

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

The Fetters of Feudalism.

Some recent articles in the *Daily News* on the land question show clearly how the apathy of the people is taken advantage of by those land sharks called "landlords" to still further tighten their grip on the soil of this free and happy country. It is simply amazing to watch, year after year, the tactics of the rapacious monsters who monopolise the land and hound the wretched rural populations into the misery and degradation of the great cities, there to slave or to starve, and in any case to die as victims of the landlords' greed or the capitalists' exploitation. To call these landlords "monsters" may sound extreme; but let us take the facts and judge by them.

A Duke with 180,000 Acres.

In Northumberland the noble Duke of that ilk "owns"—to use the correct legal phrase—180,000 acres. Perhaps it may be well to observe that this solitary individual possesses in all probability the same appetites as the "average sensual man." He toils not, neither does he spin to any useful purpose; but he owns 180,000 acres of that natural inheritance without which none of us can exist. And in fact his ownership is causing untold misery, starvation, and, it must be added, degradation, to thousands of innocent fellow beings. The *Daily News* says so; not the Anarchists. But is it not monstrous? Judged by the most lenient standards, it is intolerable. He might as reasonably lay claim to 180,000 dinners a day, or 180,000 houses to live in. But then he would be an undisguised monster. By "owning" the land, he is simply a "rapacious landlord"—a distinction without a difference.

The Land to the Labourer.

Why is the land question so much neglected by Labour men, Trade Unionists, and even Socialists? The Small Holdings Act is a mere subterfuge that will eventually play into the hands of the landlords. Cannot these Labour politicians find time to do some honest work, and come out and start an agitation that will really help to clip the claws of the feudal lords? It could be done; and if done without the humbug of politics, and as a direct revolutionary threat against the curse of landlordism, it would bear fruit and show the workers what an uncompromising attitude will obtain. As to what the workers can do with the land when given an opportunity, look at the results just published of the Hollesley Bay experiment. It reads like the first steps in forming the Free Commune!

Nemesis in Glasgow.

The fierce protests of the unemployed in Glasgow may be but the first omen of events that during the coming winter may remind the governing class that their stupid, blind selfishness not only condemns untold thousands to misery and premature death, but that it is possible to reach a point where it may recoil on their own heads. The blatant and hypocritical Town Councillors of Glasgow, who, in face of a starving multitude, could lavish public money and fawn on Royalty, saw something of the anger and indignation that can drive men to desperation even in the face of "fixed bayonets." No matter on what other points we may differ, let us demand as with one voice that if these thousands of victims of capitalism—our fellow countrymen and countrywomen—cannot have work, they shall at least have bread. And this in spite of the jeers of "right honourable" people who eke out a dishonourable existence on £100 a week.

Legal Barbarity.

Julia Dawson deserves all praise for calling attention to the case of Daisy Lord, the poor girl who is now serving a life-sentence, after having been condemned to death for killing her baby whilst in a paroxysm of terror at the thought of its future.

One of the jurymen who convicted her writes to say that the whole process of the law in these cases is "simply barbarity." It is indeed; but why did he not make his protest when deliberating on the verdict? Is there no moral courage left in the land that juries will continue to follow like dumb dogs the cold-blooded legal sophistries of fossilised judges? Time after time these cases occur, and these poor women who deserve the deepest sympathy and need all the aid that can humanely be given them, pass through all the hideous mental and physical torture now being inflicted on Daisy Lord. Here is an opportunity for the Suffragettes to raise their voices in demanding that an end be put to this hideous mockery called "justice." If they are sincere in their demands for "justice to women," now is the time to show it.

Mr. Plowden's Principle.

"Whenever I am satisfied that a man steals bread because he is hungry, I find it very difficult to send that man to prison. The instrument of punishment breaks in one's hand." So said Mr. Plowden in discharging a poor out-o'-work who had stolen a loaf. If Mr. Plowden would follow out this reasoning a little further, and ask himself how it comes about that a man *has* to steal bread because he has no other means of obtaining it, we fancy the "instrument of punishment" would not only break in his hand, but would fall to the ground, never to be taken up again to defend the rich and the well-fed against the rightful claims of the starving and the needy.

Jingo Socialists.

It must be amply clear to most of us by this time that the object of raising a war scare, so far as Hyndman and Blatchford were concerned, was the advertising of their pet idea of a citizen army. No sooner have these two beaten the big drum of Jingoism, accompanied by the Social Democratic sophisms that Hyndman so well knows how to use, than we have the announcement of Will Thorne's Bill for the formation of a citizen army. What a grand stroke of policy! What an advertisement for the S.D.P., whose long-deferred hopes of winning seats in Parliamentary contests may by these means be realised. It is a wretched business on the part of these so-called champions of Socialism. For who does not know that the danger of war is always with us? And what have these men done by their folly to check the intrigues of European financiers? Simply nothing. They have added their cries to the shrieks of the Yellow Press, and disgraced Social Democracy. For, after all, our comrades of *La Guerre Sociale* are right when they say that the only check to the wars of capitalism is the fear of the Social Revolution and the threat of the General Strike.

The Fate of the Congo.

Hamlet thought the play would "touch the conscience of the king." But that was before the days of Leopold. At the present time kings are capitalists, and capitalists are kings—very often. Consequently "conscience" has been a rapidly diminishing quantity in "royal," as it has been in capitalist circles. Any one who could live on the wealth wrung from the horrible tortures of the Congolese can have neither conscience nor feeling left. But the pitiful part of it is that the apathy and indifference of the Belgian people have allowed this great crime to be perpetuated without any protest worthy the name. It seems that when the revolutionary spirit becomes extinct, all manhood dies with it.

THE CARTER APPEAL.

The following sums have been received at this office in response to last month's appeal:—R. C. 6d., T. K. 6d., Anon 1s., T. S. 2s., Collected at Leeds (per A. Goldberg) 6s., R. F. Muirhead 5s., A. B. 1s., J. G. 1s., R. E. O. 1s., Essex 3d., Liverpool Group 2s. 6d., P. Kropotkin 10s.; Total £1 10s. 9d.

SCIENSOCRACY: A NEW SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY.

By C. H. SPENCER.

If it was not for familiarity with the condition of Great Britain at the present time, an impartial observer would be filled with amazement. Never in the known history of the world has there existed a nation wielding such a worldwide influence, inspiring the patriot to say, "It is an empire on which the sun never sets." The march of civilisation has proceeded with tremendous rapidity. Conquest of the earth has hardly kept pace with the progress of learning. The enlargement of the nations' borders concurs with the development of mind. The day of little things has gone, the hour of great things come. The past century may well be regarded as the century of progress, as the century to come will be the century of fruition, when the people of the earth shall enter into the inheritance of greater good that countless ages of evolution have prepared them for.

