

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

Vol. XVII.—No. 174.

FEBRUARY-MARCH, 1903.

MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

POLITICS AND SOCIALISM.

It was in 1871—immediately after the defeat of France by the Germans, and of the Paris proletarians by the French middle classes—that a conference of the International Working Men's Association, secretly convoked by Marx and Engels, instead of the usual annual Congress, and the composition of which had been cleverly manipulated for the purpose, met at London. This conference decided that the Working Men's Association, which had hitherto been a revolutionary association for the International organisation of the struggle of labour against capitalism, should become henceforward a series of national organisations for running Social-Democratic candidates in the different Parliaments.

Thirty years have passed since this step was taken. And we can fully appreciate by this time the results of the new tactics.

The main argument in favour of it was that the working men were not prepared to accept the ideas of Socialism: that consequently a long preparatory period was required in order to spread these ideas; and that—to say nothing of the prestige of Members of Parliament—periods of elections, when everyone's interest in public affairs is awakened, are the best moments for spreading broadcast Socialist ideas.

To this the working men, especially those of France and Spain, replied that the International Working Men's Association, such as it was, had already been excellent for the propaganda of Socialism. In less than three years it had awakened the conscience of the workers' interests all over Europe; it had done more for the theoretical elaboration of the principles of Socialism, and for the practical application of Socialistic principles, than fifty years of theoretical discussions. It had immensely contributed to the spreading of the idea of *international* solidarity of interest amongst the workers of all nations, and of an international support of their strikes; of International Labour opposed to International Capitalism. Besides, the strikes, especially when they attain great dimensions and are supported internationally, awake general attention, and are infinitely better opportunities for spreading broadcast Socialist ideas than electoral meetings, in which, for the very success of the election, Socialists will often be compelled to compromise with the middle classes—"to parliament, and to pactise" with them. In the struggles for political power Socialism would soon be forgotten—it was foretold—for some spurious teachings in which Radical political reforms would be mixed up with some palliative legislation in favour of labour, thus creating a confusion in the minds, from which the middle classes only would profit; while palliative laws (hours of labour, compensation for accidents, and so on) might be enforced upon the Parliaments in a much more effective form if the labour unions took everywhere the great extension which an International propaganda in this direction could give them.

It is for a good reason that we are here re-stating these arguments at such a length. Every one of them has had, within the last thirty years, its full confirmation.

See what has become of theoretical Socialism—not only in this country, but in Germany and Belgium as well, amidst those who take part in the elections under the etiquette of Socialism. There is less of it left than there ever was in a Fabian pamphlet. Who speaks now of Socialism, with the exception of the Anarchists, who precisely therefore are described as Utopians, if not as fools! In 1869-71 you could not open one single Socialist paper without finding on its very first page this discussion:—Whether we must, and if we must—how shall we expropriate the owners of factories, the mines, the land? Then—and this was especially important—every legislative measure, every political event was discussed from the point of view, whether it

was leading to, or leading away from, the aim in view—the Social Revolution. Of course, everyone was extremely interested in obtaining shorter hours and better wages for every branch of trade; everyone passionately took the part of strikers all over the world: the International was indeed a permanent international strike—an international conspiracy, if you like, for reducing hours, increasing wages, obtaining respect for the workers' freedom, and limiting the powers of Capital in every direction. Of course, everyone was passionately interested, too, in widening political liberties, and this is why the International was frankly anti-Imperialist. But it was also something else. It undertook, as its own speciality, the spreading of those ideas, and the conquest of those rights, which neither the old type trade unions nor the political radicals sufficiently cared for. The labour party, thirty years ago, had *its own special functions*, in addition to Trade-unionism and Radicalism, and these were Socialism—the *preparation of the Social Revolution*. But where is it now? All gone! What is now described as Socialism—all of them are Socialists now!—is the most incoherent mixture of trade-unionism, which trusts no more to itself, and looks for a John Gorst to make its business, with Toryism—the paternal State to whom you must look for every improvement of your conditions—with State capitalism (State monopoly of railways, of banks, of the sale of spirits, of education, etc., is preached and fought for by the Socialist party of free Switzerland) with Fabianism, nay, even occasionally with Imperialism, when Socialists declare in the German Reichstag that let the State only declare war, they will all fight as well as the Junkers! Add to this all sorts of theories built up with bits of metaphysics for persuading the workers that a Social Revolution is bosh; that Socialism is only good for a hundred years hence, and those who talk about it now are dangerous Utopians; that all capitals must first be concentrated in a few hands—which every intelligent man sees they never will—and that the peasant owners must disappear, and all become even more miserable than they are now, before Socialism becomes possible. This is what has now taken the place of the distinctly expressed idea: "The land, the mines, the factories, everything that is wanted for living, must return to the community, which by local action and free agreement, must organise free communistic life and free communistic production."—Is *this* progress?

If the working men of Europe and America had only the so-called Socialist and Social-Democratic parties to rely upon for the triumph of the Socialist idea, the general position would be really desperate. We certainly are the first to recognise that the Social-Democratic party in Germany is doing excellent *Republican* propaganda, and that, as a *Republican party*, it splendidly undermines the authority of the petulant William. We gladly acknowledge that the Parliamentary Socialists in France are thorough *Radicals*, and that they do excellent work for the support of radical legislation, thus continuing the work of Clémenceau and Rank, with the addition of some genuine interest in the working classes; they are *Radicals, sympathetic to the workers*. But who is doing work in the Socialist direction? Who is working for bringing the masses nearer and nearer to the day when they will be able to take hold of all that is needed for living and producing? Who contributes to the spreading of the spirit of revolt among the workers? Surely not the parliamentarian!

The only one possible reply to this question is this: It is the labour movement in France, in Spain, in America, in England, in Belgium, and its beginnings in Germany, and the Anarchists everywhere, who, despite all the above-mentioned dampers, despite all the confusion that is being sown in the ranks of Labour by clever *bourgeois*, despite all the propaganda of quietness and all the advices of deserting their fighting brothers, continue the old, good, *direct* fight against the exploiters. The great desperate colliers' strike in America

has done more to shake the authority of trusts, and to show the way to fight them, than all the talk in the talking assemblies. The attempts at general strikes in Belgium (despite the opposition of the politicians), at Milan (despite the treason of the leaders), at Barcelona, and at Geneva, have done infinitely more for spreading conviction in the necessity of a complete expropriation of the exploiters than anything that has ever been said in or out of a parliament by a parliamentary leader. The refusal of 400 Geneva militia soldiers to join the ranks, and the attitude of those fifteen who have been bold enough to tell the martial Court that they would never join the ranks of their battalions for fighting against their brother workers—such facts of revolt are doing infinitely more for the spreading of true Socialism than anything that has been, or will ever be said by those Socialists who seek their inspirations in the speeches and the review articles of a John Gorst. Of course, it is those Anarchists whom the would-be Socialists hate so much for not having followed them in their middle-class "evolution"; of course, it is those blessed Anarchists who have their hand in these movements, and go to prison like Berton in Geneva and scores of our brothers in France and in Spain. Yes, it is true they have a hand in these movements, and 8,000 workers on strike in Madrid shouted, the other day: *Long live Anarchism!* This is true. But they are proud to see that the workers trust them more than they trust their gloved "representatives."

THE ONLY WAY.

I.

