjuich.

El Imparcial, one of the chief journals supporting Senor Sagasta, published the protest of the Montjuich prisoners; this is surprising and clearly indicates the sickening feelings now overcoming those whose

nostrils have been senseless to this nauseous business hitherto; the diplomats of the Spanish press are wise enough to desire a speedy ending of it all.

As to the exiles, those who have been unable to find employment in England have departed for different parts of the Continent, but we regret to hear that a number of families in Perpignan and Marseilles are in an absolutely destitute condition—verging on starvation. To those who would say—and there are many—"oh, they are only Anarchists", in face of the infamous injury these noble characters have suffered, we are inclined to reply in the words of Shelley "drain not the urn to its dregs for fear of bitter prophecy".

Here is an example of how the Spanish government continue harassing those whom they were forced to release through their innocence: On October 26, Narciso Puig, tapestry weaver, Manuel Barrera, mason, and José Bonet, weaver, were landed at Southampton from Buenos Ayres. They left London in August last on board the *Campina*, and returned on *S. S. Colonia*, both French vessels. On arriving at Buenos Ayres, the police were awaiting them, being in possession of the photos of every prisoner that had been in Montjuich, including their descriptions, names and occupations. No sooner were their passports examined than they were ordered to remain on board, and the left hand corner of their passports clipped off, as if this peculiar act would be a means of any future detection. The *Daily Chronicle* of Nov. 3, in a forcible leader concludes: "Debarred from work and friends, and honest life even in nominally free nations where Spanish is spoken, they might as well be dead. It is cruelty like this which drives men to deeds of desperation." In the case of Narciso Puig, his wife came direct from Barcelona to Buenos Ayres; she saw the ship arrive and and her husband depart, but was not permitted to have any intercourse with him, and, being penniless, was unable to return with him.

Jaime Torrentz who went out with this party, succeeded in landing by presenting a false passport; his wife and children were also on the quay and thus facilitated his success in deceiving the officials. The Buenos Ayres police telegraphed to Monte Video of their departure, and when they endeavoured to land at that port, were prevented. It is anticipated they will take up residence on the new colony in Essex, founded on Tolstoy principles.

The round of sensations seem to continue at an almost impossible rate. Pierre Corominas, of whom so much has already been said, was originally condemned to death by the Court Martial at Barcelona at the instigation and request of the Bishop of Barcelona, the grounds being as follows: A prominent professor in the Barcelona University, an earnest follower and vehement advocate of Darwinism, incensed the Bishop to such an extent that he threatened the fathers of the students, and the students themselves, with excommunication if they paid any further heed to his teachings. On the circulation of this news, all liberal and advanced sections in Barcelona protested energetically, notably the students themselves, headed by P. Corominas, in a united body, against the Bishop's interference in the management of the University. Naturally, therefore, Corominas incurred the animosity of the Bishop, who on hearing that he was among the prisoners in Montjuich, satisfied his holy vengeance by demanding the death sentence. Fortunately the revelry of this humane priest has been spoilt.

On October 17th, *El Pais* published a letter, addressed to Senor Capdepon, Minister of the Interior, by the Montjuich prisoners, in which they demanded liberty and the removal of their names from the list of suspected persons. The same journal, on October 18th, published a letter they sent to the Queen Regent, reminding her of a letter they addressed to the Minister of War during the ministry of Canovas, enclosing a copy of the said letter. On October 20th, in a leading article, *El Pais* concludes: "Prisoners will be set at liberty. But who will punish those with hard labour, who have been responsible for their unjust detention and the tortures to which they have been subjected?" Certainly not Senor Sagasta, the torturer of 1893!

The *Revue Blanche* of November 1st contains an article by Tarrida del Marmol in which he cites many cases of torture under Sagasta's rule in 1893. In that year Sagasta was Premier, Larocca, as now, Governor of Barcelona, with the infamous General Weyler as captain-general, and his kind friend Portas as prison official.

Professor Bartomen suffered 13 months in Montjuich, without knowing to this day why! Another is Domingo Fritos, having been horribly tortured in '93, still bears the marks on his body, which were seen by Tarrida del Marmol while in Montjuich, August 1896, some 3 years later.

The brother of Ramon Ars, shot in 1893 as an alleged accomplice in the attempt by P. Pallas on M. M. Campos, was also subjected to severe treatment. Each of these 3 men were arrested on the occasion of the Cambois Nuevos affair, not so much as suspects, but solely because they had been arrested in 1893 under Sagasta's rule, so that the cause of their past 17 months sufferings lays at the door of the "Excellent Sir" who is to release them.

When the cries of the tortured rang throughout Europe, *Heraldo del Madrid*,

though practically inundated with particulars, disregarded them all. It speaks now determinedly and emphatic, not on humanitarian grounds, but on economical ones pure and simple. It knows the dear price Spain has paid for her silence and brutality, and for fear of the present government getting into similar odium, it has practically carried on an agitation in favour of freedom for the Montjuich victims. On October 19th, their Barcelona correspondent, Senor Andrea, writes: "Information concerning the Montjuich prisoners is coming to a close. It seems now that many of them were imprisoned in consequence of denunciations from personal enemies. Evidence before me demonstrates that many prisoners have been—in consequence alone of police arbitrariness—victims, and are still in Montjuich. Among the prisoners there are newspaper editors and several of the managerial staffs whose papers have been suppressed: also members of various workmen societies that have been shut down," and on October 25th, in a leading article, declares: "The protest has reached all peoples in the world and in many parliaments; Canovas ignored these rumours until he beheld German conservative papers protesting. Then without giving a serious explanation, he thought it was sufficient to just deny what appeared in various press articles. The present government must not do the same thing. It must release these men at once for they are innocent." On the 26th, it declares: "the detention of the prisoners is more than cruel, it is imprudence." On the 31st: "Senor Larocca has telegraphed to the Minister of the Interior that at a meeting of the Barcelona authorities it was decided that 11 dangerous suspects will be released and expelled from Spain, 73 to their native towns, on condition that they present themselves to the local police on every 15 days, and the remaining 29 will receive unconditional liberty." On November 1st, it goes on better than that: "The governor continues paying great attention to the imprisoned. Anarchists before being set at liberty will be submitted to the anthropometry, which will occupy four days."

A later edition of same paper, however, reports the release of every prisoner. According to many telegrams in Spanish newspapers on this date, the Montjuich prisoners have issued a protest against their being classified as "very dangerous and offensive; this classification is an insult to the Court martial who declared them innocent." This protest contains only 49 signatures.

