

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

VOL. XIX.—No. 200.

SEPTEMBER, 1905.

MONTHLY; ONE PENNY

THE NEW MOVEMENT IN FRENCH LABOUR UNIONS.

A movement which will probably have far-reaching consequences has been going on lately in France in the Labour unions or *syndicats*; their last congress, which was held last autumn at Bourges, marking an important step in this direction.

For the last fifteen years or so a deeply-rooted struggle has been fought within the Labour unions between the advanced and the moderate wings of the French workers; and for a moment the ideas represented by the German Social Democrats had apparently gained the upper hand. Strenuous efforts were made, indeed, to convert the Labour unions into simply political organisations for running candidates of all sorts,—of middle-class and Labour men, anxious to acquire importance through Parliament. And these efforts succeeded. The German program—Labour legislation through the middle-class Parliament—had prevailed for a time with the French workers.

On the other side, the Republican Government made a bold step, with the intention of taking the whole of the Labour movement under its protection and management. It opened in 1900 the so-called Labour Exchanges (*Bourses du Travail*), through which it hoped to keep the movement in its hands. The municipal councils provided special buildings for these exchanges, and voted special subventions in order to keep these buildings in repair, to light and to heat them, and—still worse—to keep quite a number of functionaries (a manager, an accountant and a number of secretaries) nominated by the municipal councils. Moreover, small subsidies were voted by the municipal councils, especially at Paris, for several unions.

All Labour unions of a given city could now come together in these buildings; there they held their committee meetings, and gradually the Labour Exchanges became centres for the life of all those workers who had at heart the interests of Labour. The Social Democrats evidently tried to get hold of these exchanges and to use them as electoral centres, while the central Government saw in these exchanges an excellent arrangement for “the taming of the rebels.”

However, a new spirit began gradually to develop in the working men of France. They began to realise how useless were their endeavours to obtain any redress of their wrongs through the usual parliamentary channels, and the old idea which had prevailed at the foundation of the International Working Men's Association—the idea that the freeing of the workers must be accomplished by the workers themselves—began to take root in their minds.

To speak of Paris only, about which we have more direct information, the chief characteristic of the new movement is, first of all, the elimination of the politicians and the “intellectuals” altogether. They had taken too prominent a place in the French Labour movement, diverting its attention towards matters political, literary and so on, things of minor importance, and neglecting those points which are essential and vital for the working man in his struggle against capitalism; and now the workers perceive it. One cannot insist too much upon the importance of this point. The “intellectuals,” as a rule, with their literary, abstract, and governing classes' education, have a special turn of mind which unavoidably prevents them from joining heart and soul in the movements that are going on amongst the working men. It is the more so when they constitute a governing group apart from the labourers. The first step to be taken by the workers is, therefore, to get rid of these outside influences. Let those who sincerely intend to bring their forces into the service of the toiling masses merge their lives in the life of these masses. *Then only* will they be serviceable to the workers. This is what the French workers have learned once more by a painful experience.

The other feature which is noticeable now in the French Labour movement is that the “revolutionists” are decidedly gaining the upper hand over the “reformists.” These two terms have, however, a certain limited sense within the Labour unions. The reformists do not condemn revolutionary measures or acts; nor do the revolutionists refuse reforms. But while the former still believe that useful reforms may be obtained through legislation, the latter consider that improvements in the present conditions of labour will only have a real value, and lead to further improvements, when they have been wrested from the employers. In this they are at one with the Anarchists, and their central organ, *La Voix du Peuple*, of which Comrade Pouget is the editor, has carried on a splendid propaganda in this direction.

“Direct action” has now become the watchword of the French Labour unions. More than that, in accordance with the decision taken at the Labour Congress of Bourges, the next First of May (1906) has been fixed as the date of the General Strike, to be declared all over France, to demand from the employers the eight hours' day. In the meantime all forms of “direct action” are advocated.

Politics are now absolutely excluded from the French syndicates, especially at Paris. Members of the syndicates may or may not go to church—that is their private affair, with which the Labour union has nothing to do. The same is applied to politics. Vote if you like, but don't bring your electoral pettifogging into the unions.

In this the French unions are like the British trade unions of some ten years ago. But there the likeness ends.

