

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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POLITICS AND SOCIALISM.

(Concluded.)

Our first intention was to conclude this series of articles by a general review of the so-called Labour-protecting legislation in different countries, and to show how far this legislation is due to the Socialist politicians on the one side, and to the direct pressure exercised by the Labour agitation on the other.

Such a study would have been deeply interesting. Not that we should attribute to this legislation more importance than it deserves. We have often proved that any such law, even if it introduces some partial improvement, always lays upon the worker some new chain, forged by the middle-class State. We prefer the ameliorations which have been imposed by the workers upon their masters in a direct struggle; they are less spurious. However, it is also easy to prove that even those little and always poisoned concessions which have been made by the middle classes to the workers, and which are now represented as the very essence of "practical, scientific" Socialism, stand in no relation to the numerical forces of the political Socialist parties. Such concessions as the limitation of the hours of labour, or of child labour, whenever they represent something real, have always been achieved by the action of the trade-unions—by strikes, by labour revolts, or by menaces of a labour war. They are labour victories—not political victories.

If there was a work in which the conditions of labour and the recent labour legislation were given for each country, it would have been easy to prove the above assertion by a crushing evidence of data. But no such work exists, and consequently we have to mention but a few striking facts.

Our readers will see in another column what a substantial reduction of the hours of labour in the mines was achieved by the great miners' strike of Pennsylvania, and, by the way, the effect which the strike has had upon other branches of American industry. That such long hours as twelve hours, every day of the week (including Sundays), should have existed in Pennsylvania, we need not wonder when we are reminded that every year the Eastern States receive thousands of fresh immigrant miners from Germany and Austria, where, notwithstanding the presence of so many Democrat-Socialists in Parliament, the hours of labour are outrageously long. But precisely because there are no such political go-betweens in the United States the Pennsylvania strike could last long enough to end in a substantial victory for the labourers. The twelve hours' day exists no more in the mines of Pennsylvania.

The same applies to Britain. All the little victories which the working men have won for the last fifty years, were won by the force of their trades unions, and not of Socialist politicians. Of course, it would not be fair to compare the conditions of labour in Britain and in Germany; two countries, one of which has no Social-Democratic party in its Parliament, but has a number of strongly-organised trade unions, while the other has no less than fifty-three Social-Democratic representatives in the Reichstag, and boasts of two million Social-Democratic electors, but is only just beginning to develop (in opposition to the politicians) its trade-union movement.

It would not be fair to insist upon the incomparably better conditions of labour in this country, because the labour movement and the industry itself are so much older in England. But still, we can ask, what results have the numerous Social-Democratic deputies obtained from Parliament for the protection and personal emancipation of the labourer in Germany? The nullity of such results is simply striking, especially in comparison with the promises which have been made, and the hopes which were cherished by many sincere working men.

Everyone remembers the Eight Hours' Day Movement which

was started in Europe in 1889-1890. Beginning at Chicago, in 1887, where it cost the lives of five of our best Anarchist brothers, it came to Europe in the shape of a First of May demonstration—a sort of one-day general strike of all working men, which had to be made for the propaganda of an eight hours' day. The enthusiasm of the first demonstration in Hyde Park on May 1st, 1890, must be fresh in the minds of many, and by this time we surely would have been in a fair way towards the realisation of that demand, were it not for the political Socialists who saw in the eight hours' movement a plank to step on for getting into Parliament, and did their best to nip the movement in the bud.

The attitude of the German Socialist politicians at the time was most typical. They were in mortal fear lest the eight hours' movement should become a labour movement, over which they would have no control; they hated the very idea of a general strike for the purpose of reducing the hours of labour, and they hammered into the workers' heads, "legal eight hours! legal eight hours!" They said, "Only vote for us, and for those whom we shall recommend to you! Discipline! And then you will see. In 1891 you will have the eleven hours' day, in such a year a ten hours' day, then a nine hour's day, and in 1903 you will have the eight hours' day, without having all the troubles and the sufferings of the strikes." This is what Engels and Liebknecht promised them and printed plainly in their papers.

Well, up to now they have not yet got even the nine hours' day and the weekly half-holiday! . . . In Russia, the despotic Government of the Tsar, under the pressure of strikes, has passed directly from a thirteen and fourteen hours' working day to one of eleven hours', even though it still treats strikes as rebellions. . . . But where is the eight hours' law in Germany? As distant in the future as it is in Russia! Much more distant, at any rate, than it is in Spain, which has only a handful of impotent Social-Democrats in Madrid, but has, in return, powerful labour organisations in all its leading industries.

Spain is especially instructive on this account. Since the times of the foundation of the International, it has had strong labour organisations in Catalonia, keeping in close touch with the Anarchists, and always ready to support their demands by strikes, and sometimes by revolts. Everyone remembers, of course, the continual strikes—labour wars would even be more correct—which took place so many times at Barcelona, the desperate measures to which the Government resorted against the Catalan working men during the Montjuich tortures, and the latest attempts at a general strike.

Now, the result of all this is that the eight hours' day has been fought for long since (more than ten years ago) and introduced in all the building trades of Barcelona, and although it was lost during the Montjuich prosecutions, it was recovered again two years ago, and is nearly general now in these and several other trades. Moreover we have read during the past few days in the daily telegrams that in Arragonia the nine hours' day, now in force there, is to undergo a further reduction. Does it not compare favourably with the promised *legal* nine hours' day in Germany?

Happily enough, the German workers begin to lose faith in the promises of the politicians. Their trade unions, which were formerly so bitterly opposed by the Marxists, are meekly courted by them now, since they number over 1,000,000 men (this is the figure given by the *Reformer's Year Book*), and they seem to be so little under the influence of the Social-Democratic leaders that, after all they have heard from them about the uselessness of strikes and the wickedness of a general strike, they sent the other day their hearty congratulations and promises of support to their Dutch brothers who had proclaimed the general strike in Holland. As to the intellectual and social movement which is going on in connection with the more advanced trade unions in Germany, it seems to be a subject of deep interest.

Striking facts could be mentioned from the labour history

of France, to show how the young labour organisations, the strikes, and the labour revolts were instrumental in wresting from the middle class rulers a number of concessions; but space forbids us to mention more than one fact.

Up to 1848, trade unions and all sorts of associations of more than nineteen persons were strictly forbidden in France. Only in 1883, the restriction was abolished by the law of the syndicates, and from that time began the present labour movement, the agricultural syndicates (1,500,000 members now), the Labour Exchanges, and the rest. And if you ask any politician, What induced, in 1883, the Opportunist Ministry to take this far-reaching step? you will be told that it was the Anarchist movement at Lyons (for which fifty of us were imprisoned in 1882), the unemployed processions in Paris under the black flag, during one of which Louise Michel "pillaged" a baker's shop, and perhaps above all that, the secret labour organisations which sprang up and rapidly spread among the miners of Montceau-les-Mines and in all the mining basin, and resulted in a series of explosions. . . . Guesde and his friends, at that time, were still most hopelessly putting forward their candidatures after each strike.