One could have hoped that the nineteenth century, owing to the marvellous progress it accomplished in physical science, its innumerable discoveries and inventions, would have led humanity towards a definite solution—towards that era of justice, equality and social solidarity, towards that international fraternity which the great socialist thinkers were proclaiming at the beginning of the century, and revolutionists of all nationalities acclaimed with such enthusiasm in 1848, and later among the ranks of the great International Association of working men.

This incomparable progress was the work of unselfish scientists and needy workers. Great seekers after truth and inventors—the real benefactors of humanity—nearly all lived in poverty, and perished in misery; while the workers who have set all those inventions going, who have multiplied ten—fifteen times the productivity of the white race, they also remained in the same state of wretchedness and social degradation against which their grandfathers of old revolted at the end of the eighteenth century. The scientists, inventors, workers in applying electricity, steam, explosives, to communication, to production and all the needs of human life, have abolished distance, connected countries formerly separated, and created such wealth—especially in England and the United States—that the true well-being of every inhabitant could have been assured.

But by a cursed contradiction all those marvellous results have been appropriated and monopolised either by the persecutors of those scientists—by the State and by the Church, or by the exploiters and oppressors of the producers—by lords and capitalists. The rich and privileged possess exclusively telegraphs, railways, steamers, press, mines and factories. They have monopolised for themselves all those means of production and communication. They are in collusion with each other, and conspire against the workers by the telegraph constructed by the very workers themselves; they unite either in capitalist trusts or in religious orders, or political parties, or as allied states, in order the better to dominate the producers, to falsify science, to lead into error and debase the human conscience. In their supreme efforts to rule they unite, without distinction of classes, religion or nationality. To monopolise the results of progress, to perpetuate for ever exploitation and oppression—such is their watchword, their rallying cry, and their efforts, alas! for humanity, begin to be crowned by almost complete success. State and Capital absorb everything; subjugate entirely even the most democratic nations, the most liberal of political institutions, gained by the people only after sanguinary revolutions, or by secular and incessant struggle.

Indeed, what has now become of all those democracies once autonomous, communalist or federalist, in Switzerland, in the United States, or in Holland? Under the ancient forms which are still preserved, Capital—or bureaucracy in the pay of capital—reigns, in reality, everywhere. Who in those countries nominates the legislative bodies? The rich. Who elects the executive powers and the whole governmental machinery, from president, ministers and judges, to the humblest detectives and rural policemen? Is it the people? The poor? Certainly not. The rich, the privileged; they alone distribute amongst themselves and their tools all the public functions. And their power, thanks to the progress accomplished in the nineteenth century, has become more and more formidable. State and Capital are at present the two powers who dispute between them the domination of the social, political and intellectual life of humanity.

The capitalists have understood quite well that possessing railways,

telegraphs, the postal system and daily press, they can arrive at an understanding at any moment, in order to govern the production and consumption of whole nations. They know perfectly well that intellectual as well as manual labour has created for them a nearly irresistible power for ruling the world. We also see that the conspiracies of the meanest monopolists begin to control the whole world under the name of Trusts or financial companies. The united capitalists have defeated the strikes of the English engineers (1898), of Chicago, of the miners of Pennsylvania, and elsewhere. They proved to the workers that their isolated trade unions remained always powerless against the union of exploiters; they demonstrated to the public, the consumers, to entire nations, that since they had powerful means for united action at their disposal, they could and would snap their fingers at popular or national welfare, and would continue to impose prices upon articles of consumption according to their own sweet will. At the same time that they impose themselves upon the states, they provoke wars among the latter, and direct their internal politics. The wars in the Transvaal, China and Venezuela have been prepared, provoked and organised by them. This is now recognised by everybody. The same was the case with the latest Greco-Turkish war, which was organised by the secret syndicate of international financiers. Those gentlemen decided that the economic life of Greece should be submitted to their control, and by laying out 30,000,000 francs, contrived that a debt of 100,000,000 was fastened on the unhappy little nation. Those financiers knew beforehand that Greece would be beaten, and for that very reason they had opened a credit of 100 millions at 60 per cent. From those proposed 60 millions they—creditors of Turkey at the same time—retained more than half as war indemnity for Turkey. The latter had the pleasure to see its debt—which it never intended to pay—diminished by the sum inscribed, but never paid to the Greeks. Consequently Greece is indebted for 125 millions more, and a commission of international brigands is imposed for the administration of its finances, as has already been done with the Turkish finances, and others.

The invasion and domination of united capital across frontiers and oceans, has been foreseen by all Socialists from the beginning of the last century. Some among them wished to check it by state action. But we see that the united capitalists govern the states, and the more human production develops, and culture and riches increase, the more the power of Capital is accentuated. Nobility and clergy have well understood this power, and everywhere we see them hastening to join the bourgeoisie, to place themselves at its service. Formerly divided in three classes, all those social parasites now form but one single order of exploiters and oppressors. In reality the old idea of classes has disappeared. At present we have two great divisions in humanity: on one side the united money-grubbers, the monopolisers of the bourgeoisie, the traders of miracles and old fables of clerical debasement, the idlers of nobility, the whole of the Magistracy, of the executive, of the army and of the police. On the other side the people, the producer—robbed, oppressed and despised by the united army of parasites.

(To be concluded.)

EDUCATION.

It has often struck me that, as Anarchists, the subject of education has an immense importance for us. We are working for the future of mankind. We undertake the task, so to speak, of educating mankind, giving them a broader, wider humanity. How important then for us to consider the education of children. For it is almost impossible in the grown man or woman to eradicate all the effects of an education such as the children of this generation are receiving. Have we not all had occasion to find how difficult it is to effect a change in the character, the tastes, the habits of thought of a grown man? The educational methods of to-day are busy preparing future enemies of progress. It is necessary to consider the question, and to seek if we cannot do something at least in the matter.

Let us see how our children are *educated*. From the first years in which they are capable of understanding, they are the victims, more often than not, of the despotic authority of their parents. Should they ask questions they are told, "Children must be seen and not heard." The child has no right to a desire of its own, cannot say anything, do anything. No attempt is made to educate the child's reason by explaining *why*. But need I dwell on the picture? Do we not all know it? Have not many of us suffered from it? During the most important years of its life the child is submitted to the authority and care of parents completely ignorant of the nature of children, whose only idea of education is that children must be kept in their place, and must be punished for wrong-doing.

And then the school. Still the same command "Obey and be quiet." Always authority, and the inculcation of obedience in authority as such. Never the slightest attempt to aid the development of the child's nature; only the beating into his lively brain of dead, uninteresting facts.

Can we wonder that men stoop so readily to authority? Their whole education has tended towards this. The instinct to obey becomes almost ineradicable. Nor can we wonder as long as education is authoritarian, that the one thing never attained is *education*, development. Instead of arousing interest, teaching arouses hatred for the

things that are taught. We Anarchists urge that all things must be subordinated to the development of the individual. This alone is the right of man, that he should have opportunity to exercise his healthy normal faculties, that no integral part of his individuality shall be suppressed. To this need in the individual for self-development, all social organisation must be subordinated—this is of first importance. And here, at the very commencement of life, where this principle is of the supremest importance, here it is not only ignored, but is opposed. The individuality of the child is throughout repressed by authority in the first place, and then by the drill of stereotyped lessons. When the child should be out in the sunshine, giving natural vent to the lively energy within, and learning the lessons which nature will so readily give, he must sit on a bench and repeat monotonous moral stories, or, under the name of history, hear of the lives and deeds of kings and princes, their bloodthirsty (but still moral) wars, or puzzle out the meaning of $\sqrt{-1}$.