The French unions do not attach the same importance as is attached in England to the cash in hand in the union. They consider that a large sum owned by a union is very often a cause of weakness—not of force. When a strike breaks out, don't rely, they say, upon the cash in hand—it will soon be exhausted. Rely upon free subscriptions, organise Communist kitchens, and above all—inspire a salutary fear in the employers. This is what the French unionists consider the best weapon in strikes. And we think that the events by which recent strikes in this country have been characterised are meant to give great support in favour of the French view.

Of course, as a consequence, they do not attach an overwhelming importance to the number of workers who have joined the union. Let the men of action in each trade join together, they say, and such unions will be as good as unions which embrace scores of thousands, men having no energy to undertake any desirable step in case of need.

It need hardly be said that both the politicians in Parliament and the Government are extremely dissatisfied with this new spirit which pervades the French Labour unions. They have grown alarmed, and the series of conflicts taking place at this very moment at the Labour Exchange of Paris between the Municipal Council and the Prefect (at Paris the head of the police is the mayor) on the one side, and the revolutionary syndicates on the other, proves how deeply alarmed the rulers are. The Prefect has already once invaded the Labour Exchange with his policemen, and has closed it for a fortnight. Now the struggle has been renewed upon a question of rules which the Municipal Council wants to impose upon the Labour Exchange, and which most unions have refused to accept. They maintain that the building which they get from the municipality is *due to them*: the city is not an estate of the upper ten, and the working men have a right to a building for discussing their affairs. But as to rules, they will accept none within their house which they have not sanctioned themselves. This is their own affair, not that of the police or of the Municipal Council.

Therefore a conflict in which the Labour unions must necessarily gain the supremacy is now raging in Paris.

The above remarks will give a general idea of the new direction which the Labour unions in France have taken. The working man has at last turned out the politician; and the revolutionary spirit wins ground as against those who for fifteen years had intrigued for making the working man a docile instrument in the hands of the middle-class politician.

It is a new birth of the International Working Men's Association which has begun in France, and it is due to the same cause: the workers have lost faith in their would-be Radical and Socialist political saviours.

It was high time, indeed, that such a movement took place. Since the victory of Germany over France in 1870, the Labour movement in Europe has been dragged into Philistine channels, so as to deprive it of every sign of energy. The more some people talked of “class war” and “class interests,” the more they used these words to make the working men serve the interests of the Philistine politician. Now the French working men have put the whole question in a few words:—

The working men organise themselves for *direct action*—a *direct struggle* against the capitalist. Are you with them or against them? Let Parliament alone! and say plainly: Do you join us in this direct struggle or not?

And then—nine months hence the French working men are going to declare the General Strike for obtaining the eight hours' day. Are you *with* them, with the strikers, or *against* them? No subtleties, please. With the General Strike or against it? Say “Yes” or “No,” and we shall know who you are.

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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

THE MANAGER, 127 Ossulston Street, N.W.

The Editors are not necessarily in agreement with signed articles.

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NOTES.

THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

At the time of writing the Trade Union Congress is in full swing. The meetings should be full of the most uncompromising fighting spirit if the members understood the deep import of the struggle between Labour and Capital. But we see no signs of an awakening to the real issues at stake. Politics, politics with all the eternal froth and ferment that bring "no natural outlet, no relief" into the lives of the working men, and the "damnable iteration" of eternal platitudes that land us nowhere—something like this will, to all appearance, be the outcome of the Congress. Yet what is their position? The *Daily News* reminds them with a distinctness that we could not improve upon. It says *à propos* of the Taff Vale decision: "The workman lies at the present as much at the mercy of his masters as if he had never won a position of independence and respect through the struggles of a century." Fancy, a century of struggle—and all who know the history of trade unionism know what that has meant in agony, suspense, and suffering to the workers in the past—all this to count as nothing against the ruling of an imbecile in ermine who administers the law, always on the side of the masters.

VOLUNTARY SOCIAL EFFORT.