The telegrams of Nov. 3rd state that "the 54 prisoners who have been lodged in the National prison of Barcelona have been released conditionally as they are under the heading of "dangerous" and must present themselves to the police every 15 days. However, 6 of them have been declared "very dangerous" and have requested to reside in the following places: Madrid 1, Aragon 3, Valencia 1 and Valladolid 1. The latter 6 were released individually and received by their families at the prison door. Those in Montjuich are now in the national prison, being interrogated by Senor Larocca, governor of Barcelona. Their release will take place to-day."

At last the Spanish press has spoken and on Nov. 3 all prisoners were released on conditions as described in the aforesaid journals, though it is declared by several Spanish journals that only 11 of the 113 are to be expelled from the province of Catalonia and not from Spain, the remainder are free unconditionally.

The *Heraldo* speaks officially and so far we may accept their version. In a few days the *Daily Chronicle* will relate the precise situation. What a farce! This theory of suspects is only established to in some way justify their action in having detained them. For it must not be forgotten, with their acquittal expulsion was ordered, and one wonders why the authorities have not fulfilled the law in this wise? They fear the consternation with which the world would be filled if they were scattered throughout Europe to tell the horrid tales that hover round their memories and the suffering they have undergone and their confirmation of the tortures. Fear, Fear, Fear, that is the undercurrent causing the bubbles and foam on the crest of the established movement in Europe. The tide has now covered these deadly rocks that have already done their work of carnage. The Governor of Manila, in company with a Spanish gentleman, has visited the men on Alhucemas and interrogated one as to his innocence; this may be the beginning of the end. Twenty men are suffering 18 and 10 years imprisonment—meaning death—because men in a frenzied state of torture accused them as accomplices in the hope of relief. No independent witnesses bore evidence against them, and on the tortured and executed alone did their conviction depend. Is not that in itself a sufficient reason to institute a public enquiry into their cases or give them a new trial? This is our next step and we must continue working until it is accomplished. They are innocent.

So far as England is concerned, the Committee have executed their work admirably; the agitation that was carried on by the *Freedom* Group from December 1896 to April '97, was then taken in hand by the Spanish Atrocities Committee on the latter date, since which time it has made its influence felt all over Europe—especially in Spain—and supported all the needy exiles in this country from the date of their arrival until October 15th, when the last of those unemployed left England, having spent in all over £190.

The S. A. C. will in all probability dissolve though persistent efforts will be made to call public attention to the prisoners under sentence.

But what is the next scene to be? If it is not open revolt of the Spanish people—then in its stead we shall witness the utter decline of the Spanish race. The Roman Empire declined through utter corruption and rottenness; we see how the great Grecian people have lost all those qualities that have characterised them in valour and art through the influence of commercialism, and in the same way we see the last speck of Moorish influence among the Spaniards of to-day denying them the courage to recognise in accordance with modern aspirations their own decay, as witnessed in their methods of moralising and incapacity to exercise any influence on modern peoples, the butchering of humanity's best friends, as if they could thereby turn back the hand of time.

All governments may be bad, but the Spanish regime can best be estimated by the fact that the ignorant—yea and the "rich and wise"—are tired of their own selected rulers and too indifferent to human sufferings to raise their arms or voices against their own destruction.

Subscriptions are still needed and should be forwarded to Tom Mann, 53 Fleet Street, E.C., and enquiries to J. Perry, same address.

October 1897.

J. PERRY,

Secretary, Spanish Atrocities Committee.

labor struggles seems very far from attaining its full height, for in that case labor would simply be invincible and the end of the capitalist system would be at hand. Hence the question of means to increase this solidarity must be of interest to all friends of labour, and it is upon this subject that I want to put forward a few reflections.

Sympathy with labor is found with two sections of people—with conscious opponents of the capitalist system, and by sentimental (no harm is meant by this word) friends of fair play. We need not consider politicians as they have their own interests and advance them the more the keener their insight into the tendencies of the masses in popular movements, whom, after all, they do not so much lead as follow up. All class-conscious workers and Socialists of every description, rank with one or the other of the two sections defined. One might miss a third section, which would also comprehend the two first ones, namely, those who feel *economically* interested in the success of the labor movement. If we are of opinion that every victory labor hastens the advent of a society based on the freedom and wellbeing of all, all sympathisers with labor may be considered to feel a material interest as well as intellectual or moral satisfaction in its success and triumph. But if by being "economically interested" in the issue of a labor struggle we understand benefitting by its successful issue in a material way, similar to that in which the strikers—however little—are supposed to benefit, the aspect of the question becomes different, at any rate in many cases and from the point of view I look at it. For example, if the strikers obtain an increase of wages, the capitalists may recoup their loss by raising the price of the article in question all round; such a rise may be almost imperceptible and not impose insupportable sacrifices even on the poorest of the buying public; yet such an issue cannot be considered sincerely as a victory for labor, because it means a mere shifting of money within the consuming public—higher wages for some, greater expense for all the rest—and the capitalist remains unhurt and as great a menace to labor as ever.

By the public one understands all those who are not taking part in the production and distribution of an article (workers), and those not financially interested in these operations (capitalists). The public, of course, comprehends rich and poor, but it is the immense mass of the poor who are almost solely interested in the price and quality of the necessities of life (of which I am speaking chiefly). The price of bread vitally affects the exchequer of a poor family, whilst its fluctuations do not affect in an appreciable degree a rich household. Hence, of the public, the poor not only count by their overwhelming numbers, but, so to speak, by the weight of their very poverty; the poorer they are the more they are interested in obtaining decent commodities at low prices. Therefore "the public" is no negligible quantity; on the contrary, it is a factor of immense importance, all-powerful if only conscious of its strength; and this is, I believe, not always fully taken into consideration.¹

It cannot be denied, I presume, that labor struggles sometimes impose sacrifices upon the public at large. A miners' strike may give the mineowners a welcome pretext to raise the price of coal, which will be more or less acutely felt by every worker's family over large districts or the whole country. Or the Early Closing movement, where successful, will reduce the time and hence the opportunities for shopping for many poor families who can only spare a few hours in the evening for this purpose; for instance, in urgent cases they may have to resort to the nearest but dearest shop instead of having the usual choice of where to go. All these greater or smaller inconveniences will be borne patiently and cheerfully by the intellectual or sentimental friends of labor, but they cannot be described as means to make labor more popular with the general public, *i.e.* with the immense number of workers' families all round. A man need not be considered a mean and stupid reactionist if he is not over enthusiastic on the subject of Early Closing *per se*: he might argue that this is a compact between the shopowners and the shopassistants at no cost (and time and expenses, etc., saved) to the employers, the advantage of reduced hours to the employees, and at the exclusive cost of the convenience of the public; and he might imagine that, had the shop-assistants taken into consideration the convenience of the public—that is, that of their fellow-workers,—the public might have sided with them to a far greater extent than it did or does at present. They might have said: "We uphold the customary right of the public to shop at late hours when convenient, but we claim reduced hours, half-holidays, etc. for ourselves; hence more of us will have to be employed—which would also reduce the number of the unemployed and strengthen our whole position." I believe that the public would be delighted to support such real solidarity with its interests; and, as I am going to show, *this solidarity need not end here.*