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The conclusion is self-evident. We saw what results Socialist politics have given for the theoretical propaganda. Just as the name of "Republic," which formerly meant social equality, taken up by middle class politicians, was gradually deprived by them of its social meaning, and was shaped into a sort of middle class rule, so also the word "Socialism" has become in the hands of the Socialist politicians a sort of mitigated middle class exploitation. They are all Socialists now, but Socialism is gone, and the most confused ideas prevail now among the Social-Democrats concerning the sense of this great war-cry of the workers.

And now we find that although parliamentary action is represented as necessary for obtaining small concessions to the advantage of the worker, these concessions, however insignificant they may be, have been won, all of them, by strikes (such as the match girls', the miners', the dock labourers', and so on), and by the standing menace of still more serious labour wars. The presence of a number of more or less Socialist deputies in the parliaments does not, it appears now, dispense the working man in the least maintaining his trade organisations in full mental and material readiness for war. On the contrary, it is only by the constant menace of a war declaration, and by real war,—and in proportion to this readiness—that the workers have won any victories; while the tactics of the politicians have always been to weaken the anti-capitalist labour organisations, under the pretext of political discipline. As to this country, by their abominable tactics, prompted by Engels and Marx, of arraying at election times all their forces against the Radicals and the Liberals, which was equal to supporting the Conservatives, they have done their best to pave the way for the present Imperialism, and they have got their heavy share of responsibility for the heavy blows which the Conservative Government has struck lately at the security of the labour organisations. It is never too late to mend; but it takes some time to mend the harm that has been done by mistaken politicians.

A TALE OF SIX BOMBS.

(From the *Tierra y Libertad*, of Madrid, January 15th, 1903.)

At the time of the attempts against General Campos and that to avenge the execution of Pallas, the Barcelona police captured six bombs.

After being analysed, these bombs were placed for safe keeping in the basement of the court-house. Some months later they were ordered to be thrown into the sea. In obedience to this mandate, one morning four police officers took these projectiles with them in a boat and rowed towards deep water.

The fresh morning air seems to have quickened the intelligence of these gentlemen. At all events, it struck them before they had gone very far, that the order of their chief was inexcusable, depriving them as it did of a magnificent opportunity to make their merits known and to nobly serve their employers. So it came about that the six bombs returned to Barcelona with the policemen, and were deposited in a special cell of the Civil Governor in the capital of Catalonia.

From that hour these six bombs have played an important part in the industrial agitation and its attendant cruel persecutions.

One day three of them, covered with dirt, were found in the Fivaller district; on another occasion all the six were unearthed during an excavation; later on five were discovered on the hill of Montjuich; and, in conclusion, and not to unduly lengthen the tale of political ser-

vices rendered by the said engines, consequent upon secret information two were found in Valvidrera. The authors of this last discovery said the ground had been freshly turned and that the bombs appeared new, which proves that prior to the aforesaid secret information the confidant had placed them in position after having polished them up—not a difficult task nor one demanding much labour.

But here comes in a trait of the profound intelligence of the police! Three weeks before the discovery of the two bombs at Valvidrera, there remained only five in the special cell of the Civil Governor of Barcelona. The missing sixth had been sent by rail to Madrid enclosed in a case. The sender must have forgotten that there is a custom house in Madrid, and that all packages are examined; also that Francisco Domingo, to whom the parcel was addressed, if a worker of advanced ideas, had already been several years dead, having lost his life in Cuba whilst fighting for the independence of that island.

It is reasonable to suppose that the custom house officials sent a way bill to Francisco Domingo, informing him that a present sent by a friend for his birthday awaited him at the railway office; presumably, however, they would omit to add that the police, informed of the nature of the gift, also awaited him. Who knows! perhaps the dead did call and fetch that parcel?

So ended a comedy that might easily have become tragedy.

More than six bombs never are and never can be discovered. Because the three found here to-day, the four found there to-morrow, the one that appears elsewhere on some other occasion—all come from the same family—from that kept for like purposes in the palace of the Civil Governor of Barcelona, from whence they make their exit and entry at the whim of a cowardly wretch.

The hour seems to have come to demand the public destruction of these six bombs, not only for the general satisfaction, but to prevent their remaining any longer in the hands of men without a conscience, who make use of them simply to bring misery and sorrow to the hearths of numberless workers.

ONE WHO KNOWS.

REGULATION AND OFFICIALISM.

(From *Man versus the State*, by Herbert Spencer.)

Every extension of the regulative policy involves an addition to the regulative agents—a further growth of officialism and an increasing power of the organisation formed of officials. Take a pair of scales with many shot in the one and a few in the other. Lift shot after shot out of the loaded scale and put it into the unloaded scale. Presently you will produce a balance; and if you go on, the positions of the scales will be reversed. Suppose the beam to be unequally divided, and let the lightly loaded scale be at the end of a very long arm; then the transfer of each shot, producing a much greater effect, will far sooner bring about a change of position. I use the figure to illustrate what results from transferring one individual after another from the regulated mass of the community to the regulating structures. The transfer weakens the one and strengthens the other in a far greater degree than is implied in the relative change of numbers. A comparatively small body of officials, coherent, having common interests, and acting under central authority, has an immense advantage over an incoherent public which has no settled policy, and can be brought to act unitedly only under strong provocation. Hence an organisation of officials, once passing a certain stage of growth, becomes less and less resistible; as we see in the bureaucracies of the Continent.

Not only does the power of resistance of the regulated part decrease in a geometrical ratio as the regulating part increases, but the private interests of many in the regulated part itself make the change of ratio still more rapid. In every circle conversations show that now, when the passing of competitive examinations renders them eligible for the public service, youths are being educated in such ways that they may pass them and get employment under Government. One consequence is that men who might otherwise reprobate some further growth of officialism, are led to look on it with tolerance, if not favourably, as offering possible careers for those dependent on them and those related to them. Any one who remembers the numbers of upper-class and middle-class families anxious to place their children, will see that no small encouragement to the spread of legislative control is now coming from those who, but for the personal interests thus arising, would be hostile to it.

This pressing desire for careers is enforced by the preference for careers which are thought respectable. "Even if his salary is small, his occupation will be that of a gentleman," thinks the father who wants to get a Government-clerkship for his son. And this relative dignity of State-servants as compared with those occupied in business, increases as the administrative organisation becomes a larger and more powerful element in society, and tends more and more to fix the standard of honour. The prevalent ambition with a young Frenchman is to get some small official post in his locality, to rise thence to a place in the local centre of government, and finally to reach some head office in Paris. And in Russia, where that universality of State-regulation which characterises the militant type of society has been carried furthest, we see this ambition pushed to the extreme. Says Mr. Wallace, quoting a passage from a play:—"All men, even shopkeepers and cobblers, aim at becoming officers, and the man who has passed his whole life without official rank seems to be not a human being."

AMERICAN NOTES.

The idea of the general strike grows to such an extent in the United States that there is some talk of starting a paper in New York to popularise the idea. Nothing definite has been done as yet, but there is a feeling that such a paper is necessary, and this may be the prelude to the paper itself.

Voltairine de Cleyre is back at work again, and she received a magnificent reception when she made her first appearance on the lecture platform a few days ago in Philadelphia. Her subject was "Crime and Punishment," and she was as logical as usual, which is saying a great deal. No doubt there were some who came expecting to hear a lecture based on sentiment pure and simple, but they were disappointed—pleasantly we hope—for she proved conclusively that the present system manufactures criminals instead of abolishing them. "The hungry man should have the social right to take bread. The born criminal is a sick man, and is irresponsible. His treatment is for the medical world, and for the best part of it—not for the prosecutor, judge and hangman." This was the keynote of her lecture, and judging from the way the twelve hundred persons present received the message it bids one be of good cheer for the propaganda in "the city of brotherly love."