The conditions of our present social life certainly do not tend to encourage the spirit of voluntary effort in attacking any of the manifold abuses with which we are surrounded. And yet if all that is accomplished by such societies could be shown to the people in some definitely arranged shape, they would be astonished to learn how much they owe to this sadly neglected yet most admirable side of human nature. For instance, what does the State do for the children? Nothing beyond giving a so-called "elementary education," which has been wrung from it much against its will, and which it is constantly doing its best to mar and mutilate. After that it leaves them, if such be their fate, to starve, or drafts them into the Navy to be drilled and flogged, or sends them to reformatories or to prison.

In contrast to this, take the work being done by the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children—not an ideal society by any means, and working as best it can by the stupid machinery of the law. Yet it gives quite remarkable results in its efforts to save children from the untold sufferings which so often happen to the little ones in the hands of worthless parents, guardians, or nondescript exploiters of the young. Here are some results of a month's work as reported in the press:—

Between the 1st and 31st of July 16,745 supervision visits were made by the society's officers; 3,939 complaints were made (throughout the United Kingdom), and of these 3,768 were found to be true.

This total affected the welfare of 10,687 children, and involved 4,953 offenders; and 2,962 of the children were known to be insured for £14,497. In 32 cases the cruelty resulted in the death of the children.

Action was taken by the society to the following extent:—3,156 warned, 253 prosecuted (of which 243 were convicted, only 10 being discharged), 359 otherwise dealt with.

The large total of cases included 3,241 of neglect and starvation, 466 ill-treatment and assault, 31 abandonment, 46 exposure, and 53 exposure for begging purposes.

Some accomplished, something done!

HEMSWORTH IN ENGLAND.

What a dull race we are! It is said we take our pleasures sadly. However that may be we certainly take the most cruel injustice in a matter-of-fact way that makes one wonder if there is any hope at all for the Englishman, or if our last refuge will not rest in the spirit of the women. Consider for a moment these Hemsworth evictions. These miners are tenants of the colliery owners, and are doubly in the clutches of the wolves. They had been earning—always, mind you, at

the risk of life and limb—from 23s. to 30s. per week. The masters asked for a reduction of nearly 50 per cent. The men could not earn a "living wage" at this rate, and after arbitration an agreement was arrived at. This the masters have since repudiated, and have locked out the men. Not having brought them to their terms they are now evicting them, and we read of a scene like this:—

"The men evicted looked on sullenly, and their women jeered. But at one house, where they had rained a torrent of jokes on the perspiring officers of the law, while beds and bedding, wringer and peggy-tub were solemnly carried into the road, there came a sudden hush over both women and men. The sturdy collier had seen the last "household god" off the premises. He brought out the children. There came two women bearing up the tottering steps of a third. Aged, wrinkled, white, and bearing already the impress of the grave, the grandmother was assisted over the threshold of the one-time home on to the dusty highway, and was led to some proffered shelter under another roof. A portentous growl passed round the crowd. They will not forget that sight!"

We hope not. But where are the "leaders" at a time like this? Why, talking themselves into Parliament; and the poor miners of Hemsworth will hardly get a passing thought.

Trial of Antonelli and Barberi.

Comrades will have read of the prosecution of A. Antonelli and F. Barberi on a charge of "incitement to murder," they having praised the act of Bresci much in the same way that the English press praised the assassinations of de Plehve and the Grand Duke Sergius. But the malignant methods of the law ignore the advocacy of tyrannicide by the *Daily Telegraph*, and attacks the Anarchists because it thinks it has got an easy prey.

They are being defended, and this costs money, so we trust friends who have sympathy with them will help. They are poor and "foreigners." Therefore they will need all we can give. Any amounts sent to *Freedom* will be acknowledged in these columns.

REPORT.

Liverpool.

A few years have passed since Liverpool was active and in the forefront with Anarchist propaganda. In the days of which I write there existed in our midst various societies which attacked, with all the means at their command, the powers of capital and priestcraft. Go where you might, you would find such organisations, though small in numbers, exposing social evils, and inculcating into the minds of the workers the hope of a brighter day and the desire for a better state of society. Yet, in the midst of all, and despite the energy and enthusiasm displayed, the canker of apathy crept in amongst them. Their little groups were dispersed or broken up. Then in our midst reaction reigned supreme! The dawn of the 20th century found Liverpool in this appalling condition. But, happy to relate, the spirit of revolt was not dead. Within the past twelve months there has been a revival of Socialistic thought and effort which gives hope that Liverpool ere long will again occupy her former position in the van of progress.