Fourier has well described what education should be—

Universal and not exceptional,
In conformity with vocations, and not arbitrary,
Convergent and not divergent,
Active and not passive,
Composite and not simple,
Integral and not partial,
Of development and not of constraint.

This is the logical application to education of the Anarchist principle that every individual has the right to the fullest scope for the healthy development of all his faculties. The ideal of *integral education*, that is the progressive development in equilibrium of the whole being, without omission or mutilation, is a logical part of the ideal of Anarchism. Let us not forget to insist on this part of our ideal. In our struggle for freedom the next generation is of more importance even than the present. Attempts have already been made in the right direction, at Ysnaya Polyana by Tolstoy, and in France at Cempuis by Robin, to quote the two most notable examples. We are already in the period of transition. Let us hope that it will be short. We can help to shorten the period by disseminating those ideals of education which are the outcome of our ideal of humanity, a thing we have rather neglected to do. It is the children of to-day who shall decide what is to come to-morrow.

A. R. B.

AN APPEAL.

Comrades,

The wife of our Comrade MacQueen (the latter being in America, and condemned to five years' imprisonment) in attempting to join her husband in America, was prevented by the authorities from landing. Mrs. MacQueen and her two children were sent back to England under cruel circumstances; the Steamship Company refuses to restore her effects until she has paid her return fare for herself and children.

Help is urgently needed, therefore we appeal to you to give what pecuniary assistance you are able, thereby helping the family of a Comrade in distress.

THE LEEDS COMRADES.

All moneys should be made payable to

DAVE WORMALD,

7, Jack Lane, Holbeck, Leeds.

All donations will be acknowledged in *Freedom*.

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Money is urgently needed for above fund.

Comrades or Readers willing to part with back numbers or volumes of "The Commonweal," please communicate with "Freedom" Management. Good prices given.

"Free Society." An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism, 331 Walnut St., Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.

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AMERICAN NOTES.

The hypocrisy of the average labour leader in this glorious country of ours is really sickening. Sam Gompers had the effrontery to suggest at the recent convention of the American Federation of Labour that Anarchists should be excluded from the United States. It is the custom of these annual conventions for the president to submit a report of the chief events which have occurred in the world of labour during the year just passed. The delegates naturally assume that as the president is at the same time president, organizer and editor of their official organ, *The Federationist*, he should be qualified not only to give them a retrospect of the chief incidents affecting labour during the previous year, but he should be able to make valuable suggestions for the future. That is what they expect! This is what they get: "Our present immigration laws are unsatisfactory. We need every honest and efficient immigrant to become an American citizen—every immigrant who comes here to stay, who brings here a strong body, a stout heart and a resolute purpose to do his duty well in every way, and to bring up his children as law-abiding and God-fearing members of the community. But there should be a comprehensive law enacted with the object of working a three-fold improvement over our present system. First, we should aim to exclude absolutely not only all persons who are known to believe in Anarchistic principles, or members of Anarchistic societies, but also all persons who are of a low moral tendency or of unsavory reputation. This means that we should require a more thorough system of inspection abroad and a more rigid system of examination at our immigration ports, the former being especially necessary." I hate to be personal, but of all the *blatant* hypocrisy ever put into print, this, to my mind, is the worst. Here is an English Jew who came to the States at four years of age (how about the rigid examination?), entered a factory at ten years, worked at the cigar trade for some years, and for the past twenty years has lived—and lived well—at the expense of working men of all nationalities, whether they happened to be temporary or permanent residents of the United States. If he believed in the necessity of exclusion of Anarchists, he might be excused; but he doesn't, and here's the hypocrisy. For years he was a frequenter of Schwab's place, and knew poor old Justus well; he knew Edelman, Tucker, Lum, McCraith, Pickett, and a score of others in the movement, and knows what sterling men they were, and are, for some of them are still with us. As to his cry about "a low moral tendency, or of unsavory reputation," all I have to say is the printer forgot to add after that sentence (*Loud laughter.*) Sam's linen is too dirty to be washed in *Freedom*, so we must let it pass; but it is such statements as these that make it imperative that Anarchists should join the trade union movement, not only from the standpoint of solidarity, but to be present on such occasions as these, and greet such men as Sam Gompers with their proper titles, Liar and Impostor!

The evolution of "labor leaders" is along regular if rather peculiar lines. First a worker then a "labor leader," and by the time that is played out, they have educated themselves sufficiently to become a professional man. Journalism is a very attractive field for them, the work is not laborious, the pay pretty good, and the hours irregular enough to suit the most fastidious. H. B. Prescott, ex-president of the International Typographical Union is a case in point; first a compositor in Toronto, then President of the I.T.U., and now the writer of ponderous editorials in the *Inland Printer* (trade paper) of Chicago. "Billy" has a stiff job on for an ex-president of an International Trade Union; he is trying to reconcile capitalists and laborers—not capital and labour, if you please—and in the attempt he speaks of "the low ebb touched by the Typographical Unions in 1887-88," which, he says, was due to the aftermath of the Anarchist riots and the exposure of rottenness in the Knights of Labour, while the T.U. was almost prostrated as a "result of the ill-starred nine-hour strike." For a "literary feller," "Billy," this will never do; you mean police riots; a slight mistake, no doubt, but a very important one. You were a young man in '87, "Billy," and lived in far-off Toronto, so there is some excuse for your mistake; you ask some of the old timers in Chicago, and they will tell you about some police riots at McCormicks Reaper Works, and Haymarket Square, but no Anarchist riots. Be careful, "Billy;" some Anarchists read the *Inland Printer*.

Free Society is publishing a series of brilliant articles by our comrade C. L. James, entitled *A Vinidcation of Anarchism*, and no student of Anarchism should miss reading them. The address of *Free Society* is 331, Walnut Street, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

Mark Twain is writing a series of three articles on "Christian Science" (?) in the *North American Review*. The first two articles appeared in the December and January numbers of this review, and are in Mark's usual masterly style. If Mrs. Eddy and "Christian Science" survive this brilliant exposure of Mark's, it will be time to despair of us Americans. However, as the paper says, "there's a sucker born every minute," so there is no telling.

Kropotkin's "Mutual Aid" has appeared in book form in the United States at last. The price is 2d. 50c., and it should have a good sale. The *Literary Digest* reviews it very favourably.

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A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

Monthly, One Penny; post free, 1½d.; U.S.A., 3 Cents; France, 15 Centimes.

Annual Subscription, post free, 1s. 6d.; U.S.A., 36 Cents; France, 1fr. 80c.
Foreign subscriptions should be sent by International Money Order.

Wholesale Price, 1s. 4d. per quire of 27, carriage free to all parts.

All communications, exchanges, &c., for "FREEDOM" to be addressed to

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The Editors are not necessarily in agreement with signed articles.

Notice to Subscribers.—If there is a blue mark against this notice your subscription is due, and must be sent before next month if you wish to go on receiving the paper.

NOTES.

ECHOES OF THE GENERAL STRIKE.

We have already recommended to all interested in the labor movement the reading of the weekly *La Voix du Peuple*, the federal organ of the General Confederation of Labour in France, and now we recommend in the same way the fortnightly paper, published at Geneva, *L'Emancipation*, official organ of the labour unions of Geneva. Both are edited in the same spirit of uncompromising struggle against capitalism. To give a better idea of their character, we reproduce from the last number of *L'Emancipation* (February 7th) the leader on The General Strike.