In general it may be said: *if the workers of any trade claim the solidarity and help of their fellow-workers they must also endeavour to exercise this solidarity on their own part.* As a result all will feel benefitted by their victories and will support them with greater energy than is done now by the slowly increasing, but far too small, host of sympathisers. More than that; labor struggles, instead of testing the utmost limits of sacrifice as is sometimes the case now, will be of greater propaganda value for labor. It is quite true that bitterness of warfare and defeat

open the eyes of many; but victory is perhaps a still better source of renewed strength.

Such solidarity may be shown in a thousand ways: at present it seems hardly to exist in the sense I am speaking of. Any amount of shoddy, worthless goods are manufactured by workingmen; the trade of others consists in making them look nice and solid; food is adulterated wholesale and with scientific skill; and those engaged in distribution use every artifice of persuasion to make the public, that is their *fellow-workers*, buy these rotten goods and poisonous stuffs. The employer needs to give orders to his managers and agents, whilst every detail of this endless process of fraud and poisoning is done by the hands of wage-workers, who seem not to care that it is their fellow-workers who will have to put up with all this; for the rich will not use these goods, although they are also cheated, but in other ways. Now, why do we never hear that the workers of these factories or the shop assistants who retail their products refuse to lend a hand any farther in these infamous practices? "They would lose their situations," one might reply. But this happened to the first Socialist propagandists, and to the fore-runners of every movement; and no movement with any backbone has been suppressed in this way.

What if trade unions, the whole trade union world were to take up questions of this kind in a body?

If, for example, the immense unions of the textile workers said: "We refuse to produce, or see produced by others, all these shoddy goods by which the public is cheated; and we also claim the Eight Hours," or other reforms. If these demands are refused, the names of the recalcitrant manufacturers will be all known and then let them continue to produce their worthless cloth by blackleg labor as long as they like—the public will be sure to give them a wide berth. Or the building trades might refuse to construct insanitary, jerrybuilt houses, or to perpetuate the existence of our dirty dens and rookeries by patching them up, by sham repairs. Or the railway servants might refuse to execute all sorts of vexatious regulations annoying and victimising the public. Or the shop assistants might pledge themselves not to sell adulterated food or shoddy goods: this demand might win them the eight hours forthwith; for what shopkeeper would not prefer these reforms to being left alone with his poisonous stuff in his empty shop? Or if he prefers the latter, let him do so: co-operation, doing away with middlemen altogether, would only be stimulated by such resistance; so much the better! In short there is no trade, I believe, in which the working class element of the public is not cheated in an exceptional degree, and where such a solidarity would not be desirable, welcome and almost all-powerful.² Every move in this direction would reach those to whom the labor question too often seems to mean but useless waste and sacrifice: the workers' wives who, having to economise every penny and farthing to make both ends meet, are but too often prevented by actual loss and inconvenience from feeling any sympathy with the labor movement, and consequently discourage their husbands and children as well. No wonder; for, to them, the shopassistants or weavers or plumbers are not fellow-workers, but persons who cheat and trick them at the bidding and for the profit of their greedy employers. If they should, perhaps for the first time in their lives, see any act of practical solidarity on the part of all these trades, their sympathy with advanced movements would become far deeper-rooted and enthusiastic than it can possibly be now.

Moreover, such tactics, owing to their negative character, can easily be put into practice. Positive, constructive action (co-operation, etc.) requires enormous preparations, and is hampered on all sides by existing laws and privileges; whilst for these rapid and destructive tactics plentiful opportunities arise, the number of frauds and abuses to be combated being endless. It would also be a good opportunity for direct action in contrast to the roundabout and fallacious way of political action and legislation.

Of course, such action giving under existing conditions great power (not exercised to-day) to the trade-unions, etc., might here and there lead to corrupt practices—but what action could not?—and the freer a union is organised the less power is given to single persons or officials, the smaller the opportunity for and possibility of regrettable actions will be. In other words, leaders will always be corrupt; so every one must become free himself and look after his own affairs or they will be mismanaged. Before this is done—and this is anarchism in a nutshell—no way of action can be considered as a real remedy.

Many Socialists advocate a *military strike*—the refusal of soldiers of all countries to carry out their murderous trade. Strikes of the kind suggested would be but an extension of this principle over all kinds of internecine warfare practiced by workingmen upon their fellow-workers. How often do we say that it seems almost preferable to be killed outright in a battle than to be murdered slowly in insanitary houses, miserably clad and fed, stunted by overwork and anxiety? Why then, if we call upon the soldiers to stop their murderous trade should we not also call upon all classes of the workers to stop at least the most crying abominations of this system? If they strike altogether

¹ If these enormous masses would, for example, lean towards *distributive co-operation*, middlemen would be abolished by scores of thousands and an immense source of fraud and exploitation be done away with. It is quite true (and I do not fancy it for a moment) that the capitalist system cannot be abolished in that way; but this objection can be raised against every move in the labor struggle. We do not believe in anything of all this as a remedy nor even as a palliative; but we do not dream, either, of advocating quiet and indifference, and all this is written for the consideration of trade unionists at large; as Anarchists we have got to propagate our ideas first, and cannot afford to lose ourselves in these, after all, but little advanced general movements, but must try to convince those whom these movements (and their failure) have set thinking.

² This method of action goes right in the teeth of another means sometimes suggested, namely, the "*Ca' canny*" tactics of slow or unreliable work. These tactics, whilst intended to hurt the employer, also endorse, in my opinion, the American capitalists' maxim: "The public be damned!" for they do not care for the fact that in all probability the capitalists will manage to shift the burden of their loss on to the patient shoulders of the public. The functions which the capitalists are permitted to exercise are twofold: the direction of and profiting by the production as well as the distribution of all commodities; and, to be successfully attacked, they must be attacked from both sides—by the producers of a particular article and by the workers of all other trades (the public),—otherwise what one section wins the other loses and the capitalist triumphs over both.