Review almost any field of human activity and we shall see such progress as is almost inconceivable. This is not only true of the exact sciences, it is also true of those sciences that hitherto have not qualified to be so described. In Physics and Mechanics the growth has been wonderful. The era of Invention brought with it the Industrial Revolution, and the organising of industry in the modern factory. The necessity for distributing the enormous output was the chief incentive to the growth of locomotive engineering, giving impetus to railway development and modern shipping. Then, as if to crystallise the good work so strenuously begun, the school of economics that was to rule the world's commerce taught that if goods were cheap they would circulate freely of their own effort, all would have plenty, and we would enter upon an era of universal prosperity. "Buy in the cheapest market, sell in the dearest." That was the doctrine of the Manchester School, the old Manchester School, that in the near future will succumb to the teaching of the new Manchester School—the School of Sciensocracy to be established in the interest of scientific social activity.

Notwithstanding the marvellous march of civilisation; notwithstanding the enormous growth of wealth and the power of production; notwithstanding the ever-increasing quantity of produce of factory and forge, we are face to face with problems more serious, more dangerous than hitherto the nations have ever known.

Whilst the various sciences have continued day by day to excel themselves, there is one notable exception, a science that can hardly be said to have progressed at all. This is the science of social economy. It is true we have had a political economy, but hitherto it has contented itself with critical and analytical examinations of the functions of capital and labour, methods of distribution and exchange, taxation, and things of a like order; but it had never attempted, nor even suggested, a method whereby the entire human family may be rendered secure in those necessities of life which are essential for the highest welfare of humanity. To-day, therefore, as a result of this negligence, we find the people divided into two classes, the "Haves" and the "Have-nots," these in their turn propagating as a direct growth an idle class of loungers at the apex of society, another at the base; the former immorally vitiated by over-indulgence, the latter impoverished by want of the barest necessities.

We have been told by the very best authorities that a tenth of the people of Great Britain exist in a condition of chronic want. The late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Keir Hardie, representing the four sections of party politics, have each given more or less prominence to the fact. Of the four, only the last has faced the issue with any real effort to find a solution. The late Premier confessed that he had no cure, Mr. Balfour made a similar confession, whilst Mr. Chamberlain thought a remedy could be found in rearranging our system of taxation. Mr. Hardie's remedy is Socialism, which I shall show in its proper place to be quite incapable of giving a satisfactory solution to this most difficult of problems.

The condition of the people at the present time is terrible to contemplate. Never before has such utter degradation existed side by side with refinement and learning. With the machine came the division of the classes and the exploitation of industry. As modern civilisation grew, the division became more acute, whilst great riches existed side by side with utter poverty. As the years go by the trend of the times is for the rich to grow richer and fewer, whilst the poor grow poorer and more numerous. If Sciensocracy is not accepted by the country, the

division must continue until the wage-slaves revert to a condition of slavery that will be worse than any slavery the world has ever known; but Sciensocracy has come, and is capable of doing for the human family what mechanical science has done for locomotion. It will accelerate the rate of human progress, give the world a new ideal, and set the nations upon a new course in the direction of the entire regeneration of the human race.

The evil of which I complain is not a peculiarity of this day or any other, of this nation or any other. It has been the condition of the people, with varying fortunes, at all times, in every land professing civilisation. Whilst to-day we are told that thirteen millions exist in a state of almost chronic want, General Booth sixteen years ago told us that one-tenth of the people were submerged. Forty-six years ago Thomas Carlyle wrote that "the condition of England is one of the most ominous ever seen in this world. Of our skilful workers two million sit in workhouses, twelve hundred thousand workers in England alone, their cunning right hand lame, lying idle in their sorrowful bosom, glad to be imprisoned, so that they may not perish starved. So many hundred thousand sit in workhouses, and other hundred thousands have not even these." At that day there were 1½ million paupers in England and Wales alone. In 1830 the poor rate was 10s. 9d. per head. In 1760, with a population of seven millions, £1,250,000 was paid in poor rate. Henry VIII. left a legacy of pauperism. When Elizabeth ascended the throne, she inherited great discontent and misery of her subjects. Pauperism, we are told, was then a permanent evil, and legal measures were taken for its relief. The Peasants' Revolt of 1381, led by Wat Tyler, emanated out of the poverty of the workers.

Not only in England do we find this mass of poverty with its dangers to all citizens, but in France the same conditions existed—the first revolution was a bread-and-butter revolution. In Germany, Russia, America, and Australia similar phenomena are found. It is said by many that these unfortunates are such by their own fault. Sciensocracy will tell another tale and show that they are the result of the unscientific methods of government which obtain in all civilised countries; that by the application of science the entire fabric of the social body may be restored to health, strength, and prosperity.

I shall show that the evils afflicting the nations are not due to the degradation of the people, for the people are instinctively good, they are not inherently depraved, the soul of humanity is noble; but that they are due to the existence of the various Governments that cause the depravity of certain classes.

Reformers of all times have aspired to restore the people to a state of prosperity, but have been defeated by the futility of their own methods. The passing of the Reform Act of 1832 was received with tremendous rejoicing; it was thought that now, at last, if there was any genius in the people, it would manifest itself at the polls. It has not been discovered even to-day, except by a few, that the vote then given was an illusive one, possessing no real value; in fact, it was not given, and is not now given to men, but to property. So Parliament after Parliament is elected, Governments rise and fall, but the condition of the people is not improved. If Government, Parliament, and the Franchise were the machinery by which social salvation was to be obtained, surely it would have been found before this. The fact is that neither the Government nor Parliament are capable of bringing about the change all reformers hope to see. Government exists for other reasons than the regeneration of the human race.

The institution of Government was devised in days of barbarism, before the days of science, by conquering kings whose trade was war, to keep the conquered subjected. There was no other reason for their existence. Any Government existing to-day is only the old institution "lasting on." In those far-off days the soldier class imposed themselves upon the peasants and made them work as slaves or otherwise, but mostly slaves. Their motive was to live without working. By swearing allegiance, the vanquished were granted some liberties and privileges. Traders had the Court appointments, a special concession granted by which they made money, using it to step out of their class, accepting or buying a title; in a word, joining the ranks of the one-time conquerors, and being with them and of them. All life and activity, therefore, centred around the Court, for there was wealth, learning, refinement. If any man desired to improve his station, it was necessary to court the favour of the soldier class. The ideal of the soldier then, as now, was to escape labour, hence all who aspired to join the ranks of the dominant class were imbued with a like ideal. As the soldier dominated, so the soldier's ideal reigned supreme, and became the ideal of all men. Hence we find in every land the

prevailing aspiration is to escape labour by shifting the burden on to other shoulders. The fact that the soldier class has for many ages maintained its advantage does not invalidate the means whereby they imposed themselves; any nation to-day dominated by this class, as all nations are, manifests a civilised form of the ancient barbarism. No conquered people can be kept in subjection except by force. The monarch, as a rule, relegated this office, an unpleasant one, to other appointed persons, who became in course of time a Government. Then an interplay of politics took place between subject and subjector, the subjects themselves became divided—those who aspired to join the conqueror by gaining privileges, or who had already surrendered, and those who, assenting to their subjection, yet hoped and endeavoured to gain greater liberties. These two sections formed the Conservative and Liberal parties that exist in some form but under different names in all lands. The former was and is the ruler's party, the latter the people's party, who, assenting to their subjection, sought liberal reform of the condition of their subjection. This interplay resulted in the granting of a Constitution whereby the people were supposed to have a voice in the affairs of State. In a word, they were given the semblance of power whilst it was carefully retained.