"Revolutionary events follow each other with an unheard-of rapidity. On Thursday, the 9th of October, the day that the general strike had been declared at Geneva, a general strike was also declared at Seville, in Spain, and 20,000 workers joined it. On the same day another 25,000 men left work at Linea, also in Spain.

"Since that time we have had a first general strike at Barcelona. Then, at the same time, the great strike of the miners in the United States went on, and ended in a victory for the strikers [after having made an immense propaganda in favour of the expropriation of the mines, we may add], and in France this strike of the miners, which included 14,000 men, rapidly spread to Belgium as well.

"In Russia it was the 20,000 men of Rostoff who fiercely rose against the rapacity of the employers, and then came the attempt of a general strike at Marseilles.

"To-day we can mention the general strike at Reus, and the neighbouring towns, in Catalonia (Spain) a struggle which is for the triumph of the eight hours' day. In Barcelona, over fifty meetings have been held already in connection with this strike. [Since these lines were printed at Geneva, a new attempt of a general strike has been made, as is known, in Barcelona, and only two labour unions—the printers and the tramway men—had refused to join it.]

"Finally it was Amsterdam which had its turn. The movement began with a strike of the carmen and the dock labourers of the Transportation Company, and spread to the railway men. We give the details in another place.

"In the same way, at Rotterdam, the movement threatened to spread to the whole net of railways (17,000 men)—and it was due to the energetic attitude of the strikers, that the Government hastened to free the company from the obligation of supplying waggons.

"However, no sooner had this first success been obtained, than nearly 4,000 workers from different trades came together and sent to the mayor a list of their grievances, threatening to declare a general strike. All branches of industry seem inclined to join in it, and the Municipal Council, at a special meeting, has declared its decision to study carefully these claims of the working men.

"It goes well. Tremble! you middle-class people.....The end of your system is not so far off as you think."

"CHRISTIAN" PUNISHMENT. The "good" middle-class people of Camden Road, Holloway, have had their feelings shocked by the horrible details of capital punishment being brought under their noses, and they are protesting, not in the name of humanity, of course, but in the name of their own outraged feelings, and the menace to their valuable property!

Since these sensitive people have surrounded themselves with laws for their own protection, and have never raised their voices before in denunciation of the barbarous custom of capital punishment, we have no pity for them. On the contrary, it would

perhaps be a good thing if all those "legal" murderers who uphold the death penalty could have a closer acquaintance with the horror of it all. Let them have brought under their view the mental suffering, the agonised suspense of their fellow-creatures waiting for death. Let them meet the hangman face to face—the man they pay to take in cold blood, in the most cowardly fashion, the life of a fellow-being doomed by the law they uphold. Let them see these things, and then if they can give their support to this inhuman treatment, they are morally below the level of the victim whose legal murder they applaud.

MOHAMMEDAN CHARITY. In contrast to the above, we quote the following, leaving it to our readers to draw the comparison between the Christian judge and the Mohammedan peasant.

The *Times of India* Bushire correspondent writes: Some months ago an assault was made by some Persian soldiers on a gardener at Dalaki, during which a soldier, probably an onlooker, was killed, some say accidentally. The gardener was arrested and brought into Bushire a few days ago. Orders were subsequently issued by the Central Government for his execution. Last week, when he was being led out of prison to pay the penalty for his crime, the brother of the deceased soldier stepped forward and demanded as his right, according to the Mohammedan law, "blood for blood," or complete pardon to the prisoner. In exercising his prerogative he chose to release the culprit, whom he embraced and addressed as follows: "As I expect forgiveness from God, so do I forgive you. Go thy way. You are pardoned, and may God not call me and you to account. Take these few krans for your immediate expenses."—October 30th, 1902.

In future all money and postal orders should be made payable to J. Turner, 127, Ossulston Street, London, N.W.

We regret to state that owing to unforeseen difficulties we were unable to produce a February number.

LITERARY NOTES.

Our readers will be delighted to learn that *A Sketch of Morality, Independent of Obligation or Sanction*, translated from the French by Gertrude Kapteyn, is being sold now by the Rational Press Co. (Watts and Co., 17, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street) in a beautiful 6d. edition (1s. 6d. bound). We have often mentioned Guyau's admirable work on Morality in our pamphlets, and we consider this book as decidedly one of the very best books that have been published for the last thirty years—both for the depth of its ideas, and for the beauty of its poetical style. In France it has passed through six editions, but, of course, in England, no publisher dared to publish it. Fancy a Morality without the sanction of either God or Law!! Shocking! To be moral without the fear of the godly or the prison warder's lash! How can a religious Britisher swallow that? It was then the translator herself who had to issue the book at her own cost. Now, in Messrs. Watts' intelligent hands, we hope it will have a wide circulation.

We are very glad to announce that comrade C. L. James has at last published in a book form his excellent work, *History of the French Revolution* (Chicago, *Free Society*; price 2s. 6d.). It is just the size (350 pages) which is required for giving the reader a correct idea about the great movement of 1789-95, describing the succession of events during these memorable years, and briefly analyzing their causes. The description is excellent, animated and interesting all through, and comrade James, hampered though he must have been by the absence of the documents that can only be found in a great city like Paris or London, has everywhere found out, by a judicious study of the documents he had at hand, the truth amidst the conflicting reports. His general Anarchist conceptions must have been for him an excellent guide.

We cannot but feel delighted that such an excellent work can now be put in the hands of all our friends—a work whose descriptions and conclusions can be accepted in full safety—which could not be said of any other previous work on the French Revolution, not even of the best ones, such as Michelet's and Louis Blanc's.

We must, however, express the hope that comrade James will complete his excellent work, in its next edition, by a few pages given to a wide and complete analysis of the part played by the peasants in the Revolution, and the treatment, by the Revolutionary Assemblies, of the land question. I have given some indications in this direction in the anniversary article of the Revolution in the *Nineteenth Century*, July, 1889, but since that time two works have appeared dealing (but not yet completely) with this most important subject, namely, the work of Sagnac, and that of Jaurès. Without following month by month the peasant revolution and the efforts of the National and Legislative Assemblies and the Convention to crush the peasant revolt, one cannot fully understand the French Revolution. Altogether the economic underground of the Revolution, which begins now to be studied, is evidently of the greatest importance.

Another very important matter, which is being more and more

brought into evidence, is the extremely great extension of the royalist conspiracies during the Revolution (even E. Daudet's very poor work *Les Conspirations royalistes dans le Midi*, throws already some light on this subject.) Many of the terrorist acts of the Revolution are explained by the extent which these desperate conspiracies for restoring something that was already gone, had grown to. Unfortunately this subject is only now beginning to receive proper attention from the French explorers of the Archives.

In the meantime we most warmly recommend James's work to all those who are anxious to know the great French Revolution.

P. K.

Chr. Cornelissen—"Théorie de la Valeur," Réfutation des Théories de Rodbertus, Karl Marx, Stanley Jevons et Boehm-Bawerk. Paris, 1903; Schleicher Frères et Cie, éditeurs.

Cornelissen calls his book "A refutation of the theories of Rodbertus, Karl Marx, Stanley Jevons and Boehm-Bawerk." A minute and very learned refutation, we add. The author is not only well acquainted with the classical literature on the subject, but has at his disposal also exact and up-to-date information on the development and nature of capitalist combinations known as trusts. The doctrines on value of the two economic contemporary schools represented by the above-named authors are, as far as we know, analysed better by Cornelissen than by any other writer.