—the general strike—so much the better; but in the meantime strikes in favour of their fellow-workers—the public which, by directing its custom, by the powerful weapon of boycotting will help them to win—such strikes might perhaps be tried. No more sham concessions at the cost of the public, which mean but a new way of exploitation for the workers themselves; but active solidarity, the refusal to take further part in frauds on the public, the reply will be an unheard-of enthusiasm for labor, and by this wide sections of people would also become accessible to our more advanced propaganda.

For I will repeat, in conclusion, that this is not an advice to divert our Anarchist propaganda into another minor channel, but a suggestion to workers in general and trade unionists in particular. I point out what appears to me to be a source of strength not hitherto used, and, if I am mistaken, I am anxious to learn the reason why. N.

18 September, 1897.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

A few days after the death of Angiolillo another of the Spanish torturers, Narcisso Portas, chief of gendarmes, was shot at by Ramon Sempau but only slightly wounded. Sempau was arrested and sentenced to death by court martial, but the supreme court of Madrid suspended the execution of this sentence and ordered a new trial to be held of which nothing yet is known. Meanwhile the death of Canovas upset the regime of torture in Spain quicker than all agitation has done; the remaining chiefs of his Conservative and Jesuit party quarrelled for the spoils and the so-called "Liberals", led by Sagasta, at last stepped in their place. To this also the fiasco of general Weyler's repression of the Cuban insurrection largely contributed and he also has been recalled. The *Imparcial* of Madrid, a reactionary paper maintains now that the Queen regent ordered Azcarragh, the late Conservative prime minister, to reply to the assertions of the foreign press on the tortures in Montjuich prison. The cabinet met and resolved rather to resign than to investigate this matter. Upon this the Queen is said to have declared that she refused to pass any longer in the eyes of the civilised world as an accomplice of these infamous proceedings. Whether this is true or not, its publication shows that this Queen regent—who looked placidly on at all the tortures of 1894 and 96—suddenly discovers that she is not at all anxious to meet, perhaps, the fate of Canovas and Portas. We also read that she instructed a Jesuit father to provide for the education of the orphans of the executed Anarchists; but it is to be hoped that this offer will be scornfully rejected; to bring up these children, after murdering their fathers, to become torturers themselves in mind, if not in practice, would indeed be insult added to brutal violence. It is said that some of the hundred and more prisoners will at last be liberated and the rest expelled. Something will probably be done by the new government just to win a little popularity, but no justice can be expected from it; they are but the shift,—labelled "Liberal" because the other one is labelled "Conservative"—of the old political gang; the minister of finance *e.g.* in an earlier Liberal government (1893) himself brought in the present anti-Anarchist law etc.

In other countries governments try to stop the purely humanitarian agitation raised by the Spanish prison atrocities. L uise Michel came to Brussels to address a meeting on this subject and was immediately expelled from Belgium. Roberto d'Angio of Foggia, Italy, after publishing his recollections of Angiolillo whom he had known all his life, was soon arrested and sent to *domicilio coatto*; he did not submit and was, on Sept. 25, sentenced to two months imprisonment. In Vienna a meeting of protest was proclaimed, etc.

The police are fully aware that such an exposure of their Spanish friends might make people think of their doings nearer home and they have full reason to evade closer observation. Only a few weeks ago a prisoner, Forno, was done to death in the prison of Genoa, a city in which Anarchists are hunted down with particular ferocity, by the police themselves. Professor Lombroso himself found that death was caused by tremendous blows on the breast and an inspector of police, Festa, and six police officers were arrested and others suspended. Such experiences will perhaps encourage Professor Lombroso to further studies on the criminality of police and the mainstays of law and order.

Strikes are not unfrequent just now; the English engineers strike; a strike of ironmoulders at Berlin; a general miner's strike in Belgium is rumoured about; also the peasants begin to stir in various continental countries. The Ruthenian radical party, the peasant's organisation of Galicia at their recent conference held at Lemberg, declared strikes and boycotting as the first means to shake off the yoke of economic and political serfdom and demanded the preparation of a *general agrarian strike* by means of local strikes and boycotting as preliminary steps. These Slavonic peasants do not mince matters when once they have risen; an instance of this is before us from Croatia, a country between Hungary and Servia. There 53 peasants were killed and 137 wounded this summer on the occasion of agrarian strikes and electioneering and other riots. Recently three government officers were killed right out by the peasants and the priest had to run for his life to escape the same fate. I am quite aware that all this fighting is done under the cover of national and religious hatred difficult for us to understand, apparently, though there is no city, however civilised it may be considered, where similar outrages under similar pretences may not still occur. But what underlies all these acts of these peasants is the feeling of their exploitation by landlords, usurers and the State and the sturdy reliance on themselves to fight all these to the bitter end whenever there is a chance. However they may act, as long as their means are direct and immediate and not born by absurd confidence in representatives and political means, they are on the right way. Violence is not an essential characteristic of such action; look at the Italian peasants in the Castelli Romani of the Roman Campagna who recently went out in masses, singing with their wives and children, and took hold of large pieces of land "belonging" to the landlords which they began to till for themselves without asking anybody's permission or interference.

It seems to be of greater interest to record such examples of independent action when we see what havoc parliamentary action plays with the most "scientific" Social Democratic parties. Some observations on the recent

congress of the German Social Democratic party, held at Hamburg, will illustrate this afresh.

This time another step backwards was taken: to put it briefly, independent political action was given up in favour of Fabianism. Not with regard to the general parliament but to the elections for the Prussian Diet, so that in reality both principles now co-exist. For years the Social Democrats took part in the elections for the local Diets of Bavaria, Baden, Saxony, Hessen, etc., and compromises with Radicals and even Clericals (in Baden) were not infrequent, but all this was done quite silently, under the pretext of local expediency. But they always abstained from taking part in the elections for the Prussian Diet, the largest of these minor parliaments, because the franchise is so limited that this pittance was disdainfully rejected and the bourgeois left among themselves. This resolution, confirmed by the congress of 1893, 'was upset this year, by 100 to 50 votes, in favour of returning Social Democrat delegates (*wahlmänner*—the voters only nominate delegates who alone afterwards elect the deputies) and these delegates will support the progressive candidate in order to secure the election of Liberals and Radicals since Socialist victories are hopeless. So with regard to Prussia these fierce Socialists became a Liberal labour party and will be in a nice mess if the same electors are invited to fight the same Liberal parties at the general election of 1898.