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

WOMAN'S WORK FOR HUMAN FREEDOM.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR SIR,—I have no wish to occupy the pages of FREEDOM, yet I should like to call the attention of the author of "Woman's Work for Human Freedom" to the paragraph on page 58 where he suggests that soldiers and officers of the Army should be treated in a hostile manner on account of their profession. I do not see why soldiers should be singled out for punishment. It may be practicable, but it appears to me to be very unjust, and opposed to the sense of solidarity.

How, for instance, can Co-operators refuse the hand of fellowship to soldiers whilst at the same time they are supplying them with food (at a profit)? How also can the Syndicalists and Industrial Unionists exclude soldiers from their organisations, as they propose, when they also are serving them with clothing? The Co-operators, it is calculated, do about a quarter of the whole trade in flour, and some of it must find its way to the Army; and in those towns where large Army contracts are placed for cloth, the Industrial Unionist in that trade must be very well aware for what purpose his labour is engaged. How, then, can his responsibility be less than that of the soldier he is helping to clothe and feed? It seems to me that we are all responsible, and that there is no escape from it.

Clearly, then, there is no way for us but to accept and acknowledge our responsibility by adopting an attitude of solidarity and forgiveness towards the individual, and a militant attitude towards those institutions of society which are based upon individual interest and against the common good.—Yours sincerely,

A. H. HOLT.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

COMRADE,—Perhaps you will allow me to take exception to a part of the article on "Woman's Work for Human Freedom" which appeared in last month's issue. Says the writer, "N.": "Other problems are near, like that of war. Let these meetings declare that women henceforth will consider soldiers and officers as they would consider murderers who had killed or were preparing to kill their own children—for they intend to kill the sons of mothers in other countries, and foreign soldiers intend to kill their own sons. Where is the difference? Murderers all! Women should therefore cease all social relations with soldiers and officers—make them feel the isolation of the anti-social beings they are." I will go the length of admitting that all soldiers are hired assassins; but are they so by choice, or are they compelled to be such by their economic conditions? Would it not be just as reasonable for "N." to say that women should isolate all wage-slaves who aid and abet the capitalist class in their murder of women and children in hundreds of thousands in their mills, factories, and workshops? Does not every wage-slave to-day aid the masters in his own and other's destruction, in a lesser or greater degree—in more destruction of life than is caused by war? Do these wage-slaves do this because they like destroying life? No! but because they are compelled by necessity to sell their labour power to any one who will purchase it, whether it destroys or saves life.

I say, as an Anarchist, the whole system, root and branch, is damnable and murderous. Then why specially single out a section for execution? I hold no watching brief for murderers of any kind; but let us use some reason in our teachings. Just fancy for a moment millions of men being isolated from intercourse with women for years at a time. Just imagine what would be the consequences of such an action. Has our comrade a wife, daughters, sisters? If he has, and if he does not want horrible outrages worse than death perpetrated upon them, I should advise him to desist from such foolish, wicked teachings.

It would be better to educate the parents in the coming class struggle and advise them to teach their sons to refuse to fire on their own class when labour disputes arise; and also to educate women to inoculate soldiers with a horror of their profession, to leave it at the earliest possible moment, and in the meantime to fraternise with the enemy whenever there is an opportunity, instead of showing the savage instinct which they have shown in past wars.

Look at the subject again from the revolutionary point. A Russian Prince speaking recently of the revolutionary spirit of the Russian Navy, said: "These men are bitterly opposed to us. We have nothing in common with them. Their sympathies are with the people, and when the people's cause becomes more popular, they will join with the people." And yet our comrade would put an unnatural punishment upon such men.

There are thousands of women and children engaged in the manufacture of instruments of destruction. "N." does not advocate the stoppage of their manufacture, a step which appears to me to be necessary before attempting to sever the link between women and soldiers. "N." does not take into consideration the great difficulty there is for men to find jobs nowadays. Once they are out, they are likely to stop out, old or young. Therefore the Services offer better conditions permanently than private employers, and for this reason women will be drawn more and more to the armed forces, as there will be a better prospect of the men being able to keep them. You might as well ask the housemaids to sweep back the waves of the sea as advocate isolation of the troops by women.—Fraternally yours,

THE IRISH REBEL.

REVOLUTIONARY BREAD.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

SIR,—In a note in the August number of FREEDOM we had a remark from John Turner in support of the contention of Kropotkin that "Communism in consumption must be the first step, not the final one, in any revolutionary attempt." And Turner very happily refers to such a step as "The Next Meal." Few, I think, will quarrel with this conclusion, seeing how much and how often we have had it forced upon us. What we are more likely to differ about is as to how the next meal may be secured.

Thanks to the Anarchical Anti-Corn-Law Leaguers, many of whose utterances against the law make our own seem quite tame, bread to-day is cheap. What we require is to organise and control it, so as to make it available for support in time of need; to convert it, in a word, into revolutionary bread. By first turning it into Co-operative bread, this becomes a possibility. The Co-operative movement already controls a great proportion of the milling and flour trade of this country. The movement is commonly spoken of as numbering two and a half millions of members. Several large towns in the North of England—Preston, Blackburn, Burnley, Bolton, and Rochdale—are for the greatest part connected with the Co-operative societies. The figures were recently published, as far as they could be arrived at. Other places, I am aware, are not so well connected, but this need not affect what I have here to propose.

My proposal is this, that these two and a half millions of members should insist on having Co-operative bread. This would place practically the whole flour trade of the country in the hands and control of the working classes, ready at any moment when occasion required it to be converted into Revolutionary Bread. I mean by this, bread that might, through the enormous savings of the working classes, be placed at the disposal of those engaged in a revolutionary attempt, such as a general strike, which, as previous experiences have shown, is useless folly unless the next meal is assured.

In setting forth this proposal, what I have had in view is our industrial population. I have made no allusion to our peasantry, as I have no wish at this point to bring forward anything that may bring upon us a charge of lawlessness. Zola has saved us from that long ago, where he points out (in his "La Terre") to the French peasant that the only solution to the land question lies in keeping back the produce of the soil.

What I have here proposed requires neither any special effort nor self-sacrifice. It transgresses no law, and requires no law for its sanction and support. It requires no women's votes, but only their domestic support, of whom twenty thousand are already connected with the societies through the Co-operative Women's Guilds.—Yours sincerely,

A. H. HOLT.

ANARCHISM.