Despite the fact that our city claims the distinction of being the most reactionary place in the kingdom, to-day there exists in our midst various groups of workers engaged in the study and propagation of advanced thought. Foremost amongst them stands the Liverpool branch of the National Secular Society, whose attacks upon the fortress of superstition are sustained with a vigour and persistency that are admirable. They are fast spreading the light of reason into the dark recesses where ignorance, prejudice, and priestcraft too long have held the sway, and striving to replace them by the principles of true brotherhood and humanity.

Upon the surface the people seem to take little or no interest in the social question. But "still waters run deep," and there is every reason to believe that beneath the apparent calm there exists a growing discontent that is daily gathering strength, and is being rapidly developed by the reactionary methods of our modern politicians.

In anticipation of an early General Election, we find persons soliciting votes on behalf of Labour candidates. Such persons are spending a deal of time and money in attempting to point out the benefits that might accrue by the return of Labour members; still, despite all their efforts, they report small progress. In fact, the majority of them have found that amongst the workers faith in any of the political parties is fast declining, and that the mass of the workers are recognising the futility of striving to obtain redress through the ballot-box.

'Twas surely the Goddess of Liberty that inspired Comrade Pollock to pay our city a visit. The comrades had been wallowing in the mire of despondency, but upon hearing of his visit and intention to hold a meeting, they at once unfurled the Red Banner, and having done so, are determined to keep it flying. So far, they are carrying on the work he has begun, and are getting into harness gradually. We have held several good meetings during the past month. Our audiences have been attentive and orderly, and put some very intelligent questions to the speakers, which tend to prove they are interested and desire a knowledge of Anarchist principles. Our sales of literature are satisfactory, and we hold great hopes of increasing them.

Having got our shoulder to the wheel, we intend to agitate, educate and organise our fellow-workers to do their share in overthrowing capitalist exploitation and tyranny, and to establish in their place the long hoped-for reign of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

REBEL.

"The Folly of Voting." This Leaflet will prove of great service in the coming General Election, and should be read by all Anarchists, Socialists and workers generally. May be had from J. TURNER, 127, Ossulston Street, London, N.W. Price 9d. per hundred, or 5s. per thousand, post free.

BART KENNEDY ON FACTORY LIFE.

In *T.P.'s Weekly* for July 7th Bart Kennedy replies to some of the critics who have assailed his latest book, *Slavery*. His trenchant denunciation of the capitalist robbers, and his vigorous exposure of the craze that Government will help the workers to throw off their chains, are so forcibly and manfully expressed that we are pleased to give them for our readers. In times like these we cannot have too much of this "straight talk":—

"KNOWN AT FIRST HAND.—However, I take it that what has moved them is hardly whether I have or have not given a faithful picture—in the essential—of Manchester life. They have been moved because I say that the life of the worker is slavery. And all I can tell them is that I have lived the life. I know it from first hand. And the life now is slavery as utterly and as absolutely as it was in the days when I worked in the mills. I have friends with whom I sat in the same class at school, and they will bear me out. They are still enduring it.

"True, Parliament has made laws for the bettering of the conditions of labour, but the thieves of factory masters manage to have these conditions evaded. They go on as they went on twenty or thirty years ago. Parliament can, and will, do nothing for the workers of Lancashire, for Parliament itself is composed of the sweaters and the thieves who keep the workers under. The vote, as it is worked at present, is the biggest piece of bluff that was ever foisted upon the working man. It only enables him to have the honour of sending suave swindlers and Thugs to misrepresent him in Westminster.

"No; the life of the worker in the factory is slavery, utter and absolute, with the exception of a glimpse or so now and then of something else, such as I have quoted. This light, however, but shows up the darkness of the slavery.

