

# Freedom

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## NOTES.

### A Daniel Come to Judgment.

The Tsar has put himself outside the pale of humanity, and only political diplomacy, which has no conscience, will recognise him. In this country the feeling against him has deepened in proportion as the details of his unspeakable acts of cruelty have become known. It has been a great calamity for all the advanced movements in Europe that Russia failed to achieve her revolution; and there is still no hope for her people till the battle is fought and won. So that the English people would do well to add to their denunciations of this terror-stricken monster—whose name we hate to repeat—a word of hope and encouragement to the heroes who have fought, and those who will yet fight for her freedom and well-being.

### The Legal Eight-Hour Day.

The Anarchists always said that if the workers wanted an eight-hour day, the only way to get it was to *take* it. Advised by their leaders, who always denounced the tactics of the strike, the miners have allowed the legislators to arrange it for them. These wiseacres have achieved the usual legal Parliamentary success. That is to say, they have meddled and muddled in matters they did not understand, and have shown us once more "how not to do it." And after all this wasted time that has left the mineowners masters of the situation, the threat of a general strike is the only weapon in the hands of the miners that can compel the masters to concede this small "palliative." Well, the idea of the general strike has grown with immense strides, and the only consolation for all the folly of political action is that the first Act to legalise an eight-hour day has compelled the workers to vote by an overwhelming majority in favour of direct action. Whatever may be gained by Churchill's intervention must be put down to this fact.

### Clemenceau's Fall.

No wonder the vine-growers of the South of France rejoice at the fall of the detestable political time-server, Clemenceau. And it is not only these that will rejoice. Their satisfaction will be shared by the whole of the French working class. This popular satisfaction, however, will be shortlived. Politics are synonymous with treachery; and Clemenceau is only one more example of the fact that none can leave the people for the sphere of Parliamentary life without betraying them. The interests of the bourgeoisie can be well served there because it is a bourgeois institution; but the workers' interests are in such direct conflict with this middle-class State that only revolutionary action can help them. So that it matters not whether he be replaced by a Briand, a Millerand, or even a Jaurès—the same tragi-comedy will be enacted as that just completed by Clemenceau. The French Trade Unions, in any case, have learned a bitter lesson, and it is only reasonable to hope that for them, at any rate, political action has said its last word. With a promising revival of Anarchist ideas, France should now be preparing for a revolutionary period. The Socialist in politics, be he Labour man or "intellectual," has nearly had his day.

### East v. West.

Are we Western peoples to look, after all, to the East to awaken us from our inertia? Turkey, Persia, Morocco, have each their political problems to solve—or are in course of solving them so far as the first two are concerned. But how little sympathy have they received from the Western nations, some of whom they have had to fight to break their chains! Perhaps those law-abiding persons in England who are at this moment enjoying political liberties that have cost rivers of blood to gain, and for which their forefathers probably gave their lives—perhaps these hypocrites who cant about "law and order" will

not be able in the future so easily to confuse the real issue, which is this—That an economic revolution cannot cost the people more than they have suffered to win liberty of conscience, liberty of thought, and liberty of speech. The "classes" who now govern us did not hesitate to become "rebels" when it served their purpose. Let the workers remember this.

### The Suffering Suffragettes.

We sympathise with the women who can go to prison for their cause, although we have nothing in common with them in their struggle for the vote. Surely, however, some real good would be done if they could direct their agitation against our whole system of prisons and punishments. Some have spoken courageously on this subject, and have expressed real human sympathy with the unfortunates they have met inside those terrible stone walls. But they must know by this time that only an agitation that can break down stone walls—the stone walls of prejudice, officialism, and ignorance—can ever bring humane treatment to bear on the sufferings of the outcasts of our wretched system.

### War and Murder.

It seems strange to find in the *Rifleshot*, "the official organ of the National Rifle Association for Miniature Shooting," an article on "Defensive War," in which the writer says, "I find no difference between war and murder." "War," he goes on to remark, "is always cruel, always wrong. Measured in terms of mere blood-guiltiness, the crimes of the dynamiter and bomb-thrower pale in comparison with the usages of modern war as waged by disciplined forces." He then enumerates some of the crimes that "civilised" nations have committed upon unfortunate "savages." These are too well known to need quotation. But his defence of the individual's personal right to resist enforced military service deserves a wide publicity. He maintains that—