Having dealt with the ethical side of the movement in Philadelphia, a word as to the material may be in season. The Russian tea parties organised by Comrade N. Notkin have long been famous, in more ways than one; but this year she surpassed herself. The amount cleared this year was 200 dols., all of which goes to the propaganda, of which *Freedom* will get a share. The amount raised was so large that we are a trifle puzzled how it was done—whether trust prices were charged or half of Philadelphia was present. Two things are certain, Comrade Notkin and those associated with her in the affair deserve great credit, and it shows a certain amount of prosperity lingering round the movement there.

Now that the commission appointed to investigate the late coal strike have made their report it is possible to arrive at some conclusion as to the results of that splendid struggle for human rights and human dignity. If unanimity of oppressed and oppressor is any criterion, then the miners have scored a victory—not decisive, perhaps, still a victory. President Mitchell of the miners says the decision is "a decided victory for the miner, and I am pleased with it," and Clarence Warrow, the radical counsel for the men, calls it "a victory unparalleled in the history of strike settlements," and "a practical recognition of the union"; while the following quotations from three of the principal capitalist dailies in New York will serve to show the feeling on the other side. After an article unfavourable to the men, the *New York Sun* says, "The commission's conclusions here must be considered as sentimental rather than judicial." The *New York Times* says, "It puts the operators distinctly in the wrong," and the *New York Evening Post* calls it a "sweeping victory for the United Mine Workers." That the miners did not get all they asked for goes without saying, but as the *New York Evening Post* says, "The men have won what the operators vowed they could not possibly concede," and this is a great deal. Considering the desperate conditions they work and live under, and the low standard of comfort they enjoy, the amount gained is small, but the feeling of strength and solidarity engendered in the men must be enormous, and that is the thing which concerns us most. Not that we can be indifferent to the fact that the standard of comfort has been raised ever so little, but this is of minor importance compared with the fact that the men have tasted victory, and that will stimulate them for future struggles. The price paid was heavy; some fell in the fight, others are sure to follow as the result of the privations undergone during this long weary struggle, but, as is often the case, out of evil comes good. Twelve months ago many of these heroes were unknown to each other, to-day they are united by bands stronger than steel. Suffering brings men together when all other means fail, and, having suffered in a common cause, this feeling of human sympathy will permeate the miners of the entire country. I know the effect of a union card, and have no hesitation in saying that every man who carries a United Mine Workers' card will be welcomed as a brother by workers everywhere.

Parliamentary rules and senatorial courtesy are curious but integral parts of all legislative bodies, and their use often makes ridiculous the most solemn proposals. The latest instance of this stupidity is the case of the anti-Anarchist Bill which has been before Congress and the Senate for the past eighteen months. After a perfect hurricane of invective, and miles upon miles of speechmaking by members of both the august bodies, a Senator from Georgia, with the very prosaic name of Bacon, knocked the Bill out by objecting, and as any Senator is able to talk the Session out during the last hours of Congress, the entire matter was dropped, and we shall probably hear no more about it. We forget men quickly in America, especially if they are as uninteresting as Mr. McKinley was, and there will be so many axes to grind before next Session that no one is likely to consider it worth his while to waste his time talking about anti-Anarchist laws, about which no one cares two cents.

The new Immigration Act which is now in force would be serious if it was not so ridiculous. Anarchists are now classed as undesirables, such as lunatics, paupers, people afflicted with incurable diseases, etc.,

who are prohibited from entering the United States. Each immigrant will in future be asked whether he is an Anarchist, and the Secretary of the Treasury is empowered to order the expulsion of any "objectionable" person within three years after his arrival. Laws are such curious critters that we shall never know how this one will be interpreted until a test case is made. Suppose, for instance, the Government of the country where the man comes from thinks him an undesirable also, and refuses to take him back, what will happen? The case becomes still more confusing if, on landing in the United States, a man applies for citizenship and receives his first papers, after this he becomes an Anarchist, and finally the Government try to expel him. Technically he is neither a citizen of one country nor the other. The fact is this Act belongs to the species born of panic legislation, and was never meant to be enforced. Then, as Abe Isaak, jun., says in *Free Society*, "every immigration office is compelled to carry on a constant Anarchist propaganda, by keeping the Anarchist idea vividly before the minds of people who otherwise would hardly give it a thought."

There is a storm brewing, and a serious one. Strikes are the order of the day, and the feeling of unrest is spreading over the whole country. One has only to look at the organiser's report in the *Revolutionist* to see that labour is organising everywhere, and wherever organised labour is strong there comes news of strikes in operation or contemplation. No need to talk discontent these days, it is here and widespread; it is intelligent action we want, for the potentialities of the labour movement here are enormous. The capitalists are also organising, and as they are drunk with their power they will not give way, so the struggle will be fierce. Quick to assimilate all the aspects of tyranny of the European capitalist, they have not the centuries of experience of that gentleman and his ancestors, and they do not know when to give way. Blind, stupid and arrogant, they will fight hard and die rather than yield, and their chances of dying will be excellent once the workers of America rise in their might. This is to be regretted perhaps, for cutting off heads does not abolish institutions, but there is a popular saying in America that the man who goes out looking for trouble generally finds it, and the capitalists here are looking for it with all their might. Hardly had news of the Taff Vale decision crossed the Atlantic before we found gentlemen all over the country advocating incorporation of trade unions, and the question is now being vigorously debated. Fortunately the unions are aware of the danger, and are fighting the question everywhere. And now at the first news of the Dutch Strike there is a Bill introduced in the Illinois Legislature which has for its object the apparently harmless plan of making all railroad employes in the State deputy sheriffs, under bond to serve the Government if called on. The railway men see the cloven hoof, which is nothing more or less than a veiled attempt to make them amenable to compulsory service in case of a strike. Once the Bill is passed all that remains is for some judge to issue an injunction and, presto, the trick is done. Will they succeed? All things are possible under the Stars and Stripes, so we leave prophecy to others and shall wait and see.

EDWARD BRADY.

Some men's lives are propaganda. This is my excuse, if any is needed, for the following lines concerning one of our oldest and best comrades, who has just died in New York. We, here in England, have heard much of strong, silent men during the past few years. It was my pleasure to know one—a real one—and his name was Edward Brady. He was about fifty years of age, and was born and reared in Vienna where he spent the best part of his life. It is now more than twenty years since Brady threw himself into the Anarchist movement with all the enthusiasm born of youth. It was in the early days of the movement there, and as the Austrian Government has never been noted for its leniency towards ideas that threaten class privilege, a plot was soon discovered (!) to burn Vienna. Many comrades were arrested and condemned to various terms of imprisonment, Brady with one other receiving the highest sentence—twelve years. A sister of his, a woman of considerable ability and a tireless energy (a trait in common with Emma Goldman, with whom he was associated for so many years in after life), devoted her life to securing his release. After nine years of ceaseless labour she came to him with the joyful news that she had seen the Emperor and the high-st officials and had been told by them that there was only one way for her brother, to be set free and that was for him to sign the petition circulated on his behalf. Brady's answer to his sister was characteristic of the man, "I would sooner die in prison." Another year passed and he was free; all the other prisoners had died or been released, and so he was "pardoned." For years he had steeled himself for such an event, and when he was summoned into the presence of the governor of the prison he was calm and cold, as if such news was quite indifferent to him. On such occasions it is customary for prisoners to break down and pour out thanks to the governor and all the prison officials for their release. Brady did nothing of the kind, and his bearing was so cool and dignified as to call forth the remark from the governor that, in all his forty-two years of prison life, he had never met such a man. "A man of granite," "Hewn out of the solid rock," are hackneyed phrases, yet they accurately describe the man.