By DR. PAUL ELTZBACHER. Translated by S. T. BYINGTON.

With Seven Portraits.

An impartial and unbiassed study and analysis of the doctrines of the leading Anarchists of the world from Godwin downwards, with extensive extracts from their works. This is perhaps the best survey of the subject yet written. The contents embrace:—1. The Problem. 2. Law, the State, and Property. 3. Godwin's Teaching. 4. Proudhon's Teaching. 5. Stirner's Teaching. 6. Bakunin's Teaching. 7. Kropotkin's Teaching. 8. Tucker's Teaching. 9. Tolstoy's Teaching. 10. The Anarchistic Teachings.

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Socialism and Social Democracy.

The necessity of thoroughly revising what is taught as Socialism to the working men begins to be felt more and more in Europe, even in the Social Democratic circles.

It may be asked whether such a necessity really exists while we see on the one hand a continual growth in the number of votes given at elections to Social Democratic candidates, and on the other hand a so-called "diffusion of Socialism" going on, reaching new circles which formerly were hostile to these ideas.

However, the very fact that an increase in votes given to Social Democrats and a few experiments in Governmental capitalism are taken for a diffusion of the Socialist idea constitutes in our eyes a real danger.

Let us take a concrete example. Parliament has lately voted in favour of old-age pensions being paid by the State, and the Ministry of Clemenceau in France has voted the State purchase of the French Great Western Railway; and these two steps were represented in the middle-class papers as "Socialistic" laws. It may be thought, perhaps, that the Social Democrats in England, France, and elsewhere have protested against this view and said that it is absolutely incorrect. They surely have shown, we may think, that the middle-class Cabinets of Asquith and Clemenceau were and are Cabinets *opposed to Socialism*, and that they have remained true to their mission—that of erecting obstacles to the coming of Socialism, by means of a system of legislation which paralyses it. The Social Democratic leaders, it may be believed, have surely demonstrated that these laws are part of a whole system adopted now by the middle classes of Europe, which system is *to hold back the Socialistic movements of Labour, and to strengthen in the meantime the forces of the middle classes*.

Well, they have done nothing of the sort! On the contrary, for the last thirty years working men have been taught that the buying out of railways by the State, the establishment of a State monopoly in banking or in the sale of spirits, are laws "with a Socialist tendency." And this has been repeated so often for the last thirty years that the working man is beginning to think now that, after all, Democracy, State Capitalism, and Socialism are one and the same thing. Remain a Democrat and you will turn a Socialist against your own will, like this dreamer, Balfour, or that poor Clemenceau, who—if we are to believe the Social Democrats—have turned "Socialists" without noticing it.

Others may add to these unconscious "Socialists" the Russian Czar. He, too, has allowed the State to buy out all the Great Western, Great Eastern, and Great Northern Railways of Russia, and now he uses the income of these "nationalised" railways (in good society they call that "nationalisation") to massacre his subjects. As to the ensuing deficits of the State railways, they are covered with loans concluded by the State Exchequer at 7 per cent. interest and 10 per cent. commission for the bankers. In Germany they include among these "Socialists" the crafty old Bismarck, who, long before the innocent Asquith, introduced old-age pensions, supported from the State Exchequer.

All "Socialists"! And the working men have only to let the middle classes do as they like. "Socialism"—the wiseacres say—"will come of itself."

It certainly has happened to all of us in our Anarchist and Socialist propaganda to say that everything in our present society

contributes to bring about at a given moment the Social Revolution. The growth of the productive powers of man, the development of his feelings of equality—nay, even the wars which the middle classes of different States wage against each other for the conquest of markets—all these things work in the same direction. Undoubtedly so. Only—under one fundamental condition: that of not letting ourselves be deceived by the middle classes. That of knowing whither we are going, of never forgetting the aim of Socialism; which is the *abolition*, and not the *maintenance*, of the exploitation of man by man.

If this comprehension of our aim disappears, the nations and the classes may massacre each other as much as they like, our industry may increase a hundredfold its producing powers, gigantic Trusts may come into existence, multi-millionaires' fortunes may be made or spent—we shall not have the Social Revolution, nor shall we have advanced one step towards it.

The time has come for putting an end once for all to this masquerade of Democrats disguised as Socialists, or else Socialism is in danger of being dissolved in middle-class craft.

It is high time to say that *Social Democracy and Socialism are two different things*. Being a compromise between Labour Socialism and bourgeois Individualism, Social Democracy necessarily tends to maintain, to perpetuate the right of the rich to exploit the poor. It only tries to soften the forms of this exploitation, leaving the future to abolish it one day or another—that is, if society does not perish before then, as has already happened with many societies in Egypt, Greece, Rome, and so on. But precisely because Social Democracy tends to maintain exploitation, divested of its most disgusting features and slightly mitigated for one small part of the exploited, Social Democracy is a *soporific against Socialism* which gives time to the middle classes to forge the arms to repulse its demands.

It is also high time to say that what was described as a "diffusion of Socialist ideas" is nothing but a diffusion in middle-class circles of the middle-class idea that it is desirable to share with a small portion of the working men a very small fraction of the immense wealth accumulated during these last thirty years. This, they begin to see now, is a sure means to *divide the working class among itself*, by taking into the intermediate class of bourgeois working men and the working men bureaucracy a certain number of the exploited ones, and thus to create a Fourth Estate which will help to keep the remainder of the workers under capitalist rule.

It is time to say that to represent certain slight improvements in factory life and workmen's dwellings as a step towards Socialism, is simply to deceive the working men. Because there is not one middle-class business man who would not know perfectly well that while they thus increase the productive power of their employees, they do not diminish in the least the lion's share of the capitalist. They only make it surer and better protected.

And finally, to appropriate to the present middle-class State all the machinery of circulation on the railways, all the banking, and so on, is to increase by that much the force of which the State disposes already for the protection of the capitalist. All these turn *against* the working man—not in his favour. It has just been seen in a terrible way in Russia, and a few years ago it was demonstrated in Italy.

These reasons and many others of a more theoretical character bring us to the conclusion that the time has fully arrived to revise the so-called Socialist programmes, and to see what of true Socialism has remained in these compromise-programmes; and to eliminate from them all the theoretical and practical sophisms which the cunning of the middle classes has introduced into them.

Books Received.

What I Believe. By Emma Goldman. 5 cents. New York: 210 East 13th Street.

"Due Process of Law." By Theodore Schroeder. No price stated. New York: Free Speech League, 120 Lexington Avenue.

"Socialistic" Quackery! By Fred Howard. 1d. London: Hendersons, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

This pamphlet is well worth reading. The author says that "Communism is *Real* Socialism, and is the only system which can assure complete liberty for all and slavery for none." "Direct Action alone can save you."

Influencia del Anarquismo. By Rufino Asenjo del Río. No price stated. Buenos Aires: Buen Orden 1410.