"Every individual possesses an independent will of his own. The civilian retains the right to exercise this will, but the soldier surrenders his to the military authority, and in exchange for obedience is excused from responsibility. From the civilian's point of view, it is a question whether an intelligent man ought thus to be allowed to escape personal responsibility; and whether it is to the good of mankind that any shall degrade themselves in this particular to the level of the mere animal or a piece of living mechanism. The essential difference between the military and the civilian is this, and it is the real crux of the question as to voluntary or compulsory military service in this country. Personally, I am not and never have been inclined to surrender my freedom, even for a time, knowing that by so doing I might be required to invade territory—whether Tibet or only the Isle of Man—and kill the inhabitants, whether or not they had done, or were about to do, me an injury; in short, as a civilian, I do not allow any authority to dictate to me what people are, and who are not, my enemies at any particular time that suits the authority—political, military, general or personal. I do not propose to advise others to follow a course I would not take myself, nor shall I object if others—on their own responsibility or the advice of someone else—do the reverse."

We commend these sentiments, written by W. Gerrare in the May number of the above magazine, to Jingo Blatchford and the S.D.P. Imperialists.

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## “Without Shedding of Blood there is no Remission.”

The English people have not been suckled and brought up on the Evangelical creed of Christendom in vain. The central feature of the Evangelical creed is embodied in the sentence: ‘Without shedding of blood there is no remission.’ It matters not in what direction the eye is turned this doctrine finds full exemplification. Is reform needed in the land laws of Ireland? Then, ‘without shedding of blood’ by the assassin, reform cannot be accomplished: the greatest statesman of his age is not able to carry his reforms through a Liberal House of Commons without this (unsought and undesired) assistance. It has become a part of the common speech that a reform may not be hoped for in our railways until a Bishop or a Director has been slain. Even respecting so moderate and wise a change as the Franchise Bill of 1884, Lord Randolph Churchill declared he should not believe in the earnestness of the people for further reform unless the bad doings, the arsons, the attacks upon property, the assaults upon individuals, which marked the pre-Reform era fifty years ago, were repeated. ‘Without shedding of blood there is no remission’ runs like a scarlet thread through every department of our national existence: it marks every work we undertake and mars much that otherwise might be wholly beneficial.

In India we are exaggerating this national and Christian characteristic. Even with ‘shedding of blood’ there is not remission. Not wholly for want of will does this lamentable state of things exist; efforts are made but they run on old lines wherein the benefit proves to be for the foreigner and not for the native. Not, again, out of ill-will or desperate malice, but because foregone conclusions are acted upon. An Insurance Fund against Famine of one-and-a-half million a year is added to the taxation of the country. First, it is pounced upon to pay a portion of the expenses of a needless war in Afghanistan. Then, it is determined to expend the sum year by year upon railways and other means of communication: as though iron roads were, in a poverty-stricken and steadily-drained country, panaceas of famine, and as though the most disastrous famine of the century had not, within our immediate recollection, occurred in Provinces fairly well supplied with railways. We take the people’s money to preserve them from famine, and all of it, except the mere cost of labour, is expended in England for supervision, for iron or steel rails, for engines and coaches; even the English investor finds an outlet secured for his surplus cash—in a guaranteed loan in many cases: where the loan is not guaranteed the reason is because there is a moral certainty of the projected line paying a dividend better than is received from English Consols. This is taking one shilling from the Indian people, and spending the larger portion, say eightpence, for the profit of the English manufacturer and investor. Under such a system, and in spite of the multiplication of railways, famines will increase in the land, the last state of the unfortunate people will be worse than the first, and the tale of blood exacted more and more fearful.

The pages of this little book were commenced in a hopeful spirit: in the spirit which finds expression in the dedication. It is concluded in a spirit of hopelessness. For, while the writer was arranging the facts he found very largely in the publications issuing from the India Office, and noted how the significance of the statements published were overlooked or wholly ignored by those whose duty it is to read them aright and to act upon the conclusions wherever those conclusions may lead; and when, further, he remembered the many good men and true who had taken up Indian subjects from John Dickinson to Henry Fawcett and the non-result which seems to have followed their earnest and devoted labours, his heart sank within him. ‘Of all the duties I undertake,’ said the late Mr. Fawcett a few years ago, ‘there is none respecting which I feel so hopeless as about the duty I try to perform for India.’ Lesser men than he who has just passed away, mourned by many millions who never saw him, may well feel despairing when such a Chief let the banner droop in his hands and almost drop from his grasp.