"THE LABOUR OF OTHERS.—Let us take the letter signed by P. E. M. He, in effect, says that things ought to stay as they are, and that no one should try to make the slaves discontented. All I can ask P. E. M. is this: Is he making money out of the labour of anyone else? If he is, he is only doing what the workers will not allow him to do when they become more intelligent. No man has a right to get an advantage out of the labour of another man. All should work for themselves. Millionaires and others like them are criminals, who will be abolished when the moment comes. There was a time in England when men used to eat each other. Cannibalism existed. That time is passed, just as sweating will pass. No man has the right to enjoy the labour of another man. This can't be said too often. To do it is a crime. But the only way for the worker to get the parasite off his back is to throw him off. He will never manage it by politeness. He will have to pitch him off. And he must learn not to look to Westminster, for Westminster is the thief *in excelsis* who is sweating him. The worker must force the strangling parasite off from him.

"THE MEN WHO HAVE MADE ENGLAND.—I will wind up about the strictures of P. E. M. by saying that if he is enjoying the fruits of other people's labour I will admit that I can understand his wish to keep it on indefinitely.

"And what I have said concerning him will do as an answer to 'Lancashire Lad,' with this addition, that if the lad from Lancashire is still a worker, and not an enjoyer of other people's labour, I can only say that it would be a sorry day for the fate of the workers if they were all of his spirit. It isn't the putters-up with tyranny and sweating who have made England. It is the fine men who revolt. These are the men to whom honour is given. No; 'Lancashire Lad,' if you are still a worker I must ask you to step from the ranks. You are no good to us. We want stiff, strong lads. But I'm afraid you're on the other side.

"THE ACTUAL WORKERS.—What I would like about my book would be to have the opinions of it from actual workers who had read it. I don't care a button for the opinion of the people who live off the labour of the workers. These people I am against. And I can well understand them being vexed with people who pull the veil from pretence and fake and tell the workers straight that there is no other way out of the whole horrible business but to fight.

"Another thing. It is not the person who is called the revolutionist who wrecks kingdoms and empires.

"It is the sweater. He is the one who destroys a king or destroys a kingdom. He is the traitor. He is the seller of his country. And in the England of the present day we have sweaters who are selling and destroying their country.

"Never mind the revolutionary. It is the sweating capitalist who lights the fire of murder and destruction. How long will it be before the sweating capitalists adorn the lamp-posts?

"*Slavery* is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. I know it, because I have lived it.

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Russia.

ANARCHISM IN RUSSIA.—The more the reform movement assumes a revolutionary character, the more Anarchist activity is developing. Only three years ago we said that the people had begun to stir in Russia; and once awakened, and the struggle begun by the peasants and workers, it was evident that the means and forms of that struggle would be thoroughly revolutionary, not peaceful, as some Liberal reformers and the majority of Russian Social Democrats naïvely pretended would be possible. The workers and peasants attacked the proprietors and landowners, who naturally were defended by the State and clergy, by gendarmes, police and Cossacks; and at once the struggle took a revolutionary character.

Then Anarchist groups began to spring up everywhere, and at present militant groups exist in Odessa, Warsaw, Bielostok, Riga, Revel, Kief, Tiflis, Saratoff, Moscow and St. Petersburg. So it may be said that in less than three years the Anarchist movement is in full development in the whole empire. General strikes, armed resistance, direct attacks on the police and Cossacks, self-defence and defence of the inviolability of domicile, occurred in Bielostok, Warsaw, and St. Petersburg, the most daring acts being attributed to Anarchists. At the same time their secret printing offices flood the country with leaflets. Several Anarchist comrades are to be tried by court-martial.

What is, however, the most important is that under the influence of the popular and Anarchist movement, and provoked by brutal oppression, even the moderate and peaceful section of the Socialist party, who only three years ago in their publications abroad and at home were exhorting the workers not to participate in direct attacks and in general strikes—these truly Anarchist weapons—are now most ardent propagandists of these means; and Social Democrats of all shades begin to arm, and not only take part in, but organise, general strikes. We heartily congratulate them on this change of tactics.

Besides, how can a Socialist revolutionist help taking part in the direct struggle when it is the peasants and workers themselves who began the struggle everywhere—in Central and Eastern Russia, in the Volga provinces, in the Baltic provinces, in Poland, Southern Russia, and in Georgia? Every day from the beginning of this year manifestations and street fights have taken place in the towns; no severity of repression could stop them; no state of siege proclaimed could discourage the fighters. Bomb throwing—always considered a specific Anarchist method—is adopted now and practised by revolutionary parties of all shades of opinion.