The communist author shows us how the *Utilitarians* (Jevons, Boehm-Bawerk) "dared not, for secondary and political reasons, draw the immediate conclusions of their own theories," and observes justly to scientists that "before all it is necessary to spare no longer class interests in books which claim to be purely scientific."

On the other hand, he demonstrates the absurdity of metaphysicians who, taking as basis Adam Smith's theory of labour-value, began to deny the value of the forces and products of nature. For instance, Marx assures us that "a waterfall, as well as the soil in general, and every natural force does not possess value because it does not represent labour." As if the Niagara Falls, which set hundreds and thousands of workshops in Buffalo going, has no value; or the cascade of the streamlet of Chaudron at Montreux, in Switzerland, is without value like the Rhone at Geneva, because both set factories and tramways working, give light to four towns, fifteen villages, and give electric power to workshops employing two or even only one worker! This conception of value is ridiculous, and Cornelissen is quite right in saying that "The reality proves . . . to Marx that often products which cost very little or no labor, are valued on the market as high as others which represent far greater labour." (p. 113.)

We find that Cornelissen has a very correct conception of the modern capitalist accumulation with its industrial and financial combinations, with its colossal "trusts." Describing their formation and causes, he adds: "What is said here on the concentration of production does not imply that trusts must necessarily result in accumulating capital in the hands of an always diminishing number of possessors. Just the opposite is demonstrated by the representatives of the large industrial and commercial combinations. In an American review, Mr. Charles Schwab, president of the Steel Trust, writes for instance: 'Whilst the number of persons interested in our factories and workshops was comparatively restricted, for some years this number has increased a hundredfold, and the same process is still continuing.'"—*North American Review*, 1901, p. 660.

Likewise Mr. F. B. Thurber, speaking of the sugar trust, says: "The nine sugar refineries which have combined in the trust, had 27 partners; at present the trust representing those nine refineries counts more than 11,000 partners as shareholders." (p. 359.)

We are greatly pleased to find that the author is perfectly free from any metaphysical prejudices, and that he does not consider the phenomenon of capitalist combinations as a fatal destructor of capitalists among themselves.

We think that Cornelissen's sound and really scientific analysis will help to emancipate many students of economy from academical as well as class prejudices.

A TRUE ANARCHIST.

We print below some extracts from a letter giving details of the attempt on the life of our comrade Voltairine de Cleyre. She would not wish that we should praise her conduct, noble as it is, but actions that accord with the ideal of Anarchism in these cases have such a powerful influence in awakening an interest in our principles, and sweeping away at one stroke the mass of ignorance and prejudice our enemies have invoked against us, that the matter is important enough, independently of personal feeling, for us to dwell upon.

Similar grand examples of the true Anarchist spirit have been given under like circumstances by our comrades Louise Michel and Errico Malatesta, and great were the impressions they left on the public mind. It is true we have not at our disposal "political action" wherewith to degrade our movement, but we have in all directions the opportunity of moral action, whereby we may raise and ennoble the spirit of true human fraternity and solidarity. The following details will interest all comrades:

Philadelphia,
January 18th, 1903.

Dear Comrade,

Miss De Cleyre was on her way to give a lesson to a down-town comrade, when she was shot at Fourth and Green Streets. She was stepping on to the car at that place, when Heltcher pulled her sleeve, and fired as she turned towards him; he fired four shots, three of which took effect, one in her breast and two in her back. She ran about half a block, and then sat down on a step. A pupil of hers—a doctor—lives close by, and was with her almost

directly. A police patrol was called, and she was taken to the nearest hospital, where the wounds were at once pronounced fatal. We would not accept this, and in two or three hours had had her moved into a private room, and were making arrangements for an operation to be performed by the greatest specialist in the city. This caused the hospital authorities to get a move on themselves, and from this point to the time she left, they were most attentive and kind. We broke down their professional jealousy, and the two schools of medicine worked together in perfect harmony. Under these happy conditions we soon began to hope for recovery, and in a day or two we received the assurance that she would get well again. No operation was performed, and the three bullets are still in her body. Two of the bullets entered her body in such a way that the doctors themselves wonder she was not killed; one of them entered the back and passed half round the body, and is now lodged just above the heart, having just grazed the vital parts. This may need an operation some time in the future, but this is not certain. After two weeks she came home from the hospital, and is steadily regaining her strength. As I am writing I can hear her playing on the piano. Next week she goes to New York to rest with comrades there, and we are raising a fund to give her a long rest, for a month or two, maybe. The money needed for doctors' and hospital charges was at once forthcoming, and nothing was left undone that love or wisdom could suggest. We broke all the rules of the hospital—did almost as we pleased there; filled her room with flowers and presents, and had one of our comrades, Bergman, who is a musical genius, play music to her day by day, to the amused interest of the nurses and attendants.

But her recovery is not the only notable thing. Her conduct throughout has been such as to cause more interest in our ideas and practice than any other thing that ever happened to us. The boy who shot her did not attempt to escape, but stood still until arrested. The next morning he was taken to her bedside for identification. She said she knew him as a comrade and former pupil. They asked did she recognise him as the man who shot her, and she said: "No." She steadily refuses to do anything towards having him punished, and has written him a letter of forgiveness. He has had one hearing in court, and has pleaded guilty. He is to have final hearing on the 29th inst. At that time she will again refuse to identify him as the man who shot her.

. All this brought us a good deal before the public, and we have had many fine things said of us. Best of all has been the expression of affection for Miss De Cleyre herself. I have never seen anything finer than this, and the papers made a good deal of it, too. Then our attitude towards Heltcher has caused great surprise to those who did not know us. Quite a few of De Cleyre's pieces have been printed, and we have had many enquirers for literature and general information as to Anarchism. Of this we shall take advantage now we have time. I will send either with this, or in another envelope, a few clippings from Philadelphia papers, so that you may see how it appeared here.

Fraternally,

GEO. BROWN.

[According to latest news to hand, Heltcher has been sentenced to 6 years and 9 months imprisonment.]

The Organization of Propaganda.

We have heard many comrades within the last year or two express despondency at the lack of healthy propaganda in the movement. And it is only too obvious that circumstances have perhaps been against us. Yet it seems now as if it will be our own fault if we do not manage to spread our ideas. For the circumstances which before were against us, are now removed. Men are more prepared to listen to any arguments we may bring forward. The time is ripe for a vigorous attempt to make up for lost time—to regain lost ground.

It is because they think this that several comrades are in process of forming a propaganda group, whose aim will be to organise propaganda throughout the country. A few words may be useful to point out why such a group is needed.

One of the greatest disadvantages under which provincial propaganda has laboured, has been that in those places where there has been any movement, there have never been more than a few speakers. Besides the tax on the energy of those few there is the notable fact that people get tired of hearing the same few speakers. Thus, after perhaps a year, what was at first a very splendid movement, drops off and loses its vitality for lack of new forces. Such a tour as that of Emma Goldman has been hitherto the exception. Henceforward we propose to make it the rule. The Propaganda Group will organise a regular summer tour through the country, two or three speakers going to each place where the local comrades will undertake to organise meetings. The meetings will be held in the open air, and thus the too heavy expenditure required to procure halls will be avoided. It will, perhaps, be possible to organise a similar tour in the winter. That will depend to a large extent on what support is given to the group.