AMERICAN NOTES.

DEAR COMRADES,—

The fraternity on this side of the pond have determined to issue a weekly along the lines of your *Voice*, to be called *The Labor Agitator*. The writer, having had fifteen years' experience as a Labor agitator, has been selected as editor. We have been standing too far away from the laborer, and our platform has been upon altogether too high an elevation. The worker has not been able to hear us, and when he did hear he generally did not understand. We've been talking over his head. We must bring the propaganda down to the level of the everyday man on the street corner. In this country, where we have no outdoor propaganda, we have been too academic. Anyway, we are unfortunate in having very few working people as propagandists—those who understand the people they talk to. Our speakers and writers have been, and are, foreigners and middle-classes, who cannot enter into the life and understand the American workman. When we shall have a set of trained American workers as propagandists, we will begin to have an American movement. Thus far it is purely "foreign," and is rightly so regarded by the American.

If you say the Tucker movement is American, and that it does not flourish, I say the Tucker movement is a purely intellectual movement, while life is emotional; therefore Tuckerism cannot flourish. I understand Tucker has left the country for good, and will settle in France. He says he can live there more economically. That is not the sort of American we want; we need men who will stay at home and fight for the freedom of their country. I don't blame Tucker for deserting; his country treated him shamefully. After twenty-five years of able effort he has nothing to show. Tucker's failure, however, is not the failure of Tucker; it's the failure of his philosophy. Evolution is not moving toward Individualism; she has turned the other way, and is now heading for Communism, and all the reasoning of a million Tuckers will not change her course. Since the doctrine of Individualism has made no impression on the most individualistic people in the world, it is significant that its high priest has moved to Communistic France.

We are going to have a lively time in this country from now till November 1. Barrels of money will be spent on "education." You slow-moving Englishmen cannot imagine what an election campaign means in this lively country. Each party employs an army of "spellbinders." These silver-tongued orators harangue the innocent public until it is black in the face. The voters are promised everything under the sun if they will only vote for the right party. Thousands of tons of literature are distributed. The newspapers devote pages of their space each day hammering the opposition and glorifying the favorite party. All the candidates are at once the greatest scoundrels and the most virtuous of men; it depends on which paper you pick up first. Concert-hall artists are employed and music engaged to entertain the mob and make its mind receptive for the "dope" the orators inject into it when the show is over. Everywhere one looks lithographs of the candidates are to be seen. The bill-boards, shop windows, public-houses, private residences, all display the manly, intellectual, sympathetic features of the men who would serve the public will. Torchlight processions are a very imposing and impressive means of propaganda.

There are many parties, but only two big ones. All the others are babes. The fight is between the Republican Party, the party of plutocracy, because it is the party in power, and the Democratic Party, which is liberal, because it is not in power.

Taft, the Republican candidate, is the creature of Roosevelt. When "Teddy" came into office, Taft was a U.S. district judge, with the record of being the first judge to apply the writ of injunction to a Labor Union. Roosevelt made him Governor of the Philippines, and later took him into the Cabinet as Secretary of War. The President then used all the power of his office, and forced the party to nominate his 300 lb. baby.

President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, tried to get the party to put a plank in its platform forbidding the use of the injunction in labor disputes, but it refused.

Bryan, the Democratic candidate, made the race twice before, and went down to defeat. As Roosevelt dictated the Republican platform, so Bryan wrote that of the Democrats. Gompers's plank was adopted in a modified form, and the Federation of Labor is thus pledged to support Bryan. Bryan is the foremost orator in America, and he has spoken to more people than any other living man. In his two previous campaigns he made over eleven hundred speeches. He has a wonderful vitality; he never tires. Between elections he is in great demand as a lecturer, and makes 25,000 dollars a year speaking.

He may win this year. It sometimes happens that the money bags are beaten. The Republicans are on the defensive this election; they have the panic to explain away, a task that may be too much for them. Of course, it makes no difference which party is returned, as there are no vital issues at stake.

Bryan has announced that he will not accept contributions from corporations, and not more than 10,000 dollars from any individual. He will turn over all the profits from his weekly, the *Commoner*, to the election fund; and before the election will publish a list of contributors. There is no law governing election contributions here, except that in New York State there is a publicity law. It came out during the investigation of the insurance companies some time ago that the officials of each company had contributed regularly to the election

funds, 50,000 dollars at a whack. It has never been estimated the amount the big corporations contribute.

The only other party of interest to you is, of course, the Socialist Party, or properly parties, for there are two—the old Socialist Labor Party and the new Socialist Party. The former, for more than twenty years under the leadership of the brilliant dogmatist, De Leon, formerly a Professor of Political Economy at Columbia University, is fast falling into decay, and has only a couple of thousand followers left; while the S.P., less strict in its doctrine, is growing fast. It was organized ten years ago by Debs, who had just become a convert to Socialism, and others who had been drummed out of the S.L.P. by De Leon. Debs has been the candidate for President at each election. In 1900 he polled 97,000, and in 1904 he got 408,000 votes. This large increase of votes was not due to a corresponding increase in the number of Socialists. Great numbers of Democrats voted for Debs as a protest against their own party, which had put up a Conservative candidate. The Socialists claim a million for this election. I doubt if they will far exceed the vote of 1904. They are soliciting funds for a special train to carry their campaigners about the country. Such a train would cost 20,000 dollars.

Debs is a very good campaigner. Although not an orator in the strict sense of the word, he is a very convincing talker. Tall and slightly stooped, he strides from one side of the platform to the other, waves his long arms in the air, and pours out upon his hearers words that go to the heart. No man I know can paint the picture of Labor crucified on the cross of gold in more glowing colours. Debs is a profoundly sincere man, a poet rather than a politician; that is why he can reach the hearts of his hearers. He is the most popular Labor agitator in America. The Socialists idolise him as the modern Moses. Popular as he is, he will leave no impression on his party or his age. He lacks moral courage. He is too tractable in the hands of his party managers.

Speaking of our own movement, let me say that, judging from the reception our comrade Emma Goldman received during her recent trip, the prospects for the immediate future are very encouraging. I do not think her success has been altogether due to the increased popularity of Anarchism. She attained very much notoriety in Chicago, where the chief of police had shot to death a Jewish boy, recently from Russia. The shooting took place in the chief's house, where he claimed the boy had come to murder him. The chief told a doubtful story about the killing, and was condemned by conservative people for not arresting the boy instead of shooting him. The police pretended there was an Anarchist plot to kill their chief, and raided the comrades' club and confiscated their library, which was afterwards returned. They would not let Emma speak, and dragged her from the platform, when she did succeed in getting a hall, before she had a chance to say a word. She left Chicago without holding a meeting, and the notoriety she received aroused the curiosity of the people in other cities, with the result that she had well-attended meetings during the remainder of her trip. Emma has for many years been the only travelling lecturer. She has been hailed by the sensational press as the "leader" and the "Queen" of the Anarchists. As a consequence, she is the most widely known Anarchist in America. The *New York World* recently gave her a page of its Sunday edition, decorated with her picture, in which she told her readers "What I believe." Such an event would be impossible to any other Anarchist. There is an odour of sensation attached to Emma's name; that's why the *World* was so generous.