In the villages the struggle is no less energetically pursued. In Central and Southern Russia the peasants of whole villages call upon the landowners to peacefully give up the land, and in case of resistance the proprietors are driven from the village, their possessions divided among the peasants, and the land declared Communal property. At the same time in many places (especially in Georgia and the Baltic provinces) the peasants attack the administrative and police offices, burning the State documents and sequestering the State money found there.

Without exaggeration it may be said that Russia for the last eighteen months has been passing through a great revolution. Though not a Collectivist or Communist revolution, it is certainly a Communalist movement, which claims the land for the peasant Commune (Mir). Its Communalistic character is not even denied by the autocratic Government nor by the governing classes. This movement cannot be checked by any purely political and constitutional reforms, and it certainly will not be appeased by the Czar's mock Constitution, which to a population of a hundred millions gives the right of voting to less than six thousand persons. The revolts of reservists and sailors, the protests coming even from the brutal Cossacks, the open declarations of solidarity between peasants and workers, the resolutions passed by the Moscow congress of peasants' representatives—all this shows that the present struggle will not come to an end till the peasants' claims have been fulfilled.

And we are happy to say that our Anarchist comrades in Russia fully realise the conditions; their proclamations which we received from Moscow, Odessa, Riga, and Bielostok urge the peasants and workers not to be deceived by some purely political reforms, but to continue the revolutionary struggle till the land and the means of production are in the Communal possession of the people.

Italy.

The country has again been aroused by authoritarian bloodshed in the South. Last year, it will be remembered, a sequence of such excesses led to the nation's expression of indignation in a general strike. Ready suggestions come from many quarters that a protest should again take that form, but the Socialist press unhappily distracted the general attention by a minute inquest, by which it sought to lay the whole blame of the affair on the two officials who gave the order to fire. This was also the conclusion arrived at by a Conservative journal in the course of a private inquest, and no doubt the Government will come to the same decision. So that there is more in Italian unity than appears on the surface of party politics! The truth is that last year's general strike was so disastrous to the Socialist party that they must needs mark time until the popular indignation against the outrage has died down, and they can hold their meetings of protest without fear of disorders such as brought about this killing of twelve and wounding two hundred unarmed peasants at Gramscio in Sicily.

The conditions under which the peasant population of those parts exist are almost incredible. It is enough to recount that the hatred of the large pro-

prietors for the Camera del Lavoro has been roused by the demands of the peasants for a thirteen instead of a fifteen hour day, and one shilling instead of twopenny for a day's wage! And yet it is marvelled at that there are still brigands in Sicily!

A sign of the times is the appearance of a new weekly, *Il Sindicato Operaio*, devoted to trade union life from an economic viewpoint, and giving equal space to Socialism, Republicanism and Anarchism. It is making a good bid for the position of official organ of the trade union movement.

K. W.

America.

An American comrade sends us the following interesting letter and cutting from the *Seattle Daily Times*.

Two pupils of the Seattle High School this year became very much interested in Anarchism. One was chosen to represent the class at the commencement day program. I enclose a clipping. The statement that the oration was received with protest is probably not true. Only a trick of the reporter to make a story and get this into the paper. At the opera house it received the strongest applause of any—there were six others.

There was some truth about "cutting" it, but the boy said he would say it as he wrote it or not at all, and he did. If he hadn't been permitted to, one of the "yellow" papers would have printed the whole of it, and an indictment of the school for lack of freedom.

The other boy-Anarchist wrote a paper on Socialism—in the broad sense—and sent to his history teacher a paper on Wycliffe, dated "In the 77th year after the birth of Tolstoy." Are English or European boys writing and speaking on these subjects in school? The mental attitude of these boys is not characteristic of this school, but the fearlessness and independence are.

What a world it is! Public flogging of a wife-beater in Oregon recently. A woman in this State confined in jail as a witness against her husband, who had victimised a servant, was taken out in a comatose state next day, and even the precious law wouldn't allow her to testify any way without his consent. A woman in a Californian jail hanged herself but the other day in her chagrin and shame. She had never before been in jail. The aborigines never did such things!