He went to America some years ago, and published *Der Anarchist* for some time, and has been an active worker for Anarchism ever since. Ever ready with hand or purse, it is no mere phrase to say the movement has lost a tower of strength in his death. He was respected and loved by all his friends. Reticent by nature, his ten years' imprisonment made him almost morose, and yet his was one of the kindest hearts that ever beat, and no appeal was ever made to him in vain. The Anarchist movement can ill afford the loss of such a devoted comrade, and to all friends in New York who knew his worth we send our heartfelt sympathy in their sorrow.

H. M. KELLY.

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NOTES.

MAY-DAY CELEBRATIONS.

In a spirited manifesto, issued by the Socialist Bureau at Brussels, they ask "that the proletariat of all countries should rise up on the First of May in one unanimous and magnificent demonstration to demand the emancipation of the workers, and to celebrate the triumphant advance of Socialism." We hope most sincerely this wish will be fulfilled; but is evident that in England at least the enthusiasm for the First of May demonstration has to be rekindled into flame. The workers here, partly through their own folly, have wasted three years of precious time in waging war on a little nation that had more care for the eight-hour day than even their leaders at home. Bitter experience compels them now to turn their attention to their own affairs. We hope the coming revival of Socialism in England will give in a few years a May-Day Celebration that will mean a real step towards the Revolution.

THE "LIGHT CURE."

Does it not seem consistent with the harmony of things that light should prove to be the beneficent healer—that diseases of the body should shrink from its rays as ignorance shrinks from the mind? We are convinced that science is to bring us untold blessings in this new branch of therapeutics.

But there is also a need for the application of the light cure to social problems; and it would be well if some of the so-called "leaders" in the Socialist movement would put themselves under its treatment for the cure of those distressing maladies known as "narrow-mindedness," "swelled head," "political compromise," and a host of other complaints, all born of that darkness which is ignorance, and that stupidity which is ambition. Already it is hoped by this new method to cure cancer in the human body; we are convinced if applied to the minds of the people it would cure the disease known as Social-Democracy.

CONFUSION WORSE CONFOUNDED.

We are compelled to protest once more against the absurdities preached by Hyndman in the columns of *Justice*. But lately we were trying to show his ridiculous attitude in blaming Millerand and Jaurès for eating "bourgeois mud," to use his own phrase, when he admits, as politicians, they are bound to do it, and when he advertises the fact that he is anxiously waiting for the opportunity to follow their example.

Now, in *Justice* for April 18th, to suit his preconceived idea that political action is the salvation of the workers, he attacks the general strike—in fact, all strikes. "We are opposed to strikes altogether. They were never a powerful weapon, and now they are quite out of date." These are his words. And in the face of events now happening he can talk so. He is like a man obsessed. He does not see as far as some of the ruling classes. Even the capitalist would admit that the great coal strike in America had brought the question of the nationalization of the mines into the very forefront of practical politics in a day, as it were. They say the same of the great struggle against Penryhn. They tell us frankly that the Dutch strike will so increase the spirit of solidarity amongst the workers, so cement the unions, that deep and far-reaching results will arise from it. And all this is "out of date"! Why, he is blind to the fact that it is only as a result of revolutionary action outside of politics that parliaments will fling their "palliatives" to the workers.

To fortify his position, he instances the failure of the Brussels

strike. But he knows as well as we know it was the treachery of the leaders—men of his own party—that brought this about. They have done something of the same in Holland, as we show elsewhere. They would do it here if the workers would listen to them. Fortunately the workers learn their lessons from daily life and not from Marx, and they can see what strikes will obtain for them, while politics throw them back.

Let Hyndman put the case to himself logically and fearlessly, and he will admit we are right, although we are "only Anarchists." For one thing we thank him. He says the general strike is an "Anarchist idea." Here, at least, he speaks the truth.

AN OLD STORY RE-TOLD.

The report of the Conference of the S.D.F. is sad reading. That of the I.L.P. is scarcely more inspiring. The former body is torn by internal dissensions; the latter, though not free from this complaint is suffering from such a severe attack of the complaint known as "political action," with all the "complications" it brings with it, that its strength as a Socialist body is thoroughly undermined.

It is no satisfaction to us to dwell on the troubles of the S.D.F. with its rebellious members. In such an organisation these things will always happen. But it has been made an excuse for an attack on Anarchism, so let us see what is the underlying cause of the wrath of these people.

If the fellow Penrhyn refuses to negotiate with his workers—for Hyndman & Co. this is Anarchism. If a powerful State crushes a small State, this again is Anarchism. If a few individuals in their own organisation dare to question the action of the executive—that infallible sphinx which can neither be questioned nor understood—the spectre of Anarchism is abroad again; and Hyndman gasps for breath, whilst Burrows is driven into imbecility. The effect on the "rank and file" is not reported. And all this while the "lights" of the party are oblivious to the fact that for years and years they have been working under the banner of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." Is it not amusing? To conquer liberty, free speech and free action are denied; to attain to equality, you must vote your leaders into positions of authority; to reach fraternity, you must be expelled from the fold! What comic-opera revolutionists are these!

No, dear friends of the S.D.F., the trouble with you is not Anarchism. It is your own stupidity. As an organisation you are committing suicide. If you would disband and enrol yourselves as ordinary Radicals, you would be logical and would be respected. As you stand at present you are the laughing-stock of friends and foes alike.

THE ONLY WAY.

III.

However much the possessing classes have profited *directly* by the perfection attained in production, indirectly they derive as much, and perhaps even more, profit from the enormous development of State functions. In direct exploitation factory owners, commercial people, proprietors, and financiers are engaged, whilst the magistracy, the army, the clergy and others live on the State Budget. It is sufficient to compare the budgets of the great Powers at the beginning and at the end of last century, in order to be convinced that the State extorts from the people, for the benefit of social parasites, all that which capitalist exploitation could not obtain.

The budgets of the six great Powers of Europe—England, Austria, Germany, France, Italy and Russia—increased as follows:—

1810	..	..	£118,000,000
1850	..	..	198,400,000
1900	..	..	671,968,000

The striking fact about this increase is that from 1810 to 1850 the State squandering was not quite doubled, and, nevertheless, the people were in revolt against the extortion of kings and parliaments, whilst from 1850 till 1900 this wasting increased fourfold, and if we compare the two milliards of 1810 with the 16 milliards of 1900, we see that the people pay at present eight times more than our rebellious grandfathers. And yet, except for the Anarchists, nobody preaches revolt against the State.