Some Socialists have as excuse for their political work that the people are interested in public questions at election times. We have decided to test the truth of that assertion by increasing our activities this year. The writer will take the "stump" as a "campaign orator." When all the spouters are urging the people to "Vote! Vote! Vote!" why would not the latter be anxious to hear at least one person who says "Don't!"? I will endeavour to cover the whole country, using my Union Labor connections as far as possible in furthering our cause. At the completion of the trip the *Labor Agitator* will appear, and stretch its youthful arm across the broad Atlantic to greet its elder brother FREEDOM.—Fraternally,

JAY FOX.

190 Clinton Street, New York, July 31.

P.S.—The subscription price will be 1 dollar a year; half-yearly, 50 cents (2s.); one or two extra copies to one address at half rates; in bundles of ten, 1 cent a copy. All subscriptions and communications should be sent to the editor at above address.

COMRADES GOING TO CANADA

are advised that there is an English-speaking group in Montreal—the "Freedom Group," care of Lazarus's Book Store, 480 St. Lawrence Boulevard.

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THE RICH AND THE POOR.

By VICTOR HUGO.

To the Rich.

The poor cry to the rich for bread. The slaves cry to their masters. I, too, am one of this great multitude; let my voice ring in the ears of the powerful as a mighty storm.

Who am I? One of the people!

Whence do I come? From the unlimited depths!

What is my name? Misery!

Hear me, O you rich! Unto you I will speak. You have high positions in society; you have power, riches, and luxury. The sun of your prosperity never sets. You have absolute authority, you alone are fortunate; but you think not of the great army of hungry and unfortunate. But forget not, sires, there exists yet a thing in the world which is above you and your happiness: there still exists a mankind.

I came out of the depths, so that the ring of my words should make you tremble. You are rich, you are powerful, and you use your power. But tremble, tremble! There exists a power which is greater than yours. This is the power of the coming morn. The day is coming; the sky glitters with a blood-red hue. You cannot keep back the dawn. She comes! she comes! Woe unto the world! You are the dark clouds of privilege. Shudder! tremble! The real masters knock at your palace gates.

Who is the father of privilege? Chance! Who is the son? Force! But chance and force will not exist for ever. A fearful morn will arise for them.

I have come to destroy your fortune, for your happiness is built upon the misery and the pain of others. Your paradise is built upon the hell of the poor. I have come to open the great judgment of the poor over the rich. I am sent by the "masters" who are "slaves," by the "judges" who are "criminals." How shall I begin with the prosecution? How? how? I have collected an enormous store of material against you, but I can only throw a few particles into your face.

I am a diver, and in the sea bottom I have found a pearl—truth. I speak because I know, for I have had experience. I have seen. What? Suffering? No; that word is too mild. Want? I was brought up in it. Winter? I have experienced frost and cold. Scorn? I myself have borne it. Disease? I have been ill. Shame? I was borne in it. No! I have felt the necessity of coming to you. You should see me in my rags. You should see me in my misery.

Let the well-fed hear the voice of hunger.

Forsaken, an orphan, alone in the boundless world, I came into the night of your society. The first thing I perceived was law, the scaffold, the bloody symbol of your government. The second was wealth—your wealth. . . . and an old woman who perished in the street from hunger and cold. The third was luxury—your golden rings and chains; and then I saw a man with pale face, and rings and chains on his hands and feet, buried in the darkness of the prison. And the fourth was your palaces, which hide with their great dark shadows the stony bed of a homeless vagabond.

You have made from men a band of slaves and criminals; you have changed the world into a vast prison, without air, without light, without freedom. You enjoy the fruits of energetic work, and the producers starve and die in misery and want. Children of eight and ten years are prostitutes, and at twenty, destitute and afflicted, they descend into the black grave.

The poor have cried to you in their need, but you have not heard. Ah! yes; I know you. You are devils born in hell. You are dogs with stony hearts. Since the beginning of the world you have sat on your golden thrones. You have heard the sigh of the weary, the cry of the hungry, and the moan of despair; but you felt no sympathy or concern for the poor and wretched.

Tremble, tyrants! the day of judgment is near. Finger-nails, though you may cut them, will grow again; and tongues of fire, carried by the storm, are shrieking through the universe. The hungry are showing their teeth. The paradise you built upon the hell of the poor is breaking. The damned and the outcasts are hurrying through the streets, and from the ashes of destruction the new race will appear.

The beginning of the end has come. The flames of the revolution are already colouring the sky. To hell with this cursed society! The real society will emerge from the destruction. Then there will be no masters, but free and happy people. Not riches for individuals, but wealth and plenty for all. People will kiss one another as brothers.

This is the future! No degradation, no ignorance, no riches, but freedom, happiness, and light.

To the Poor.

Shall I now speak to the poor, after I have spoken in vain to the rich? Yes; I believe that it is necessary also to say a few words to the poor. Listen then, you poor, you sufferers of hunger, you children of misery. Listen to me; it is not much I have got to tell you. Before all else, remember this: be careful with your cursed mouths.

There is a rule for the rich—not to act; and a rule for the poor—

not to speak. The poor man has got only one friend—this is silence. All your language shall be constructed of this short word "Yes." Always say "Yes, yes"; this is your sole and only right. Be patient and starve to death, but do not forget to say "Yes." Say "Yes" to the judge who condemns you when you are innocent; say "Yes" to the king who enslaves and tyrannises over you. Say three times "Yes" to the bourgeois who sucks the marrow of your bones and the blood of your veins. It is the right of the mighty to belabour us with blows, and it is our right . . . to receive them.

One thing you must never forget: the rich will not lose of their wealth when they break our bones. Therefore we must always say "Yes, yes." Let us praise the rods which serve to strike us, the first one of which is the kingly sceptre. If a poor man finds himself happy in his poverty, then he must be a criminal, for he has no right to be happy. Only the rich may be happy, as it is their right. A rich man, though young, has the right of an old man; and though he may be old, has the chance of youth. When he is cruel and mean, he enjoys the admiration of all good people; and if he is an idler, he steals the fruits of labour.

There is a large waggon. In the waggon sit the rulers, and underneath the wheels lay the people. The wise manage to elude the danger. The people battle—for whom? The people pay—for whom?

The people strive for the glorification of the kings. The people pay for the title and pleasure of the great and mighty, and . . . the people are happy to be rich in this way.

The poor give their masters and exploiters a gold piece, and the exploiters give them back a farthing; and the poor are grateful for this "gift," and wonder at the graciousness of the rich. What good and gentle people the rich are, after all; what great, pitiful hearts beat in their breasts!