However, we are certainly in for Radicalism here. There is the greatest difference between the ordinary political atmosphere to-day and ten years ago. But alas! our University boys, east and west, at Columbia, Yale, Berkeley, and even Washington, became strike breakers. It is so tragic, to my mind. We are bourgeois, I fear.

Our Radicalism will take the direction of municipal ownership, etc., but in some places it will tend—is tending—toward pure Democracy, if we only had no Supreme Court. We'll have to have a revision of the Constitution soon—or revolution.

From the *Seattle Daily Times* we give the following account of Glenn Hoover, who—

PREACHES ANARCHY TO A GRADUATING CLASS.

A plea for Anarchy made by Glenn Hoover in his commencement day oration has stirred up officials of the Seattle public schools, and raised a storm of protest among those who listened to his address. Anarchy was justified by the boy in his discussion of the Russian peasantry and condition of students there.

Hoover is a Hoquiam boy who has made his way through school here. He has sold newspapers, cared for furnaces, and accepted odd jobs that contributed toward his support while he studied. He was one of the two young men chosen by the class to participate in the commencement day exercises.

School authorities deprecate the speech of young Hoover. They call his outburst the bombastic utterances of youth, and claim his blood flows too fast to give him time for serious thinking on important questions. For rhetorical effect, they say, he treated Anarchy with favourable consideration.

JUSTIFIED ANARCHY.

Hoover's oration, as originally written, was filled with a justification of Anarchy. The paper went through the hands of three members of the High School faculty, and most of it was cut out. Young Hoover made a vigorous protest, carrying the question to Principal Geiger, who refused to allow the Anarchist sentiments to go in their entirety, but permitted one paragraph to remain. This paragraph is causing all the trouble.

After treating the story of Russian wrongs with rhetorical flourishes, young Hoover said:

"So they kill rulers in Russia. They shoot them; they dynamite them. The people will direct the affairs of Government. They cannot vote; they strike. They cannot advise; they shoot. The buzz of the bullet is the common language of oppressed humanity, and will be until they force from their oppressors the right to speak and think. From this all rights will follow, for Russia must be free. All Russians are struggling for it, Europe demands it, the twentieth century is calling for it.

"The cause of Russia is the cause of the world. The hopes of the Radical party there are our hopes; its fears are our fears. We are prone to think our Government and our liberties are unassailable, our privileges invulnerable to foreign foes; yet a resourceful, populous, mighty country such as Russia in the complete control of a single, brilliant soldier-tyrant, in a war popular with the masses, might easily defeat all opposition and establish bureaucracy from sea to sea—the Atlantic to the Pacific."

Germany.

The Congress of German Anarchists, expected to be held this summer near Jena, was prohibited by the police. Nevertheless it took place in June—elsewhere. There were twenty-one group delegates, and the first result of their labours was the starting of a new journal—*Revolutionar*—which appeared in July and has become a fortnightly, being published in Berlin. The joint delegates made a declaration of principle and rules for the organisation of a German Anarchist Federation, arranging how its members should be admitted and organised, and deciding to hold a conference every two years.

Weckruf, the German-Swiss Anarchist paper of Zurich, on its side makes an ardent appeal for all workers to follow the example of the French trade unions, and by direct action force employers to yield to the now more or less universal demand for an eight-hour day. For this purpose the *Weckruf* group are arranging propaganda tours through Switzerland, the speeches to be in French and German, so that by May 1, 1906, the Republic shall also be in line with France, and work cease upon the expiration of eight hours. Owing to long and intense propaganda to this effect in the latter country, there is every prospect of Labour winning a glorious victory in this direction when the date arrives, in France at least.

An Appeal

is made on behalf of the family of Comrade MacQueen, who is now serving a term of five years' penal servitude for taking part in the Paterson (New Jersey) silk weavers' strike, which occurred about three years ago. The family of our comrade are in a terrible state of poverty, and assistance is urgently needed at once. A committee has been formed in Leeds, and all subscriptions should be sent as soon as possible to the Secretary, Comrade Arthur Hillman, 54 Samuel Street, Camp Road, Leeds. It is to be hoped that aid will be freely forthcoming, so that our imprisoned comrade may be cheered by the knowledge that those who were dependent on him here are not being allowed to suffer unnecessarily. All moneys received will be acknowledged in *Freedom*.

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