As we said before, the capitalists, in order to keep in their hands the land and tools, are willing to grant the workers an eight or even a six hours' day, because the workers nowadays produce in a given time fourteen times more than formerly. The State for its part is also inclined to grant many political and even so-called social and Socialist concessions, provided that the people leaves to the Government, the governing classes and to all those who live on the budget (and their number is between six and seven million for the above-mentioned six powers), the administration of the revenues, the legislation and the whole machinery of economic, political and social oppression. In perfect understanding between each other the State and the capitalists have agreed already to income taxes and legacy and succession duties, ere

long they will be introducing a progressive income-tax—the beloved hobby of the Social Democrats. The sly capitalist and State rascals are intensely tickled by the so-called revolutionary speeches glorifying the advantages for the people arising from those taxes on the rich. They know perfectly well that it is after all the people who pays all those taxes of the rich. We can formulate the nature of the relations between the State and taxed capital as follows:—

"With my army," says the State, "my police, my magistrates, and clergy, I keep the people in subjugation and ignorance. Fear nothing. Extort from the people the surplus of its labour, and give me one-tenth or the eighth part of your booty for my employés, your servants, and the rest I will repay you in the yearly millions, under the name of State debts, and by distributing between you huge salaries and sinecures."

It is this organic and almost indissoluble union between Capitalism and the modern State which deprives humanity of all the benefits of progress accomplished by science and labour. The social misery and degradation of our time are the outcome of the united action of the State and Capitalism.

IV.

In the preceding chapters we have established:—

(a.) That the present production is fourteen times greater than at the beginning of the nineteenth century;

(b.) That the governing classes and the State have appropriated all the benefit of the progress accomplished by science and labour;

(c.) That the capitalists and bureaucracy dispose yearly of over one milliard pounds collected by the State, and at least another milliard obtained by direct capitalist exploitation;

(d.) That Social Democrats and other reformers, by their tactics of partial reforms, whether political, social or so-called Socialist, confirm and perpetuate capitalist and bureaucratic domination;

(e.) That the governing classes, in order to retain in their hands the State and all tools (the real sources of their riches), have granted to the people many reforms of a purely palliative character.

Having arrived at these simple truths, it is easy to draw the logical conclusions about the aims, the means and the tactics of a party fighting for the social emancipation of the oppressed classes.

Indeed, as it is the producers who, by applying scientific discoveries to production, have made the latter so wonderfully abundant, the aim of the movement must be to put the tools and machinery of the nation immediately in collective or communist possession of the producers themselves.

But the State and the bourgeoisie have resisted and will resist by all means in their power this expropriation, and will cede their stolen wealth only to a triumphant social revolution. In order to make the latter really triumphant, its first act, according to our argument, must assume a two-fold character. While the heroic young people are engaged in the battle against the defenders of the State, as soon as the first barricades have been raised and the first shot fired, peaceful or aged persons and women must take possession of workshops, factories, machines, tools, and all property, and organise immediately the collective production and consumption. If they fail to lay their hands on social property at the same time that the struggle against the political State has begun, the real source of power, the means for re-instating the workers, will be again left in the hands of the enemies of the people. Only by combining the act of expropriation by the initiative of the people, with the political rebellion, can a real social revolution, so long desired by the modern proletariat, be realised.

In our conception a social revolution is accomplished by expropriation simultaneously with revolt against the State and authority, because, as we have seen, the State and capitalism are indissoluble. The existing social order is a creation of capitalism and State together; consequently, in order to abolish this abominable and degrading order, it is necessary that reformers should paralyse—no, annihilate—completely those two causes.

But, it may be said, revolutions are rare; the economic and social life develops and progresses incessantly. How can we resist in the daily life the ascendancy of capitalism, united in trusts, and the armed and all powerful State?

Again the answer follows from the above-formulated conclusions. The association of exploiters must be opposed by the union of the exploited, by trade unions, by co-operative associations of producers and consumers. The conspiracies of the rich must be opposed by the general understanding and strikes of the united workers. Because only the united producers can organise a strike, whether partial or general; and only aided by the co-operators who furnish food and credit can the strikers, and especially in case of a general strike, continue the struggle and obtain favourable results for the producers.

During the periods of preparation the trades unions and co-operators are the only means of developing among the productive classes the real social solidarity, based on economic solidarity.

And then the co-operative association, using its profits for the benefit of the collectivity, works out from the present forms of exchange and consumption a future society, liberated from exploitation of man by man, and from the authority of a State. Without any exaggeration it may be said that even the social revolution such as we conceive it—that is to say, the immediate taking in possession of factories and machines, of all social goods, by the people after its own initiative—can be accomplished only by the producers united in co-operative association.

The people have perfectly well understood the role of co-operative associations and trades unions. So we see that the English co-opera-

tive associations, begun only fifty-five years ago by a few poor workers, count at present two million members, their yearly operations exceed eighty millions, and employ in the workshops and warehouses 88,756 men and women. This is quite an army prepared to organise the morning following the revolution a common and Socialist consumption. It was not a mere boast when one of the directors of a co-operative association said to one of my friends, a well-known revolutionist, "If the social revolution comes to-night, to-morrow morning we will furnish in a real Socialist way the whole of England with our productions and goods." They are, indeed, ready to realise that promise.

And besides, are the trades unions not capable of organising Socialist production? . . . We can even propose that all the social parasites of the possessing and governing classes should carry away with them all their possessions provided that they relieve humanity of their pernicious presence, and the people armed with modern science and techniques organised in free and voluntary co-operative and other associations, will know how to obtain immediately a living, and to create an abundance and happiness unimaginable at present. The creation of riches in the United States, the splendid buildings which are erected temporarily for universal exhibitions are convincing examples.

Yes, humanity liberated from oppression and exploitation will be able to realise in fifteen, twenty years such splendour and abundance that the most fantastic dreams will be surpassed by the reality.

But humanity will be liberated from governmental oppression and capitalist exploitation only by a revolutionary struggle. It is unhappy that we, Communist-Anarchists, for whom life, liberty and the happiness of each human being are sacred in principle, should be obliged to preach struggle and revolution. But once convinced that a free people could create happiness and plenty instead of misery and degradation as nowadays; once convinced that it is the State, the privileges, the exploitation of man by man, which bar the way towards that happiness and welfare, then we cannot be revolutionary enough; never shall we cease calling on our fellow-workers to revolt, to accomplish as soon as possible and at any cost this social revolution through which humanity will enter into an era of happiness, abundance and liberty.

W. TCHERKESOV.

THE GROWTH OF AUTHORITY.

(Translated from *Neues Leben* by "Redcap.")

Voltaire has said: "If God did not exist it would be necessary to create him." Certainly, all power is from God. He who says Power says God. Who finds Authority necessary makes himself a God. Thus did Moses, Confucius, Zoroaster, Numa, Columbus, and Cortez. And so have done all leaders, augurs, magic-mongers and priests. And so does everyone at the present time who wishes to rule. The number of gods is as many as the number of those greedy for power. For every aspirant to power there is a new god.

Holloway made gods from unknown physicians who persuaded you to buy his pills. "Then saith the Lord," said Moses, "and also Dr. So-and-so," added Holloway, "be obedient and buy." And both added "that ye may save your souls alive."