"Do you see that little individual there on high—on the point of society's steeple?" "Certainly we see him; see how great he is and . . . how insignificant are we."

"But why is he higher than we?" "Because he sits upon our backs."

That little person has discovered a remarkable method of becoming greater than the giant, by climbing upon his shoulders. But, that the giant is content to be downtrodden, that is the worst thing. That he wonders at the pretended greatness of the little one, who is great because the giant carries him, this is the greatest foolishness of the world's history.

When a statue is raised to a king, he is usually seated upon a horse. The charging king is the truest symbol of sovereignty. But the capitalist, who steals from the worker the fruit of his labour, also deserves such a statue, for he is as much a king as the man of blood.

The horse is the people. The king mounts alone upon its back. Therefore he is greater than the horse, greater than all.

But the horse is not always the same; it changes sometimes. At first it is a patient donkey, and at the last it becomes a fierce lion. Then it throws its rider to the ground, as it did in England in 1643, and in France in 1789. Sometimes it annihilates the rider, as it did in England in 1649, and in France in 1793. But how the lion managed to become once more a donkey, this is the great riddle of mankind, this is the saddest fact in history.

But why do I speak of sad facts? Is it not well to turn out so? Is it not fortunate that the lion has become an ass? Oh! what a happy feeling it must be once more to be ridden, downtrodden, whipped, and starved! What happiness to be forced from that foolish belief that cake is not bad, and that life is something different to misery!

Can there be a more nonsensical idea than freedom? Imagine what would happen if every blockhead would govern himself. What would become of the world if every vagabond would have his human rights? Can you imagine a town governed by its inhabitants? The inhabitants may be the horses, but never the driver.

How fortunate it is for the poor that God has sent the rich to take all the responsibilities upon themselves. We must be thankful that they have taken the trouble of ruling us. Besides, the rich were born to rule; they understand their business, as ruling is their profession.

We cannot live without leaders. Leaders are necessary. As we are poor, we are ignorant; and while we are ignorant we are blind; and because we are blind we must have leaders. But why are we ignorant? Because it is the will of God. And do not forget that "ignorance is bliss." One who is ignorant is irresponsible of everything. It is not our business to think, wish, or judge. This is an unquestionable truth.

What is society? Misery for you, and happiness for others. Therefore be reasonable, poor man. Beg and be patient, for you were born to be a slave. Not to be a slave demands courage, and courage is a very precious thing which is scarce among you, O poor.—*Translated by N. FLOSHANSKY.*

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THE DEATH PENALTY.

How is it that Anarchists, while denouncing the death penalty, yet reserve to themselves the right to inflict it in times of revolt and insurrection?

We know that the criminal is irresponsible; that he is merely the result of the environment which has formed him; that the death penalty does not check crime, since it fails to strike at the causes of crime. It becomes, therefore, only a second crime imposed on the first, without the excuse of cause or reason.

The privileged, the capitalist, and ruling classes exercise the right of life and death over the workers and the poor. They think nothing of sacrificing innumerable lives in defence of their own interests or the preservation of their privileges. How many workers succumb through accidents caused by the negligence or avarice of their employers; how many sink while still young through overwork; how many children die of hunger; how many young people, doomed to labour in unhealthy buildings and workshops, die yearly through anæmia, wasting diseases, consumption! It would take an eternity to number the victims of the governing class.

If, weary of this misery, worn out by tyranny and suffering, the exploited, longing for relief, give vent to a murmur of revolt; if, throwing off the oppressive yoke, they make their voice heard, instantly from every side a thousand rifles are raised in menace.

Then the question arises, Have we the right to put an end to those who, in order to force us back to obedience and misery, never scruple to fire upon us? Surely the question answers itself. The first instinct is to seize a rifle, any weapon, and use it against those who are about to use theirs against us.

If at a street corner an individual confronts and threatens me with a weapon, it is natural, time permitting, that I endeavour to strike the first blow before being maimed or killed myself. Equally natural is it, therefore, on a day of revolt, to act in a similar manner when forced to face the guns of our masters.

We want to be quit of our misery, to regain our freedom, to enjoy the right of happiness and well-being—who denies that such are the right of all and not of a privileged class only? When, in order to prevent our enjoyment of common prerogatives, we are opposed by machine-guns, to arm and defend ourselves, even to attack, is also our right, since all means of defence are equally denied us.

The privileged class with its partisans being the cause of all our ills, to strike back becomes an act of utility, because we attack the cause of misery, the origin of the death penalty.

—*Germinal* (Amiens), June, 1908.

Regicides Who Were Not Anarchists.

As it is now the fashion to stigmatise as "Anarchist" all acts of violence directed against rulers, it may be well to note the following historic facts.

The Gunpowder Plot of 1605 was an attempt on the part of devout Roman Catholics to blow up King James I. and his Parliament.

In 1610 Henry IV. of France was assassinated by a Roman Catholic fanatic named Ravallac.

In 1649 Charles I. of England was put to death by our forefathers, his revolted subjects; and this was done, not while he was exercising tyrannical power, but when he was a helpless captive in their hands. His slayers were not Anarchists, nor even Socialists of any school, but simply Parliamentarians.

Louis XIV. of France was in like manner beheaded in cold blood by his subjects, who were Republicans, indeed; but, like most Republicans of to-day, merciless opponents of economic equality, and therefore enemies of anything savouring of Socialism, still more of anything resembling Anarchism.

Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, was killed in 1865 by a partisan of the Confederacy; that is, by a Conservative, pro-slavery Republican.

Alexander II., Czar of Russia, lost his life in 1881 by the hands of opponents of autocracy, who were certainly not Anarchists.

Lord Frederick Cavendish, Viceroy of Ireland, was killed in Phoenix Park, Dublin, not by Anarchists, but by Republican Nationalists.

Alexander, King of Serbia, who, together with his wife Draga, was murdered by night in his bedroom, was the victim, not of Anarchists, but of Royalist officers of rank, who conducted their troops to the palace for the purpose.

King Carlos of Portugal, who, with his son, the Crown Prince, was shot in the streets of Lisbon during the present year, received his death-blow, not from Anarchists, but from Republicans, probably assisted by Constitutional Monarchists.

When will the thoughtless crowd learn, and journalists have the honesty to admit, that Anarchism has no more connection with violence, but rather much less, than Monarchism, autocratic or constitutional; Republicanism, Conservative or Radical; or any other parties, political or religious, which have held, or still hold, power throughout the world?

If Anarchists admit the right to use force, even to the extent of taking life, under special circumstances, they are in this respect exactly

in the same position as all other schools of political and religious thought, excepting only Quakers, Tolstoyans, and those few who affirm the duty of non-resistance.

HENRY GLASSE.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Cape Colony.