For the present what is necessary is that those speakers who will be able to devote some time in the summer to propaganda should signify their adhesion to the group by communicating with: THE SECRETARY, "Propaganda," 127, Ossulston Street, London, N.W.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

HOLLAND. The Dutch bourgeoisie had a foretaste, recently, of the discomfort that their kind, throughout Europe may suffer, should the workers' proposition of a general and international strike be forced one day to merge from the ideal into a stubborn fact. As is known, there was a dockers' strike a few weeks ago, in and around Amsterdam. Certain transport companies thought to put more dividends into their pockets by suppressing federation. The men went out on strike at once, and received the immediate sympathy of the railroad employees, who, more or less, refused to work; consequently traffic, except by horse, became impossible to the worthy burghers who desired to trade or travel. The following extract from the *Nieuws von den Dag* is significant as well as amusing:

"At Sloterdijk, a station some half-hour's walk from Amsterdam, crowds of travellers stood waiting patiently on the narrow platform, their number continually increasing as the local trains from Haarlem, etc., arrived. Vehicles were there to transport them to Amsterdam, a terrific rush being made for these as each train drew up. Soon the high-road was packed with a constant stream of carriages, intermingled with pedestrians laden with handbags and other luggage, or pushing trucks full of personal belongings before them. Every kind of conveyance was to be seen on the Haarlem high-road; landaus, large excursion vans, victorias, peasants' carts, coupés, cabs, dog-carts, all drawn by more or less mixed teams, and thrown into indescribable confusion as way was forced through them by some heavy van laden with mail-bags, hurrying at a gallop into the town, or scattering right and left before the on-rush of some monster motor-car, which dashed by, deafening the ear with its horn, and followed by a train of riders on bicycles and motor-cycles."

One can conceive how blue the air must have become around the *myn-heers* as, covered with dust or mud, they made their way to business through such conditions. The power of even the patient, plodding Dutch worker to make things disagreeable when he chooses to combine, may have come a little more home to them. The authorities, too, had a few significant surprises. At Amersfoort an engine-driver and stoker refused to start a train carrying 150 soldiers to the scene of strike, and the chief engineer had to do so in person. When the strike ended the entire *personnel* at this station declined to resume work until the military posted in it were removed. This was done at once. At Steenwyk also, an engine-driver refused to board a train transporting troops. He was suspended. Upon which the employees at a neighbouring centre threatened to stop the service unless he was re-instated. Their demand was complied with. Again, an engine-driver of Groningen, who had decorated the engine of the morning express with a green wreath and large red rose, was ordered to remove "that thing." "All right," he answered, "but then I go too." That express started with its decorations. Forty blue jackets were placed under arrest because they openly declared they would not fire on the strikers, and their noble determination seems to have been shared by many others who kept their own counsel. Meanwhile the Dutch liberal and anti-liberal papers were flying at each others' throats, the first blaming the conservative government, and the latter the railway directors for the dislocation in public affairs. And out of the general mess the workers shrewdly won a point or two for themselves. Free railway passes to Utrecht, to participate in an annual meeting of railway men, were demanded and obtained by 655 employees of the Central workshops. As another fine result of the strike, over 2,000 new members have joined the various unions amalgamated under the National Labor Society; 600 new members have enrolled themselves in the Amsterdam Railway Men's Union, 150 in the Utrecht, 60 in that at Amersfoort, while the union at Zwoll has increased from 130 to 300. The strike ended very quickly owing to transport and railway companies complying with every demand of the men; but the bourgeoisie has been thoroughly startled, and in the press, both liberal and conservative, proposals are being made to introduce a law by which a refusal to work on the part of employees in the public service, or companies, such as trams, lighting or waterworks owning State concessions, shall be liable to prosecution and punishment.

The organ of the French labour unions, *La Voix du Peuple*, gives interesting details concerning the strike in Holland. All labour unions in Holland, with the exception of three—the Teachers, the Diamond-cutters (a sort of labour aristocracy), and the Railway Employees—are either very much anti-parliamentarian, or opposed to social democracy, which every year grows more and more a middle-class party. The strike of the railway men is consequently the more significant, and only illustrates the gulf that exists, even in this union, between the leaders and the mass of the workers. It was some of the latter, who, in order to support the dockers, had refused, on their own initiative, to load goods belonging to Amsterdam shipowners, and thus the strike spread to the railway men.

The strike was rapidly spreading in the same way to other trades in the Dutch capital. Troops and gunboats were called out.

It need hardly be said that the political socialists (the social democrats) had done all in their power to oppose the strike movement. Their official organ, *Het Volk (The People)*, had been so active in this direction, that the masons had even discussed the question of boycotting it. Happily enough, the chief Labour organisation, *The National Secretariat of Labour*, is quite independent of the social democrats and the labour politicians.

SPAIN. The determined and patient agitation for the release of the *Mano Negra* victims, commenced a year ago in the columns of the *Tierra y Libertad* of Madrid, has resulted in the official organ of the

government announcing, on January 25th, that the Minister of Justice was about to procure the King's signature to the commutation of at least one sentence—that of Duran Gil—to banishment from Jerez, the remainder of his sentence being quashed. Duran Gil has been twenty years in prison through the police accusation of complicity in the supposed murder of a rural guard, as described in *Freedom* of January. The said Minister likewise announces that he has given instructions for all the cases of the survivors to be examined, with a view to laying the matter before the Cabinet, and releasing the prisoners, subject to banishment from Spain. The guilty conscience of the law has at length been reached, and this in the first place is owing entirely to the individual action of one comrade—Soledad Gustavo—who for eight months carried on the campaign single-handed, until persistence had roused the dormant interest of every libertarian journal throughout the continent, and fired the hearts of their readers. The *Temps Nouveaux* ably seconded the Spanish crusade in the cause of justice. While here in England our libertarians were mostly polishing up their silk hats for Christmas festivities, or the opening of Parliament, the Anarchists, mainly, having ears and sympathy alert, over in France and other countries meeting after meeting was held to protest against the continued imprisonment of the *Mano Negra* sufferers, and to devise means for their immediate release. One of the largest and most enthusiastic meetings was held in Paris at the end of January, at which Anatole France, the great journalist, Jaures, Pressense, Yvetot, and other socialist lights, combined to fix public attention upon a great wrong. "From Algiers to Brussels, from Cadiz to Geneva, from Corunna to Naples" says the *Temps Nouveaux*, "from every side rise voices demanding the liberation of these men." And now it seems that what individual action began, international solidarity has so far accomplished. The Spanish Government may procrastinate, but its prison doors are already ajar. In fact, as we write we learn that Duran Gil has been released. All honour to Soledad Gustavo, woman!

The strike fever has again broken out in Catalonia, and is extending. In Barcelona, some weeks ago, the men engaged in two or three branches of trade, stopped work; from a feeling of sympathy others joined them. The struggle is rapidly becoming heroic, for the people face famine as well as misery; but the women urge resistance to the bitter end, and thus fortified, what is still but a partial, may develop into a general strike. Indeed, much of the necessary work in the city is now being done by the military. In Cadiz, also, an extensive strike is on foot in conjunction with one at Reus. For a gallant spirit of solidarity and resistance, the Spanish workers are an object-lesson to the world.