Yet, farther, a glance at the aspect of affairs in India is calculated to deepen the gloom and intensify the despair. A mild reform, a mere effort with the little finger, was attempted by the Marquis of Ripon: it was met, on the part of Anglo-Indians, with an agitation the virulence and violence of which, even now that the echoes have died away, cause a shudder of shame as one recalls the narrowness of mind and the cruel illiberality of the agitators. The Ilbert Bill, the removal of

the gag from the Native-Indian Press, and the Local Government Reforms of Lord Ripon being past history, what is there on the horizon of Indian politics to inspire hope? There is nothing, absolutely nothing.—“*India for the Indians—and for England,*” by William Digby.

## “TOWN PLANNING” A LA CAPITALISM.

Now that we are asked to look upon garden cities and the new schemes for house planning as solutions of the housing question, it may be useful to show that the vices of a capitalist society always reappear, no matter how much they are “reformed.” The bad effects of class distinctions can be seen at Letchworth and Hampstead, where philanthropy is supposed to have reduced them to a minimum. But an account of the rebuilding of San Francisco given in the *Coast Seamen’s Journal*, May 12th, 1909, shows in a striking way that there is no hope at all for the workers till they take over the means of production and build for themselves. The writer thus describes the wealthier quarters of the city:—

“Walking up Market, or meandering off into near-by streets, one sees everywhere evidences of riotous wealth and luxury, and is all but overawed by an edificial grandeur which is neither of New York, London, or Paris, yet recalls all of them in its cosmopolitan diffusiveness. Super-lofty skyscraper office buildings rear their corniced copings heavenward, until the man in the street gets a kink in his neck trying to trace their outlines against the blue welkin. Scores of bank buildings, whose grandiose facades suggest the architecture of ancient Greece and Rome, lend an air of prosperity and moneyed security to the neighbourhood which must be extremely soothing to those lucky individuals to whom poverty is about the only thing to be feared in this world. Mammoth hotels, lavishly furnished, fire and quake proof throughout, and equipped with every convenience and comfort which modern science and mechanical art are capable of supplying, mutely invite the man of leisure and wealth to take his ease beneath their sheltering eaves—if such a homely term is permissible when expatiating upon the beauties of so magnificent and palatial a structure as an up-to-date San Francisco hotel. And the store windows! Compared to their gorgeous and kaleidoscopic displays the descriptions of those Arabian Nights bazaars which used to charm our youthful imaginations now read like unto a tale that has become flat, stale, and unprofitable. Yea, verily, the newer and greater San Francisco is to-day “some pumpkins, b’gosh,” as Farmer Corntossel might say, and its newspapers take mighty good care that we do not forget it, either.”

And now we get a glimpse of what has been done for the producers of all this wealth.

“As if this were not enough punishment for the crime of being poor, it will generally be found that the cheap lodging-houses in our cities are so constructed as to make them less proof against the danger of fire than are any other buildings. And here is where San Francisco has sinned two-fold against its working men. In addition to the risk of fire, which is common everywhere, that city is also subject to earthquakes. And yet, of the hundreds of lodging-houses standing within its limits, not one, if partially fireproof, it may be, is quakeproof; or, if quakeproof, is fireproof. This, so far as working men are concerned, is surely a situation which finds an apt counterpart in the ancient perils of Scylla and Charybdis. As between the chances of being burned to death in a wooden firetrap, or killed by the falling walls of a jerry-built brick house during an earthquake, the choice is certainly not inviting; yet that is the choice a working man is reduced to when engaging lodgings in San Francisco.”

Finally, we have described for us the building of the lodging-houses—certain deathtraps in case of fire. And yet our conquest of wealth makes it possible that *all* should be well housed; only—and that is where the crime comes in—the landlords and the capitalist will have their rent and profit.

“Now, while the wooden lodging-houses may be tolerably quakeproof, they are without exception veritable firetraps. They are so, not so much because built of wood, as because of their peculiar interior construction. What this construction is like may partly be inferred by those who saw the diagrams of the interior of the Saint George ‘hotel,’ corner of Howard and Eighth Streets, as published by the newspapers the day after that lodging-house was destroyed by fire and some dozen of its inmates were burned to death. Each floor is literally honeycombed with little box-like sleeping compartments, the outside ones only being fitted with windows, about half of which face



out on a dark, narrow air-well. Here and there the honeycomb is intersected by passageways for the purpose of permitting ingress and egress to and from the 'rooms.' These passageways are usually so narrow as to compel people when passing each other to 'feather' themselves like oars, and are often quite labyrinthine in their windings. Should a fire break out at night in one of these ramshackle hives, when they are filled with sleepers, the result would simply be a more or less exact repetition of the disaster which befell the Saint George 'hotel' and its luckless patrons. In short, the wooden lodging-houses in San Francisco are just so many monuments to sordid greed for profits."