At the congress Liebknecht, Singer and a minority of Berlin and Leipzig delegates combated this new policy and brought forward many good arguments for abstention—only they never care to use these arguments against taking part in the general election as well! Bebel, Auer and the provincial and Southern delegates advocated the new policy and carried the day, only the proposal of *direct* compromises, of a direct return of Liberal "*Wahlmänner*" by Socialist electors was rejected; so the compromise will take place in a higher sphere, the Socialist *Wahlmänner* voting for the Liberal candidates—which is all the same.

This is the first large example, as far as I am aware, when a Socialist party tries not to wreck the Progressive parties for the benefit of the Conservative parties, but tries to support them. It is also a plain acknowledgement that electioneering is insufficient to enable the working classes to win "political power," and that all they can do is to try to influence a little the so-called advanced bourgeois parties. It is the beginning of an understanding of the impotence of parliamentarism altogether; after the enthusiastic proclamation of the ballot box as the means to win independent political power, this is rather a pitfall and so I consider it a sign of progress. The limits of parliamentarism begin to be felt just by its most convinced upholders and the result must be on one side a return by way of Fabianism and Liberal-Labourism to ordinary Radicalism, and on the other a stronger reliance on the *economic* struggle as a real and sound means of action.

The neglect of the economic struggle was pointed out by various delegates and one also illustrated this himself by proposing the cessation of the 1st May celebration. The following remark by Schippel, a member of parliament, also was for many delegates a revelation of the danger of corruption, lurking behind parliamentarism: he said that the Socialist members (though voting against) did not care to raise an agitation against a vote of more than £3,000,000 for new ordnance guns, *because*, since we have got soldiers, we must provide the best weapons for them to make them victorious. The patriotic remark is strictly logical; he might have extended it to every branch of the present system; since we have got capitalists, we must let them exploit others that they may live and compete with those of other countries; to maintain officials we require taxes; the poor judges must have their prisoners or they would be out of work and starve, etc. Similar candid remarks do some good after all!

In many other matters bitterness and jealousy dominated. The provincial Socialists are snubbed by the Berlin party officials all the year round and retaliated at the Congress as usual and though the impossibility of uniform action becomes clearer every year the more the local organisations develop, yet the officials raise the cry for greater centralisation *i.e.* more money to be sent to Berlin, more orders to come from Berlin. All this is being overdone and people begin to fail to see the good coming from it; this impression the Hamburg congress created on me; if I am right so much the better. X.

TWO CONGRESSES.

On October 3rd, the annual Congress of the German Social Democratic Party was opened at Hamburg. The writer of our *International Notes* is pointing out the growing spirit of decentralisation and local independence which are undermining the bureaucratic power of the Party's Central Committee and the Social Democratic M.P.s and emptying the Party's ever-hungry Central Cash in favor of an autonomous local propaganda. I fervently hope that he is right in stating this. But, for the present, this decentralisation is little more than a hope; meanwhile the fact is, not only that the present leaders are concentrating their best forces on purely State Socialist lines, but that even as State Socialist workmen's representatives they do not do their duty straightforwardly or honestly.

On that Congress, the report on the Party's parliamentary activity was entrusted to Max Schippel, M. P. Five years ago, Schippel was one of the leaders of that revolutionary Party's wing, so bitterly opposed to compromising parliamentarism, the outcome of which was later on the Independent Socialist Party, the former members of which have, to a very large extent, since evolved towards Anarchism. But at the very moment when the Independent Socialist Party was to be founded, Schippel turned back in the direction where the Party's well-filled money-box was. And to recompense him for his treachery, Social-Democracy made him a chief-editor and M. P.

Now, at the Hamburg Congress, Schippel had to answer an interpellation by Herr Gewehr, a delegate elected by the Social Democrats of Eiberfeld, that important industrial city westwards of the Lower Rhine where revolutionary tendencies are so strong. Gewehr asked whether it was true or not, what the Progressist M.P., Eugen Richter, had asserted, that the Social Democrats had silently consented to the War Minister's demand for 170 million marks to purchase new cannon! Well, here are the facts, as stated by Schippel himself:

Some Social Democratic M.P.s had been elected as members of the Budget Commission. To this Commission, the Imperial War Minister promised some confidential communications, under the condition that the deputies should give their word of honour to hold their tongue upon the matter. Although knowing that the German army is openly intended to be used against the "inland foe," viz. the working people the labour deputies as well as the middle-class ones gave that doubtful word of honour. Then the

War Minister declared that 170 million marks were to be spent for new cannon, of which sum 45 millions were to be immediately expended before being voted by Parliament, that means, in a quite absolutist manner, by openly breaking the constitutional law of the Empire. Again the Social Democratic deputies granted what even as honest middle-class Democratic deputies they would not have been allowed to grant; they held their tongue, or, rather, they used it only to lick His Grace the War Minister's boots like humble dogs, whilst their duty would have been to cry as loud as they could in order to warn the working people against the treacherous intrigues of the Prussian Gallifet. And the cannon were bought! And now before the Congress, Schippel tried to justify this startling behaviour by explaining that he would like to abolish the imperial army in its present shape if the majority of the M.P.s could be won for such a bill; but in the meantime, the imperial army still existing, the German soldiers must be better armed than the Russian and French ones!!

And yet every child in Germany knows that six years ago that dangerous madman who wears the German crown, Wilhelm Nero, delivered a speech before "his" recruits, where he told them: "Considering the Socialist agitation of to-day, it may happen to be your duty to shoot at your own friends, kinship, brethren, nay even parents, if I command you to do so!" And since that time Wilhelm Nero has again and again publicly said that he needs his army strengthened as far as possible, in order to shed the blood of the Socialist working men, of that "crowd of people who are not worthy to be called Germans." And all these threatenings have been willingly echoed by the Prussian landlords' press, as well as by haughty and brutal industrial kings like Herr von Stumm, whose London monkey is called Herr Alexander Siemens!

And have not the facts sufficiently proved the sincerity of this intention for years? Has not the blood of striking German miners been shed by imperial soldiers at Dortmund? Are not German officers like Brusewitz, soldiers like Lück, recklessly wounding peaceful citizens and workmen in public taverns, murdering them in the open street, well knowing that Wilhelm Nero does not allow them to be seriously punished, but even rewards them for their "gallantry"?

And is not military rule the basis of that odious regime of arbitrary condemnation to years of hard labour and secret torture in prison, a regime by which such a pioneer of freedom as John Neve was driven to madness and death; whilst Koschemann, the young Anarchist engineer, and Schröder, the Social Democratic miner, are still victims of the same hideous inquisition?