A servant maid went out with the children of her master. She received instructions to watch them very carefully. But the children were disobedient and ran away, so that all her trouble was in vain and her care useless.

Thereupon she created out of "nothing" a black dog which would bite the little one which did not keep close to her side, and the children were in fear of the dog. They were obedient and kept close to her. And in the bottom of her heart the servant maid saw the god she had made, and lo! it was very good.

But the children were crazed with fear of the black dog.

And thus it has remained to the present day. . . .

A child was born for the first time! The mother was in raptures, and the father also looked upon it with deepest love.

"But, Genius, tell me will it always remain so small," asked the mother, and she added, "See, I myself do not know whether I wish it. I would like to see it big as a man, but it is very hard for me would not to be able to carry it about and feed it myself."

"The child will grow up into a man," said the genius, "it will not always be fed at thy breast, it will not always be carried in thy arms."

"Oh! Genius," cried the mother, terrified, "will my child go away? When it can run will it then leave me? What must I do that my child will not leave me when it can run?"

"Love thy child," said the Genius, "and it will not leave thee."

And it was so, and remained so for some time. But then many children were born. And to many parents it was very troublesome to love all these children.

Therefore a commandment was discovered to take the place of love—like so many other commands. For it is easier to make a command than to give love.

Honour thy father and thy mother!

The children left their parents as soon as they could run. Then a reward was added.

So that thy days may be long in the land!

Thereupon some children stayed with their parents. But though they did so, it was not in the spirit that the first mother had in mind when she asked the Genius "What must I do so that my child will not leave me when it is able to run?"

And that has also remained so to the present day. MULTATULI.

"IT IS A DELIGHT TO LIVE."

(Reprinted from *Free Society*.)

Comrade Nieuwenhuis gives an interesting elucidation in the *Vrije Socialist* anent the recent general strike in Holland, from which we take the following :

"For some time the Anarchists have advocated the idea of a general strike. From different sides—even the Socialist—we were told: 'Utopia! Anarchist madness!' But this 'Anarchist madness' gained such an extension that it makes the bourgeoisie shiver.

"Not so long ago Liebknecht voiced the utterance that the time of strikes was a thing of the past—an antiquated means. That made us smile, for every day strikes were reported here and there and everywhere, and we thought: 'Well, he is well posted! The old man is talking silly.' But thus it is: everything that is said in Germany the party repeats parrot-like in all countries, and so also in Holland. Social Democracy looks with envious eyes upon strikes. Only recently in *Het Volk* it was said that one should combat the idea of striking! And what do we see to-day? The *Het Volk* is in sympathy with the strike, emphasizing that the lion has shown its fangs, and calls the prudent and impressive attitude of the strikers an encouraging deed.

"Whether they want to or not, they are dragged along, if they do not want to lose their influence over the workers altogether. The movement is outgrowing them, and so they hail a general strike, which only recently was but an Anarchistic folly.

"Oh, what Tom-fools! They think they are pushing things while they are pushed themselves!.....

"We know very well that so far it has only been preliminary skirmishes; but the workers are learning to manage this weapon and will profit by it in the future. And should it ever come about that the troops will also go on strike (just wait, we will see such things yet!) then the power of the bourgeoisie is doomed—a power which is not founded on reason, but on brutal violence.

"The workers have a right to strike, this even the employers concede; but it urged that the government should also protect the right to work.

"Is this a fair comparison? Not at all. Why do the workers strike? Because they are encroached upon their freedom to work under conditions they are making themselves.

"Scabs are rejected in all callings of society, and when the workers desire to apply the same principle, then comes the government in the name of freedom and bids a halt for the sake of those who are 'willing to work.' If free competition is to be preserved, well and good; but let it also be applied in other ranks of society.....

"We have officials who receive 5,000 dols. salary. Suppose that able men (do you think that there are not plenty of them?) would offer themselves to fill the office for 2,500 dols.; do you think the offer would be considered? Not much! All such 'scabs' are promptly rejected..... Just try to recommend free competition to these officials and see what a howl they will raise.

"But when it concerns the workers the system of free competition is looked upon as perfectly natural and beneficial, and if it occurs to the wage slaves to resist the encroachments of the scabs, then the very officials who have their salaries protected by the law will issue injunctions in the name of freedom.

"Is this fair? Is it just?

"Therefore we proclaim to those gentlemen: Quit your silly talk; you who have expropriated the means of production, have the least right to speak about the freedom of work. With such sophistry we will not be diverted from our path.

"But there is danger that the workers will be made to quarrel among themselves, and against this we have to be on our guard. The labour movement is too sacred to be misused by demagogues and politicians. For surely, interpolations in legislatures will again be made in order to exhibit their sympathy for labour by oratorical effusions; but the workers should not be deceived by beautiful words and sounding phrases. Let them ask the Social Democrats, 'What would you do if you were in the ministry?' Remember that Millerand did not protest when the strikers in France were shot down, for violence must be maintained.....

"Learn from this the lesson, workers, that you are a power—yes, the power in society; and that it depends upon you to bring the whole mechanism of society to a standstill. Learn also that through your boldness you are able to enthuse even those who now reluctantly participate in your struggle, and you must watch these or else you will be left in the lurch.".....

"The spirits awaken! It is a delight to live."

"These are the words Ulrich von Hutten exclaimed during the Reformation, which are equally applicable to-day. It is a delight to live indeed!

"Very often we are told: What do you gain by your efforts? You are talking to the winds.' But ask the ruling classes whether they also think so.

"No; not in vain have we sown for twenty-five years. It would have been folly to expect the seed to ripen immediately. It is with us as with every sower. A part fell by the wayside to be scattered by the winds or picked up by the birds. A part fell on stony ground where it could not take root. Again a part fell among the thistles where it was choked. But a part fell on good soil, came up and bore fruit,

some ten, some twenty and some hundredfold. And if one observes the seed growing up, and were it only twofold, so it awakens our courage again to work so that we may gather fruit a hundredfold,—that finally the product of labour will go to the worker, to society."

NOTES FROM SCOTLAND.

One of the most significant and encouraging signs of the times is the action of the crofters in certain districts in Scotland. For years these people have depended on politicians to remedy the wrongs arising from the present land system. But now they seem to have learned a lesson, and it appears that they will no longer depend on politicians but on their own direct actions.

From what one can gather from the scanty reports appearing in the press, they have boldly seized the land, and after portioning it out according to their needs, proceeded to cultivate it for their own benefit. The newspapers do not inform their readers what means the authorities are taking to crush this attempt on the part of the crofters to improve their condition. No doubt every and any means will be adopted not only to crush them, but also to prevent the news of their revolt becoming generally known. The crofters have been long-suffering people, and it is certainly encouraging to see the revolutionary spirit awakening and manifesting itself among them in this fashion.