BELGIUM. Belgian law has lately been at arms against the editors of two of our contemporaries—*Le Flambeau* and *La Bataille*. The first was guilty of four articles "provoking rebellion against the State." One of these, a reprint of the French pamphlet *The General Strike*, had been in circulation for two years, although an attempt to suppress it had been made at Liege. The crass stupidity of legal lights everywhere, when debating libertarian principles, is well shown by the argument of the prosecuting counsel when dealing with the counts: "One of the articles," said this luminary, "is called *Germinal*. Now *Germinal* is the title of a novel by Zola, which is the recital of a miners' insurrection. To entitle an article *Germinal*, is, therefore, a direct appeal to revolution." The *Flambeau's* editor, Mestag, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and a fine of 100 francs. Next day was the turn of "Laupy" and "Hardy," of *La Bataille*, charged with issuing the manifesto *Revolutionary Agreement*. This leaflet had been distributed for two months, attention being turned to it only by Rubini's fiasco. "Hardy," stung by the sneering remark of the Solicitor-general that he should be industrious and frugal (and apparently cease to inculcate Anarchism), retorted: "My whole life has been full of misery and cruel vicissitudes; at this moment I am out of work. I have three children, and my wife is ill!" All the same, as our astute London magistrates would have observed, a man out of work ought to be "industrious and frugal." To be hungry is no excuse for the "theft" of a loaf of bread; to be out of work no excuse for the instincts of justice and self-assertion to fire the brain and point a trenchant pen. So "Laupy" got six months and a fine, and his comrade four months and a fine. This may be the way to suppress revolutionary agreement on paper; it is *not* the way to weed it from men's thoughts. "Truth is marching forward; nothing can stay her! Long live Solidarity! Long live Anarchism!" writes "Hardy," as the prison doors close on him.

Rubini's trial for having fired over the roof of a carriage in the royal procession on November 15th last, in a so-called attempt to inflict mortal injury on that pious person, King Leopold, was concluded at Brussels on February 10th, and resulted in a sentence of penal servitude for life. He fired at random, apparently with no particular intent, and his bullet touched no one. Still, royalty has nerves, and the smell of gunpowder is unpleasant to royal and bourgeois noses. The young Armenian who shot at, and slightly wounded his Patriarch for intriguing with the Sultan, has been condemned to death at Stamboul; it remains for Arabs and Anarchists, apparently, to expound the true meaning of the word Pardon, for the State, as now constituted, never knows it. Rubini henceforth passes from our sight. Hard things, perhaps well merited, were said of him; letters acknowledging the receipt of money "for watching Anarchists" were intercepted and traced to him. He was one of "the submerged" for whom

the hand-to-mouth struggle for existence became too severe. His punishment is so terrible that his worst enemy could fling no more stones at him. He may have brought it on himself in a vain effort for "absolution"—for purging his conscience of a foul remembrance—but whether so or not, he is dead to the world that knew him, and blame must turn to pity.

FRANCE. No date is yet fixed for the projected Anti-Military Congress "to be held in London" this spring. Our French comrades had strong hopes of enlisting the sympathies of English libertarians, of arousing the instant attention of Peace parties, and so forth—they have still to learn that the stripes of the Jingo tiger paint the back of many a so-called libertarian and reader of *Concord*—that if conscription was enacted in England by law to-morrow, not nine in ten of them but would consider it good for the sons of the people, if rather a hardship on their own. Englishmen scarcely realise the degradation of the soldier's life on the continent—even that of their own army, in spite of late revelations, is quickly ignored. It takes a great deal to waken up some libertarians—when they have enough to eat, a comfortable arm-chair, and an office position with a snug *honorarium*. So with them as regards a union of libertarian forces in forwarding the success of an anti-military congress, *manana* is the word at present. If the generous ardour of our French comrades, however, is chilled by contact with frigid English lethargy, at least in their own land the seed is bearing fruit. Slowly and surely the French army is awakening to the non-militarist idea. New recruits are hard to be controlled. Sometimes on the refusal of the officers to grant leave, open mutiny, as lately at Poitiers, breaks out. There most of an artillery regiment marched out of barracks, stayed away all night, and returned in the morning, buglers in front. Sixty-two of the men were to be drafted, as punishment, into the terrible disciplinary corps in Algiers and elsewhere, but General André has had his eyes opened to some unpleasant facts, and has since rescinded the order. At Nantes an entire troop declared they were so weak from bad food and overwork, that they could not continue their duties—nor did they until they had extorted a promise of better treatment from their officers. Even the military cadets show a spirit of discontent; sixty who were being instructed in a military school, refused work on a certain examination paper. They were sent at once into regiments as privates, but so much sympathy has been shown them by the officers, that the Minister of War has felt obliged to permit their return to study after a certain date. Anti-militarism is a growing force in France, thanks to Socialist and Anarchist propaganda. The French are born fighters, but they have had enough of State armies and conscription, and the demoralising effects of these upon the young. How readily the nations would sit at peace but for that vulture Government, for ever gnawing at their racial differences.

Le Voix du Peuple gives the following details about the late strike at Dunkirk:

"For twenty-four hours the workers were the masters; barricades had been erected for better resisting the attacks of the soldiers who had been given in the service of the exploiters. The offices of the *Nord Maritime*—a dirty rag which used to insult the workers—were sacked; the cranes in the port were thrown into the sea, and some goods were set fire to. And, finally, several police, and one head of the police, were thrashed.

"On the other side, our comrades—with a sound notion of the tactics that we shall use on the day of the liberating General Strike, for getting the necessary provisions—took what they needed for their sustenance in the provisions' and eating shops."

NORWAY. The cheering news reaches us that *Til Frihet*, comrade Hansteen's paper, is steadily increasing its circulation throughout Scandinavia, and that each month sees him printing a larger issue. "Our ideas," he says, "seem now to interest many young people in Sweden. From Stockholm and five other towns orders come to me; they also spread a good many pamphlets." The latest news from Kristiania is, that a clever young debater and physician, a member of the best-known union of students, openly declared himself a convert to Anarchism and its ideals, at one of the meetings. The debate was reported in one of the dailies, and made some sensation, particularly as the students present applauded the doctor's speech, not so much for his courageous declaration, as that they seemed mostly in sympathy with his opinions. Anarchism is said to be dead. Strange that from every quarter of the globe come reports of new adherents!

The Redcap.

Ah! think ye not the fire is dead
Because ye see the embers cold,
Nor lightly shake your haughty head,
To think thy foes beneath the mould;
The time will come—although not yet—
When all your claims will true be met.

In darksome mine, in foundry grim,
In fields and mountain sides as well,
'Mid hammers' crash, and factory din,
In puddling furnace, hot as hell,
Where'er of toil there is the sound,
The Redcap surely will be found.

Amid the city's eager throng,
In all the tumult of the press,
Where men toil hard with pen and tongue,
And seek in words men's deeds to dress;
Amidst the eager anxious mass,
E'en there Redcaps, like shadows, pass.

In classes where the student strives
To wrest from earth the hidden light,
Where youths and sages spend their lives,
And, eager, climb to wisdom's height,
You'll find the Redcap stern, deep-browed,
Among that bright and busy crowd,

You think the world is calm and cool,
Inured to hardship's heavy lash;
Quite seasoned to the rich man's rule,
When, bursting like a lightning flash,
A blow, a shot, a prostrate king!
You know the Redcap's on the wing.

You play your game of lie and fraud,
The masses gulled nor care nor cry,
The well fed smile, the papers laud,
And preachers hold the humbug high;
When, leaping forth from hidden den,
The Redcap shouts the truth to men.

The worker toils with scarce a sound,
The master reaps his profit sure;
He smiles to see the gain so round,
Which for his children shall endure;
A strike—the workers fling their tools—
The Redcap—not the master—rules!