And has not Dr. Schönlanck, at this very Hamburg Congress, clearly described the future massacres *en masse* prepared by Wilhelm Nero, and hinted at the statesman and the general who will be Nero's principal help-mates in perpetrating this monstrous crime?

But at the same Hamburg Congress, nay, even in the same speech, this Dr. Schönlanck, M.P., told the monstrous lie that by voting for Social Democratic deputies the workmen will prevent these wholesale massacres! And Herr Molkenbühr, M.P. for Hamburg, has repeated the same incredible rubbish! What imbeciles to believe, or scoundrels to feign to believe, that a paper leaflet, whereupon a deputy's name is written can withstand a cannon-ball!!

There were several delegates from different towns who strongly condemned Schippel's behaviour. But the most celebrated leaders,—Bebel, Liebknecht, Auer,—defended him. And the majority of the Congress was with them—with the traitors who are ready to victimise millions of German workmen, their wives and children, in order not to appear wanting in due politeness to His Grace the War Minister of Wilhelm Nero!!

Such are the shameful results of the German Social Democratic Party's parliamentary policy, which has been so often represented as a model to be admired and imitated by the English workmen. We know now what hideous treachery it means. And if in future any English Social Democrat should be silly enough or blind enough to boast of the forty-nine German Social Democratic M.P.s, you may answer him with a scornful laughter that these forty-nine M.P.s are but forty-nine blind (perhaps interestedly blind) leaders of the blind.

About a week before the opening of the German Social Democratic Congress at Hamburg opened, the French Trade Union Congress at Toulouse closed.

At this Congress 78 delegates represented 1,316 unions. Amongst all these delegates only one M.P. (Faberot) was present; he was the Allemanist who defended so vigorously the Anarchists' admission to the London Congress. But even he owed his presence exclusively to his being a delegate of the National Hatters' Union. On the other hand, numerous trade unions were represented by Anarchists.

Unanimously the delegates showed their international feeling by sending their "Revolutionary Socialist greetings to the brave strikers, the English engineers, who are struggling for their right of existence." The Congress divided into a set of commissions for examining special questions, especially the following:

- "Rules of the Trades Federation.
- "Means of insuring the appearance of a daily newspaper.
- "Partial or General Strike.
- "Suppression of the work done in the soldiers' barracks, prisons and workhouses.
- "Eight Hour Day.
- "Boycotting.
- "Workmen's pensions.
- "International Trade Union Congress in 1900."

On the second day, the foundation of a daily newspaper was decided upon, which will be edited by the new Trades Federation and called *Le Défenseur du Proletariat* (The Defender of Labor). It will be of an essentially trade unionist and economic character. Only trade union members will be admitted as editors and collaborators.

Further, it was decided that the new Trades Federation should be composed of the Labor Exchange Federation (*Fédération des Bourses du travail*) the Industrial Federation (*Fédération d'Industrie*) and the National Trade Unions. This new Trades Federation will deal with the following matters: trade unionist propaganda amongst industrial as well as agricultural workmen; amalgamating and uniting of the trade unionists in their struggles;

disputes with the employers, partial or general strike, disputes between trade unions; struggle for the abolition of the truck system, abolition of prison work; labor statistics; organising and editing the newspaper. Finally, the Trades Federation will carry out the decisions of the labor congresses, and organise such congresses in the future.

On the third day (Wednesday, September 22) the delegates paid a collective visit to the Workingmen's Co-operative Glass Factory (*Verrerie aux Verriers*) at Albi, founded two years ago by French trade unionists and Socialists of all shades of opinion, several Anarchists like comrade Fernand Pelloutier amongst them, in order to help the glassworkers locked out by Résséguier, the French Colonel Dyer.

At Albi a splendid demonstration welcomed the trade union delegates, the glassworkers receiving them with cheers for the Social Revolution. Guided by a red banner, the delegates marched across the town—as many spies of the police as could get together preceding and following them. In the evening, there was a friendly dinner for the delegates and glassworkers. A member of the Administrative Council of the Factory having welcomed the delegates, the response was given by comrade Buat (Paris Instrument Makers' Union), who said that he was glad to have seen this creation of the working class, the Factory belonging to all, and there being in the Co-operative Glass Factory neither laborers nor glassworkers, but equal men only. Then a delegate from Algeria spoke, then another from St. Etienne, and thereafter comrade Pouget, editor of the well known Anarchist weekly paper, *Le Père Peinard*, made the following speech:

"I am happy to have seen the Glass Factory in full activity and prosperity, and after the misery they had suffered it was desirable that the glassworkers should improve their material condition; I am glad to know that they have succeeded.

"There have been some quarrels among the glassworkers; but it is to be hoped that serious quarrels will never be seen in future and that harmony will continue to reign.

"But, in order that the agreement may not be broken, all intervention of politicians must be kept away from the Glass Factory; and only then will it be a truly Socialist and Revolutionary creation."

Again with cheers for the Social Revolution, the glassworkers crowded on the railway station and bade farewell to the delegates, who on Thursday resumed their discussions by declaring in favor of a most active propaganda preparing the General Strike—a term which to all the Congress delegates is synonymous with Social Revolution.

Further the question of the work in soldiers barracks, prisons and workhouses was discussed. To the soldiers employed in military workshops, the Congress recommends to work as little as possible; the work in prisons and workhouses was condemned entirely.

After this it was decided to make a very active propaganda in favour of diminishing the daily working time. As to the Eight Hours Day, the Congress declares it desirable as a transition-stage only; the Eight Hours Day obtained, the workmen's struggle must go ahead, till exploitation and the wage system is abolished and entire freedom conquered.

Then the Boycotting Commission's report was read. The members of this commission were mostly Anarchists; the report was made by our comrade Paul Delesalle. He pointed out that until now the French workmen as well as their congresses were avowedly revolutionary in theory, but failed to express their theoretical opinion by deeds of a vigorous and practical kind. Until now, the only aggressive weapon they have used in the economic struggle has been the strike. In order to make the struggle far more efficient, Delesalle proposes to combine it with the *boycott* and the *ca' canny* tactics. The use of the former was declared advisable in all cases where the immediate adversary is a salesman or shopkeeper; as an example the Toulouse case was cited where, recently, the shopkeepers having refused the Free Sunday to their employees, some advanced workmen notified the public by advertisements not to buy anything on Sunday. In the cases where the industrial employer is to be fought directly, Delesalle proposes, whenever the strike should prove insufficient, to *ca' canny*—in regard to the quantity when time-work is done; whilst in the case of piece-work this tactic would apply to the quality. Finally, in all such cases where the disputed work is not done by the workman at his own home, but is centralised in a workshop owned by the employer, the *ca' canny* must be extended not only to the products but to the tools and machinery as well. The capitalists must know that the workman will not respect the machine till the day when it shall become his friend—shortening his working time instead of being, as to-day, his foe, the robber of his bread, the murderer of the working people.