A commission of inquiry was recently taking evidence in Glasgow on the housing problem. It is truly pitiful to see the valuable time and energy wasted by the Socialists in trying to reform instead of abolish the concentration camps of the capitalists. For surely they know that all our industrial centres are nothing else than huge camps, where for the convenience of the master class the wage-slaves are concentrated. Many lessons are claimed to have been learned from the evidence given before this commission, but one important lesson seems to have been missed; that is, the responsibility of the workers themselves in this question. What is the use of them attending meetings as co-operators, trade unionists and Socialists, and there deploring the existence of slums, when they turn out next morning as joiners, bricklayers, slaters, &c., and by patching and repairing help to keep in existence the very slums against which they had been protesting the previous night. The removal of slums will not solve this so-called housing problem. But if the trade unionists are really anxious to improve the dwellings in some of these concentration camps, let them refuse to execute jerry work of any description; let them refuse to patch and repair any existing slums. By acting thus they would do more good than any commission, which only gives politicians, labour leaders and other quacks an opportunity of advertising themselves.

The Parliamentary Socialists in Scotland are of little account at present. Those members of the I.L.P. who are not engaged in schemes of petty reforms, or officiating on behalf of the authorities, as "comrade" Mitchell lately did at Glasgow, are busily engaged, not in organising the workers in the labour struggle but in organising gigantic bun feasts, masked balls, and running labour churches under the guise of Socialist Sunday Schools. The S.D.F., on the other hand, are so confident that the capitalists are eating their own heads off, in accordance with the "Natural laws" discovered by Marx and Engels, that they have ceased to fight the master class, and are now busily engaged in quarrelling with each other. In Edinburgh they are divided into two hostile sections, and the same thing is happening in Glasgow. To show how compatible individual liberty is with Social Democracy, one branch has been informed that any member speaking at meetings other than those organised or sanctioned by the executive will be expelled. If there are any lovers of liberty in that branch there should be several cases of expulsion.

If some understanding could be arrived at among the various comrades or groups for one or more speakers to visit Scotland, some very effective propaganda work could be done this summer.

J. DOCHERTY.

LITERARY NOTES.

Revue Générale de Bibliographie Française. Paris. Schleicher Frères. Annual subscription for foreign countries, 7 francs.

From the two numbers which have appeared, containing short and substantial analyses of new works in science, history and literature, written by the most competent specialists, we should say it would be a very useful guide for any student reading French.

From a good account, by Dr. L. Israels, about the Dutch strike which we find in *L'Européen* (the weekly published at Paris by Seignobos), we take the following lines:—

"The Dutch labour movement, conducted by Dr. Troelstra and his friends towards parliamentarism, and which will soon become a very advanced Radical party [we should rather say, a very moderate one], has returned to the Anarchist tendency of Domela Nieuwenhuis, and stands now where it was in 1902."

In other words, the attempt at turning the Socialist labour party into a Radical parliamentary party has failed.

Well done, fellow-workers in Holland!

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

HOLLAND.—After the first successful railway strike the Dutch Government decided to introduce severe anti-strike legislation in Parliament. The proposed law provoked over the whole country a series of protest meetings. An address of protest was sent to the Government, signed by distinguished men such as professors, ex-ministers, etc. Also in the army and navy, but especially among the militia, much sympathy existed for the cause of the workers; cases of insubordination were mentioned from Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Breda and other places. The organised workers decided to proclaim a general strike if the proposed Bill should pass Parliament. The Defence Committee which had to declare the strike was composed of delegates from trades unions, to whom were joined one delegate of the Social Democratic party and one of the Free Socialists (revolutionary Socialists or Anarchists). Among the workers was a strong feeling that it would have been better if no political party had been represented on the committee, as Van Erkell, the Secretary of the *National Labour Secretariat*, said in a public meeting, "From all we have heard, it is evident that no political party must be allowed in our Defence Committee, and that the movement must remain what it is in reality—a movement led by trades unions." In these words he expressed the general opinion which reigned in Holland. This opinion was provoked by the attitude of the Social Democrats, who had already declared that the right of combination had to be defended in Parliament and not by a general strike. The workers proved to be right, as the advice of the Social Democrats was followed by several trades unions in different places, so that when the general strike was declared, the trades union of the Hague and other towns, as e.g. the powerful diamond workers union in Amsterdam, did not come out; altogether the strike was far from general.

Encouraged by the division in the ranks of the workers, the Bill was nearly unanimously voted for in Parliament and immediately promulgated as law. According to it, strikes will be in reality in future prohibited in Holland, as every successful organiser of a strike is liable to a maximum of six years' imprisonment; a functionary of public service (railway) striking is liable to a maximum of six months' imprisonment; if two or more do this in common agreement a maximum imprisonment of four years is inflicted.

The same tendency to fight organised labour and the right to strike may be observed everywhere. The Government are trying to introduce obligatory arbitration, which means simply organised protection of capitalism. Unhappily among the workers—especially the so-called leaders, well-to-do workers also—many favour those measures. However, we hope that the workers will not be deceived by their leaders nor frightened by their oppressors, and answer those prohibitive laws by an energetic revolutionary struggle, as their forefathers did before during 1848.

FRANCE.—A sympathiser with Anarchism, if not an Anarchist, one Bourdelas, professor in the Nantes College, committed suicide a few weeks since. While never actually threatening to do it, he had yet frequently discussed the question of suicide, and seems to have brooded over an impulse that finally took effect. Now, in this painful world there are some dozens of suicides a week, and the death of Bourdelas would not be noticeable among so many save for the agitation it produced in the official police brain. Bourdelas sympathised with Anarchists. He died by his own hand. That smells of plots. How so? Why, *mon ami*, the rulers of Europe are paying each other visits this year, and behold, a man half or wholly Anarchist, who suffers not nor hungers, kills himself. A riddle easy of solution to us. The unfortunate man had fallen under the influence of a circle of Anarchist criminals. Having been selected to assassinate one of these visiting rulers, his heart revolts, and he immolates himself instead. What simpler! Now we are on the hunt for that circle. Never find it? Then we will invent it, for kings are moving. *Circulez, Messieurs les Anarchistes, circulez!* Majesty in the rotund form of Edward of England arrives—get you to your holes or, as at Gibraltar and Naples, it is arrest and a cell for one or all. Such is the Nantes atmosphere at present. Needless to say that the police story relating to the professor's suicide is pure fiction. They merely lacked a reason for domiciliary visits. From Algiers, a comrade states that because he telegraphed for some pamphlets, his landlord and employer were each respectively questioned by a detective as to his habits and character. Moral, eschew telegrams and postcards when dealing with Anarchist matters.

SPAIN.—The immensely formidable weapon that a general strike might become in hands that had learned how best to wield it has been borne fully home to the authorities here as to those of some other countries. Many strikes have taken place in as many trades since Christmas, but in nearly all the simple threat that they might develop into general ones has proved sufficient to urge the employers to a compromise. At Reus (the next city in size to Barcelona), Cadiz and Corunna the strikes ended in this manner. Barcelona workers, out of sympathy for their neighbours at Reus, proclaimed a general strike also, but some faint hearts among the leaders were startled by the governor's threat to break up the trade organisations, and when troops came pouring into the city work was resumed. It is interesting to note Silvela's (President of the Council) definition of strikes as explained before the king. He said there were two kinds in Spain—(1) those produced by a conflict of interest between employers and employed, when if the employed fought on legal lines the Government owed them every consideration; (2) those produced by Anarchists with the intention of disturbing the country and present social system; when such occur the Government must maintain order at all costs so as to annihilate the Anarchists' plans. And the Anarchists also presumably.

Siegfried Nacht had not been released from his Gibraltar prison up to the departure of King Edward. A more unjustifiable outrage than his arrest it would be hard to find in the annals of police panics, and it only proves what such can become even on British territory.