Things are in a shocking state here; literally thousands are out of work, and wages have gone down to the very barest subsistence point. In this town [Port Elizabeth] more than a thousand houses are permanently empty, and now heavy taxation is being imposed to replenish an empty treasury. This is all, of course, mainly the aftermath of a foolish and wicked war, and also of long years of Governmental and municipal extravagance. So long as the money was in hand or loans were procurable, the central Government in Cape Town and the local municipal ones elsewhere have continuously spent lavishly. The ruling class here, the same as elsewhere, know that the more that passes through their hands, the more is likely to stick to them. A whole army of sons, cousins, nephews, connections, and friends are thus claimants on the public funds, and our Civil Service is said to be the largest on earth in proportion to the number of inhabitants. I can quite credit it. It has for many years been a subject of amusement to observe the multitudes—yes, literally multitudes—of officials required for the simplest work. What was a simple matter of amusement to our thoughtless tax and rate payers in times past is now ceasing to be of the nature of a joke, and curses loud and long are taking the place of laughter. Foolish laughter, impotent curses!

Thanks for copies of *FREEDOM* for July. I am glad to see that the matter keeps well up to the mark. What a good thing if the paper could be made a weekly!

H. GLASSE.

Australia.

Everything in Melbourne is very dull. The Labour Party have just received another kick from the Law. They got a Bill passed which they call the New Protection, which they imagined would enable them to obtain better wages. The High Court declared the Bill unconstitutional, so the Labour Party are going to get the Federal Constitution amended—when, they do not state; but it all helps to keep them in fat billets, while the workers are in a far worse condition than ever. They have spent hundreds of pounds carrying on an agitation to obtain their fetish, the New Protection, which has left them entirely at the mercy of the capitalist. Watson, the late Federal Labour leader, is advising the workers to go slow. The new leader, Mr. Fisher, is building a large house in South Melbourne; a few years ago he had nothing. There are signs of a break; the political superstition is weakening. The miners of Australia have declined to affiliate with the political Labour Leagues; and there is a feeling growing very rapidly against the Wages Boards, owing to the employer always coming out on top. We are going to have the American life-takers and cutthroats paying us a visit. I shall keep Anarchy much before them while they are here. I am having large meetings every Sunday and explaining Anarchy. Emma Goldman is talking of visiting Australia. I hope she does. There is a new field to work here, and I doubt not but that the harvest will be good.

J. W. FLEMING.

France.

After the riots of Draveil Vigneux, the action brought against the militants of the Confédération Générale du Travail came to nothing. In spite of the efforts of the magistrate, the prosecution is no further advanced than on the first day. Every day the police arrest comrades on the denunciations of the landlords and shopkeepers of Draveil Vigneux. About twenty are in prison, and it is not finished yet. Comrade Dret, whose wound in the arm necessitated amputation, has been carried from the hospital to the prison, although not cured; his condition has become worse, and a fresh operation is necessary.

Both the capitalist press and the Socialist Reformist press have begun a campaign asking for the dissolution of the C.G.T. But the comrades are determined to offer a strong resistance, as they do not want to be strangled.

The admission of the Federation of Miners (between 50,000 and 60,000 members) into the ranks of the C.G.T. a few days after the events of Draveil Vigneux is looked upon as a favourable symptom. We hope that this Federation, for a long time under the domination of the politicians, will adopt the tactics of the C.G.T.—that is, direct action and anti-Parliamentarism.

Anarchist-Socialist Sunday School.

The East London Anarchist-Socialist Sunday School meets at 3.30 every Sunday at the Workers' Friend Club and Institute, 163 Jubilee Street, Mile End. Children in the district invited. An Esperanto class for adults and children is specially conducted by Comrade Dusa.

Group Notice.

The Newcastle-on-Tyne International Anarchist Communist Group hold their meetings and lectures every Wednesday at 8 p.m. in 51 Douglas Terrace.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

MANCHESTER.

Comrades here have every reason to be pleased with their month's propaganda, for each Sunday they have held successful meetings, and the sales of literature and the collections have been better than ever. They invited me for August 2, and with the help of comrades Coates and Levy two good meetings were held. On the 9th our old comrade Kelly filled the breach at very short notice, but in spite of this disadvantage, he kept the attention of his audience whilst he discoursed upon the absurdities of government. On the 16th I again visited the city, holding good meetings; and on the 17th we held a meeting at Marshall's Croft, but with nothing like good results. On the 23rd comrade Kavanagh was the speaker, and in spite of the fact that he had the opposition of a debate on one side and an unemployed meeting on the other, he kept the ear of a large and attentive audience, receiving very hearty applause at the conclusion of his discourse.

Keep to the fore, comrades, and ere long Manchester will again rank, as in the past, as the provincial home of Anarchist Communism.

LIVERPOOL.

This home of retrogression, the natural birthplace for reactionists, rankling as it does in the quagmire of bigotry, prejudice, and superstitious ignorance, more than gives credence to the story related of a well-known actor who in sheer disgust once told his audience that he could expect no better from a people who had been cradled in slavery, and of whose very buildings each stone was cemented with the blood of a slave; for here every form of intolerant bigotry, from rampant Orangeism down to the Catholic anti-Socialist crusade, not only takes root, but thrives. The principal supporters of these movements, unfortunately, consist of the toilers (whose only hope can lay in unity), whose religious and fanatical superstitions are being constantly appealed to, thus in their blind ignorance making themselves the barrier that stays the onward course of the workers industrially organised towards the higher goal of a people united and free.

It is against such forces for reaction that our comrades are so strenuously striving to make headway, and for their perseverance they deserve all credit; but their reward is not yet.

At the open conference held in the I.L.P. Rooms, Tagus Street, on August 13, comrade Kavanagh opened, pointing out the necessity for an industrial form of organisation as against the present form of sectional Trade Unionism, contending that if the workers were truly linked together the methods of the boycott would be more effective for extracting immediate remedies than any Parliamentary method could ever be. Speeches followed from members of the I.L.P., S.D.P., and S.L.P., most of them, whilst admitting and recognising the necessity for direct action, still claiming that they were justified in trying to utilise the political weapon. Comrade Portet very ably replied, after which it was decided to postpone its further discussion till the 27th, a report of which will be sent next month.

A. DESPRES.

DEPTFORD.

Since the release of our old comrade Sam Carter from prison, the Christians on the Broadway have attacked him bitterly. This, I think, speaks favourably for our vigorous propaganda work on behalf of the cause, and its effects are making themselves felt. Hence the trouble. Our comrade ably defended himself against the old theories of dagger-and-bomb men, and scored well when he asked if they ever knew an English Anarchist who had used violence of this description. Meetings have been most successful, with good sales of FREEDOM and literature, both here and on the Hilly Fields. Both spots are regularly visited, as well as Peckham Rye. The Socialists of the district, too, seem to be growing more partial towards our literature, I myself having sold copies of FREEDOM regularly to them.

E. GOULDING.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(August 12—September 10.)

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