Two propositions are added to the report: the first a theoretical one, recommending generally the combination of the *strike* with the *boycott* or the *ca' canny* according to the conditions explained; the second giving a practical example by proposing to boycott all those innkeepers, wine-merchants, etc., who refuse to sell their stuff in bottles made at the Workingmen's Glass Factory.

The whole report, as presented by the Boycotting Commission, was accepted by the Congress *unanimously*.

Furthermore, it was decided to prepare an International Trade Union Congress for the year 1900. This Congress is intended to be a keen demonstration against the intolerance of the Social Democratic politicians of the Liebknecht type, who intend to hold their next International Congress in Germany, where Wilhelm Nero's police may help them keep the Anarchists away.

Finally, the Workmen's Pension Bill Commission declares that this intended law would take away from the workman with the left hand what it gives him with the right hand; so the Commission proposes to reject that Bill in order not to help some ambitious politicians to cheat the working class. This report was agreed to.

The Chairman closed the Congress by stating that the workingmen have proved able to manage their own affairs, and that they will themselves be their own deliverers. The delegates parted amidst cheers for the Social Revolution.

Such were the decisions, both bold and wise, of a Workingmen's Congress where politicians did not interfere, but where Anarchist workmen took a very active and prominent part.

Let us look to France as to the land of Hope, where Anarchist teachings have found their way into the economically struggling workmen's organisations. And let us encourage our Anarchist comrades in all countries to imitate the French example.

"TENDERNESS."

By TERESA CLARAMUNT.

When I read the news published by the Spanish newspapers I could not help taking up my pen in order to write a small article with the title "Tenderness." It is well known that this quality is familiar to us women, because of the natural feebleness of our organism and also of the limited education we receive. Such a state of things being general amongst the fair sex, it is supposed that queens are not an exception to the rule under ordinary circumstances; therefore I was not surprised by the Spanish Regent's declarations. But the good señora has become aware of the infamies that were committed by her ministers somewhat too late; because, indeed, since her elevation to regency so many infamies have been committed that she should have shown sooner the tender feelings of her heart.

But the poor señora is not to be blamed, because strength and feeling have their limit in the human machine and it is not to be expected that a being who is constantly lifting her eyes to heaven or to the altar should see what is passing about her. On the other hand, when one's heart is full of divine love, there is no place for any human feeling; because, by dint of consecrating all one's love on a single fixed object, all the rest lose their worth for him who is in such a mood. I, therefore, do not find fault with the Regent's having so recently awaked to so grave a matter. The perfume of incense causes perturbations in the brain;—the innocent victims' cries have made the throne quake, and the concussion has had for result that Maria Cristina has moved her eyes from the altar to direct them to the ground on which it stands.

Then—oh, how horrible!—she saw at her feet rivers of blood and heard piteous bewailing. Then, sharpening her senses, she saw obvious chinks in the solid walls of her palace; then, as a tender mother and a tender woman, she made known to the whole nation that she is "willing to have justice done," and that she reproves her ministers for the infamies they have committed. And as, amongst these infamies, the crime of Montjuich is to be taken into account, the queen could not help speaking about it: since innocent victims have filled with blood the moat of this Bastille called Montjuich; because not only in the last trial were innocent men tortured, but she who writes these lines can affirm that the said men who were shot, and the four that were condemned to perpetual detention for the bomb thrown by Pallas at Marshal Campos were also tortured.

But let us leave the dead—the tenderness of a queen cannot recall them to life;—let us occupy ourselves with those who are innocently suffering in the hulks in consequence of these infamies.

"I am willing that justice should be done," said Maria Cristina. It is well known that the justice a queen is minded to have is very limited, but it is to be supposed that the queen's limits of justice will reach these honest workmen so unjustly condemned and so enable them to again take their place in society.

We who bitterly remember the infamies committed in Montjuich by Marzo, Portas, Garcia, Navarro, Tresolo and other torturers, do not forget the four workmen who are innocently suffering at the Ceuta hulks for the first trial, and the twenty that also suffer for the second one.

We have given important information to the public, and its sad character of truth has interested all the hearts of civilised countries.

The queen's latest affirmations are the last stroke that will compel the revision of these atrocious sentences, and chastise severely the torturers and impostors. If that is not done, the people surely will do it.

PRISON ECHOES.

We have received the following from our comrades of the *Firebrand*: County Jail, Portland, Oregon, September 24, 1897.

On the 17th September upon my depositing the 19 September issue of the *Firebrand* in the post-office, the United States Marshal, Humphry, interviewed me and, under the guise of friendship, drew from me the fact that I was the main owner of the *Firebrand*; so he had me up before the U. S. Commissioner, McKee, and prosecuting-attorney Murphy. Murphy said, "You are guilty of sending unmailable matter, that vile, indecent sheet, *The Firebrand*, through the mails. McKee questioned me regarding my connection with the *Firebrand*, and in default of my furnishing bail in the sum of \$2,000 he committed me to jail to await the sitting of the United States Court. During the examination and until the Marshal and I went away, a reporter of the *Oregonian* interviewed me, and the result is printed in the 18th September issue of said paper inclosed. Editor of *Freedom* I send you this for you to use for the best.

Yours for abolishing all government, A. J. POPE.

I am in the same cell as comrade Pope, and the original warrant was out for me. Being in the hop-yard, they questioned Mr. Pope as to my whereabouts. A warrant is out for Isaak, but they have not found him yet. I do not think they can convict anyone, but cannot be sure. It is the result of the jealousy of a local editor, I believe. I know he was working on such a scheme last summer; and now as fall (autumn) looks bright upon us, its radiance falls through iron grates, and we are happy,—I hope he is.

Fraternally,
HENRY ADDIS.

THE PROPAGANDA.

[Will comrades in the London and provincial Groups make a point of furnishing us with reports of their meetings and progress by not later than the 20th of each month.—Ed.]

REPORTS.

LONDON.

Somers Town.—Meetings have been held regularly at Ossulston Street, where we have collected 5s. since our last report; at Regents Park we have collected 10s. 9½d, and we have also collected 2s. 8½d. in Finsbury Park. These meetings have been well attended and several have included a good discussion. T. C.