Beneath the ground so hard and cold
The seed corn lives, and waits the day
When fresh'ning air and sunshine gold
Shall open forth its buds so gay:
So slavery's darkness hides in night
The powers that yet shall bring it light.

As ere the winter's night is past,
A flower blooms in bright array,
Only that cruel winds may blast—
Yet still it speaks of coming May;
So is the Redcap herald dread
Of that glad time when all have bread.

When tyrants spoil the earth no more,
When comrades glad the sweet earth fill,
When dearth and human wrong are o'er,
And sounds of joy the whole earth fill:
Ah! Redcap herald true and brave,
The future springs from out thy grave.

A. B.

REPORT.

PAISLEY.

When the Paisley Anarchist Group was started, about a year ago, the prospects of it surviving were anything but bright. The local I.L.P. expelled several who were supposed to be tainted with Anarchism, and this action gave us a free advertisement to begin with. But their vindictiveness went further, and they refused to let us their hall, which was about the only one suitable for the Group in Paisley. Since then we have had considerable trouble about a hall, the one we occupy at present being in the worst possible position for getting an audience. However, despite this, and the fact that none of the Group had previous experience as speakers, we have carried on a fairly active propaganda. Meetings have been held and addressed by Arthur St. John, Fred Charles and Malfew Seklew, the individualist, also by Howie, Moscon, and Blair Smith, of Glasgow, besides several of the local comrades, the largest of these meetings being on the Race Course, when we sold over 6s. worth of literature, and took a collection of 8s. 4d. As a means of drawing attention to the principles of Anarchism several of the group attended the lectures organized by the I.L.P., where they distributed literature, and took part in the discussions. So effective was this method of propaganda, that the I.L.P. tried to put it down, and now when any of the Group tries to take part in these discussions, the chairman endeavours to rule them out of order. If he fails in this his fellow Socialists in the meeting show their "intelligence" by stamping the Anarchists down. All this has only created in the minds of many a desire to know a little about the principles of which the Socialists are so afraid. One of the Group started a discussion in the local press on the relative merits of State Socialism and Anarchism; other comrades assisted, and the discussion lasted for nine weeks, letters appearing almost daily. This attracted considerable attention, and was the means of dispelling many illusions regarding Anarchism. During the year a large quantity of literature was sold and distributed free. The Group got 5,000 of the article on Anarchist Communism, reprinted in leaflet form. One quire of *Freedom* was sold monthly, and a dozen copies of *Free Society* were likewise disposed of weekly without much trouble. In all likelihood the number of each will be increased shortly. It is a pity that count was not kept of the pamphlets sold, for the number would be really astonishing. All things considered, the Group have done remarkably well. After a year's work we find that the principles of Anarchism are being discussed by a good number of people in Paisley, while the incoming summer will see an attempt to spread these principles in the surrounding districts. Hoping that our efforts will arouse within the breasts of some a spirit of Revolt and a desire for Liberty—J. DOEHENY.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE.

(From "Essays and Letters," by H. D. THOREAU, 1849.)

I heartily accept the motto "That Government is best which governs least," and I should like to see it acted up to more rapidly and systematically. Carried out, it finally amounts to this, which also I believe: "That government is best which governs not at all," and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have. Government is at best but an expedient; but most governments are usually, and all governments are sometimes, expedient. The objections which have been brought against a standing army, and they are many and weighty, and deserve to prevail, may also at last be brought against a standing government. The standing army is only an arm of the standing government. The government itself, which is only the mode which the people have chosen to execute their will, is equally liable to be abused and perverted before the people can act through it. Witness the present Mexican war,* the work of comparatively a few individuals using the standing government as their tool; for, in the outset, the people would not have consented to this measure.

This American government, what is it but a tradition, though a recent one, endeavouring to transmit itself unimpaired to posterity, but each instant losing some of its integrity? It has not the vitality and force of a single living man, for a single man can bend it to his will. It is a sort of wooden gun to the people themselves. But it is not the less necessary for this; for the people must have some complicated machinery or other, and hear its din, to satisfy that idea of government which they have. Governments show thus how successfully man can be imposed on—even impose on themselves, for their own advantage. It is excellent, we must all allow, yet this government never of itself furthered any enterprise, but by the alacrity with which it got out of its way. It does not keep the country free. The character inherent in the American people has done all that has been accomplished; and it would have done somewhat more if the government had not sometimes got in its way. For government is an expedient by which men would fain succeed in letting one another alone; and, as has been said, when it is most expedient, the governed are most let alone by it. Trade and commerce, if they were not made of india-rubber, would never manage to bounce over the obstacles which legislators are continually putting in their way; and, if one were to judge these men wholly by the effects of their actions, and not partly by their intentions, they would deserve to be classed and punished with those mischievous persons who put obstructions on the railroads.

After all, the practical reason why, when the power is once in the hands of the people, a majority are permitted, and for a long time continue to rule, is not because they are most likely to be in the right, nor because this seems fairest to the minority, but because they are physically the strongest. But a government in which the majority rule in all cases cannot be based on justice, even as far as men understand it. Can there not be a government in which majorities do not virtually decide right and wrong, but conscience?—in which majorities decide only those questions to which the rule of expediency is applicable? Must the citizen, even for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator? Why has every man a conscience, then? I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterwards. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right. It is truly enough said that a corporation has no conscience; but a corporation of conscientious men is a corporation with a conscience. Law never made men a whit more just; and, by their respect for it, even the well-disposed are daily made the agents of injustice. A common and natural result of an undue respect for law is that you see a file of soldiers—colonel, captain, corporal, privates, powder-monkeys, and all, marching in admirable order over hill and dale to the wars, against their wills, ay, against their common sense and consciences, which makes it very steep marching indeed, and produces a palpitation of the heart. They have no doubt that it is a damnable business in which they are concerned; they are all peaceably inclined. Now, what are they? Men at all? or small, movable forts and magazines, at the service of some unscrupulous man in power? Visit the Navy-yard, and behold a marine, such a man as an American government can make—or such as it can make a man with its black arts; a mere shadow and reminiscence of humanity—a man laid out alive and standing, and already, as one may say, buried under arms and funeral accompaniments.

The mass of men serve the State thus, not as men mainly, but as machines, with their bodies. They are the standing army, and the militia, gaolers, constables, posse comitatus, etc. In most cases there is no free exercise whatever of the judgment, or of the moral sense; but they put themselves on a level with wood and earth and stone; and wooden men can perhaps be manufactured that will serve the purpose as well. Such command no more respect than men of straw or a lump of dirt. They have the same sort of worth only as horses and dogs. Yet such as these ever are commonly esteemed good citizens. Others—as most legislators, politicians, lawyers, ministers, and office-holders—serve the State chiefly with their heads; and, as they rarely make any moral distinctions, they are as likely to serve the Devil—

without intending it—as God. A very few, as heroes, patriots, martyrs, reformers in the great sense, and *men*, serve the State with their consciences also, and so necessarily resist it for the most part; and they are commonly treated as enemies by it. A wise man will only be useful as a man, and will not submit to be "clay," and "stop a hole to keep the wind away," but leave that office to his dust at least:—

"I am too high-born to be propertied,
To be secondary at control;
Or useful serving-man and instrument
To any sovereign state throughout the world."

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

* This was written in 1849. Hundreds of similar instances will occur to the reader.—Note by A. R. B.