The following letter has been received from a friend in America, and gives us a reliable idea of the growing feeling there as the result of the strike.

"Our great American Coal Strike has finally ended in a splendid victory for the miners.

For five months 147,000 men were idle. During the four succeeding

months the Commission of investigation and arbitration listened to nearly 600 witnesses, and the award finally made granted the men most of their demands. In most cases wages are advanced 10 per cent. The hours are reduced from twelve to eight for pumpmen and firemen, and from ten to nine for certain other classes. The pumpmen and firemen really struck for reduced hours. For years they had worked twelve hours a day for 365 days a year! And that they might have a Sunday off occasionally they were permitted to work twenty-four hours one Sunday and given the following Sunday free!

Nearly every company had to withdraw its wage statements for revision, some of them several times. The Pennsylvania Company submitted statements purporting to show the wages of individual men. On investigation it turned out that in certain districts the men worked four-handed in each chamber, and the wages represented the earnings of four men instead of one.

The evil of child labour was brought thoroughly to light. Little girls of 12 and 13, and even 10 and 11, were found working all night in the mills and factories from 6.30 to 6.30, with only half an hour to rest at midnight. This has happily been stopped.

Possibly you are familiar with all these things; but I am so full of the facts that I can scarcely restrain myself."

A WOMAN AGAINST THE WORLD.

(From *Diana of the Crossways*, by George Meredith).

"Diana cried allowed, 'My freedom!' feeling as a butterfly flown out of a box to stretches of sunny earth beneath spacious heavens. Her bitter marriage, joyless in all its chapters, indefensible where the man was right as well as where insensately wrong, had been imprisonment. She excused him down to his last madness if only the bonds were broken. Here, too, in this very house of her happiness with her father, she had bound herself to the man: voluntarily, quite inexplicably. Voluntarily, as we say. But there must be a spell upon us at times. Upon young women there certainly is.

"The wild brain of Diana, armed by her later enlightenment as to the laws of life and nature, dashed in revolt at the laws of the world when she thought of the forces, natural and social, urging young women to marry and be bound to the end.

"It should be a spotless world which is thus ruthless.

"But were the world impeccable it would behave more generously.

"The world is ruthless, dear friends, because the world is hypocrite! The world cannot afford to be magnanimous, or even just.

"Her dissensions with her husband, their differences of opinion, and puny wranglings, hoisting of two standards, reconciliations for the sake of decency, breaches of the truce, and his detested meanness, the man behind the mask; and glimpses of herself, too, the half-known, half-suspected, developing creature claiming to be Diana, and unlike her dreamed Diana, deformed by marriage, irritable, acerb, rebellious, constantly justifiable against him, but not in her own mind, and therefore accusing him of the double crime of provoking her and perverting her—these were the troops defiling through her head while she did battle with the hypocrite world.

* *

"A woman's brutalest tussel with the world was upon her. She was in the arena of the savage claws, flung there by the man who of all others should have protected her from them. And what had she done to deserve it? She listened to the advocate pleading her case; she primed him to admit the charges, to say the worst, in contempt of legal prudence, and thereby expose her transparent honesty. The very things awakening a mad suspicion proved her innocence. But was she this utterly simple person? Oh, no. She was the Diana of the pride in her power of fencing with evil—by no means of the order of those ninny young women who realize the popular conception of the pure innocent. She had fenced and kept her guard. Of this it was her angry glory to have the knowledge. But she had been compelled to fence. Such are men in the world of facts, that when a woman steps out of her domestic tangle to assert, because it is a tangle, her rights to partial independence, they sight her for their prey, or at least they complacently suppose her accessible. Wretched at home, a woman ought to bury herself in her wretchedness, else may she be assured that not the cleverest, wariest guard will cover her character.

* *

"There is perpetually the inducement to act the hypocrite before the hypocrite world, unless a woman humbly submits to be the humbly knitting housewife, unquestioningly worshipful of her lord; for the world is ever gracious to an hypocrite who pays homage to the mask of virtue by copying it; the world is hostile to the face of an innocence not conventionally simpering and quite surprised; the world prefers decorum to honesty. 'Let me be myself, whatever the martyrdom!' she cried, in that phase of young sensation when, to the blooming woman, the putting on of a mask appears to wither her and reduce her to the show she parades. Yet, in common with her sisterhood, she owned she had worn a sort of mask; the world demands it of them as the price of their station. That she had never worn it consentingly, was the plea for now casting it off altogether, showing herself as she was, accepting martyrdom, becoming the first martyr of the modern woman's cause—a grand position! and one imaginable to an excited mind in the dark, which does not conjure a critical humour, as light does, to correct the feverish sublimity. She was, then, this martyr, a woman capable of telling the world she knew it, and of confessing that she had behaved in disdain of its rigid rules, according to her own ideas of her immunities. O brave!"

REPORTS.

LEEDS.

You will be pleased to learn that a few comrades belonging to the Leeds Anarchist Group are still active in distributing literature, taking part in discussions where possible, and likely to survive the slump we seem to have been passing through; also confident *Freedom* sale will go up.

Comrade J. Young, Scott and others who are members of the Leeds Trades' Hall, have initiated discussions, which take place every Sunday night, and will most assuredly be effective, more especially as the trade unionists extend every courtesy and respect to our propaganda and to the comrades themselves.

Indeed, a great many unionists, in their long and exhausting struggles for liberty are recognising the fact, that we are with them in every true economic fight, wanting neither leadership nor pay.

The Leeds Trades' Hall have a nominal membership reaching four thousand, who encourage educational effort and the spreading of the spirit of mutual helpfulness amongst their members. This may surely be chronicled as an earnest of a higher relationship, which is becoming more established daily, and destined to blossom in the total emancipation of the people.

DAVE.

HULL.

Things in Hull are just getting into working order, and it is hoped a good summer propaganda will be carried through. The *Free Commune Press* has just reprinted from March *Freedom* the article on "Politics and Socialism." This leaflet can be had in quantities by sending postage to the above at 11, Brigham Terrace, Adelaide Street, Hull.

H. J.

PAISLEY.

Weather here has been too cold for continuous outdoor propaganda. Nevertheless we held one successful meeting, at which Comrade Johnston, of Glasgow, spoke for a considerable time and eventually gathered a crowd of between two and three hundred. Some pamphlets sold and collection made.

A. McLEAN.

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*.

	£	s.	d.
Amount previously acknowledged	7	18	9
Friends (per Chadwick)	0	5	0
Leeds Comrades	0	10	6
Glasgow Comrades	0	12	0
Bob	0	1	0
Leeds Comrades	0	3	6
Ditto	0	4	0
Leeds Labour Church (per Brotherton)	0	2	6
Total	9	17	3

Comrades, I wish to acknowledge receipt of the following sums sent to me for the support of Comrade MacQueen's family.

OTTO MATTHEWS,

11 Brigham Terrace, Adelaide Street, Hull.

	£	s.	d.
German Comrades, Hull	1	15	9
German Comrades, London, Collected by Händel	2	3	0
Jewish Comrades, London, Collected by Rocker	0	15	2
A few Sailors, Collected by Yürgensen	0	5	0

Money is urgently needed for above fund.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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