E. LEGGATT reports holding good meetings at Finsbury Park, Wood Green, and Edmonton, at which a total of 18s. has been collected and handed over to the Engineers' Strike Fund, while the sales of literature have been phenomenal.

PROVINCES.

Edinburgh.—As it is some months now since we gave any account of ourselves it will be necessary, in order to give a true report of our work, to make mention at least of the latter half of the winter-meetings. Although these meetings were not what could be called an unprecedented success, yet, when we think seriously of the difficulties in the way of indoor propaganda, we may reasonably be cheerful over the measure of success we did attain in being able to carry them through without incurring debt. Perhaps the most noteworthy occurrence was the action of Comrade T. R. Marr in identifying himself with the group, and delivering several very educative and valuable lectures. From these and the active part he took in the discussion, we are certain the propaganda has made a decided gain. To fall in with one who is able and willing to lecture as Marr is, is certainly a great acquisition to the movement at the present time. The course finished with an address by Kropotkin in the Protestant Institute: a hall ridiculously small for such a meeting, but the only one within our reach owing to the Oddfellows Hall being engaged sometime beforehand by some other party. Under the circumstances we had to conceal rather than advertise the meeting, and, as was fully expected, the hall was crowded to suffocation. Marr acted as chairman and introduced the speaker in the most appropriate manner. Kropotkin met with a very hearty reception, and, being in good form, commanded the attention of his audience for nearly two hours, despite the intense heat that prevailed. Most of the questions were asked by Leslie and others of the S. D. F. Literature sold exceedingly well, especially the pamphlet "Philosophy and Ideal." Altogether the meeting was a decided success. Outdoor propaganda was then begun in very cold weather at the "mound" in Prince's Street, a new battle-ground, where a good crowd is attainable if the weather is dry. Not many meetings had been held, however, when the authorities thought, seemingly, that the vicinity of first-class hotels, with which Prince's Street abounds, was scarcely the place to hear such revolutionary language as Anarchists indulge in, and decided to have us shifted. Accordingly Marr was ordered from the stool, and his name and address taken. But no more was heard of the affair. A few Sundays after that, comrade Hall was ordered down, but, pointing to a Christian meeting on the other side, refused to move so long as they were allowed to stay. This went on for a few nights. Ultimately the Christians were scattered by the police; an event which caused a few letters to appear in the *Evening News* questioning the right of the police to break up an orderly meeting. Whether these letters have had any effect on either side it would be hard to say, but the Christians are holding meetings as usual without interference. Meanwhile, we moved two hundred yards further east to Waverley Bridge, where comrade Hall (the principal speaker) holds forth to very large crowds from the plinth of the "Four Lamps." This place has proved the best as yet, both with regard to the sale of literature and the attentiveness of the audiences. Though the rank and file of the group are at present sadly lacking in energy, and though some of us may fairly be designated "lapsed," yet there are two men (Hall and Godfrey), with an occasional spurt from Macgregor, who have made up for our deficit by their unflagging attention to the propaganda. Besides holding Sunday meetings in the middle of the day at Portobello and at Waverley Bridge at night, they have held numerous meetings on week nights in different parts of the city, and also in the country districts at holiday-time. Godfrey has made a "record" sale of literature for the summer. Altogether the Edinburgh Group, though small, has put in a summer's work, whatever the results may be, that a much larger group need not be ashamed of. We have decided not to hold Sunday night meetings this winter; but possibly may make the attempt on week nights next month; and if successful may be carried on all the winter.

G. R.

NOTICES.

TO ALL COMRADES. !!! ATTENTION !!!

A number of London comrades have decided to hold a Conference on Sunday, December 26. Two previous efforts to get the provincial comrades to co-operate having fallen through, if any provincial groups now care to take part a hearty greeting and welcome are extended. An agenda has been drawn up, but it is still open for fresh subjects to be discussed. Details of place of meeting and full agenda will appear in December issue of *Freedom*. Communications c/o *Freedom*.

THE COMMITTEE.

ERRATA.—The word *criminality* which appeared in our last issue on page 63, line 34 of the article *A Libertarian School*, should have been *animality*.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

Donations to Freedom Publication Fund.—A. McLoughlin 2s., H. G. 10s.

Leicester Anarchist Communists 5s., C. W. £1.

Freedom Guarantee Fund.—C. R. 10s., J. Perry 2s., P. McCabe 2s., L. Gump-
lowicz 5s., Handel 3s., A. M. 5s.

Sales of Freedom Pamphlets.—Office 1/6, Glasgow 8s., Tochatti 2/8, Leggatt 9/10

Sales of FREEDOM.—Newsagents 3/3, Edwards 1/4, Office 4/11, Percy 1/4, E. L. 8s.
Taylor 1s., Glasgow 5/4, Deptford 1/6, Croydon Group 3/8, Feinstein 2/8,
Liverpool 4s., Manchester 5s.

For the Spanish refugees, A. McLoughlin 1/6.

FREEDOM PAMPHLETS.

- No. 1. THE WAGE SYSTEM. By PETER KROPOTKINE. 1d.
- No. 2. THE COMMUNE OF PARIS. By PETER KROPOTKINE. 1d.
- No. 3. A TALK ABOUT ANARCHIST-COMMUNISM BETWEEN TWO WORKERS. By E. MALATESTA. 1d.
- No. 4. ANARCHIST-COMMUNISM: ITS BASIS AND PRINCIPLES. By PETER KROPOTKINE. 1d.
- No. 5. ANARCHY. By E. MALATESTA. 1d.
- No. 6. ANARCHIST MORALITY. By PETER KROPOTKINE. 1d.
- No. 7. EXPROPRIATION. By PETER KROPOTKINE. 1d.
- No. 8. ANARCHISM AND OUTRAGE. By C. M. WILSON ½d.
- No. 9. ANARCHY ON TRIAL.—George Etiévant, Jean Grave and Caserio Santo. 32 pages; 1d.
- No. 10. ANARCHISM: ITS PHILOSOPHY AND IDEAL. 1d.
- No. 11. REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT. 1d.

Our next pamphlet will be:—

- LAW AND AUTHORITY. By PETER KROPOTKINE. 2d.
EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION. By ELYSEE RECLUS. 1d.
AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG. By PETER KROPOTKINE. 1d.
THE CHICAGO MARTYRS. Their speeches in Court and the record of their trial, with the reasons given by Governor Altgeld for pardoning Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe; price sixpence. Spies speech in pamphlet form, 1d.
GOD AND THE STATE. By MICHAEL BAKOUNINE. Price fourpence.
AN ANARCHIST ON ANARCHY. By ELYSEE RECLUS. 1d.

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