## THE MORAL FACTOR OF ANARCHY.

I remember having read in a work of Schopenhauer that it is more difficult to solve a philosophical problem than the most complicated trigonometrical calculation. Schopenhauer has expressed a great truth that deserves to be well thought over by Anarchists of every school and tendency.

We have reached an epoch, with regret we confess it, in which we do not sufficiently keep our aim in view (and the proof is that, in spite of our reciprocal criticism, the revolutionary movement against existing institutions is almost at a standstill), but attack one another like dogs, and blurt out the most stupid nonsense about individuals and society.

Twenty years ago, when Anarchists, as we say, could almost be counted on our fingers, a few resolute individuals succeeded in attracting attention to their ideas and to themselves. . . .

And even at that time there were discussions about Communism and Individualism; but after a discussion, even after a quarrel, both parties separated, not to betray their comrades, but to war against the enemy: the bourgeoisie. An individualist would go among a ragged, hungry working-class crowd, and in a propitious moment would climb a lamp-post or cart halting in the street, and his words, if not learned, were sincere and inexorable, and sounded like a curse and a menace hurled at the bloodsuckers of himself and of the poor pariahs who listened to him. They wondered and feared to hear truths that made their hearts beat at the hated yoke which has oppressed them for centuries, and which, up till now, as their grandfathers had taught them, they believed to be an inevitable necessity.

Communists did likewise, as will prove all the exceptional laws voted at that time in all Parliaments against Anarchism and Anarchists, whether Individualists or Communists. In spite of their contentions they carried on an eminently revolutionary work: the demolition of the bourgeois régime.

And to-day? Things, alas! have changed. No longer do Anarchists go to church in order to refute the priests' base words and lies. They no longer go to electoral committees to unmask the charlatans of the ballot box. No longer do they go to working-class meetings to propagate our ideas.

And why? Their answer is ever ready. The one says he is no orator, the other that he has no education.

These excuses flow smoothly from their lips. They are a confession of absolute impotence.

Impotence? Facts give the lie to such an assertion. The Individualist orator who does not give the lie to priests is more alive than ever; triumphantly he defies Anarchist Communists, even though they be lawyers. The philosopher also comes to the front when he desires to bring forward a sociological psychopathic document on the *superman* and the *absence of morality*.

The *superman*, the man without morality, the man who has no stupid prejudices on the score of humanity, of right and of justice, what does he do? Does he overthrow tyrants? Does he strangle bourgeois? Does he rifle banks? Does he throw bombs at ministers during their feasts? Does he rebel against anybody? Has he any goal to reach?

He is not a fool . . . he considers these actions prejudices.

On the other hand, cowardly sophism leads nowhere.

Communists cry: Syndicalism suffices. It is necessary to carry on purely working-class politics. There is no need for any determined conviction in order to reach the goal. While he professes Syndicalism, a workman can be clerical, monarchical, and fight for the Fourth Estate.

The clerical can go to mass, and his children to Sunday school, and his wife to confession; the monarchist can be faithful to the King, and send his sons to *serve their motherland blindly*; the Quaker can wait like a fakir for God's justice. As long as their subscriptions to the syndicate are paid, they believe the Revolution is bound to come.

Let us summarise the opinion of pure individualists and still purer syndicalists as regards Anarchy.

Pure individualists deny by words (talk is their battlefield) the moral essence of Anarchism; pure syndicalists, who are more practical, deny it by facts.

Nevertheless, in spite of whatever idiots say, if Anarchy is not a Utopia it must be based upon an inviolable moral principle: do not oppress your fellow man nor for anything in the world submit to oppression.

And this is what individualists on the one hand and syndicalists on the other only too often forget.

For the first there is but one superior entity, the individual; for the second but one supreme force, the proletariat.

Both fall into the same error, they deny humanity.

Their respective starting-point varies, but they meet in the end.

It is necessary to grasp this truth and not to lose yourself in the labyrinth of their initial differences. For the individualists the I is everything, is God Almighty; for the syndicalists, God Almighty is WE.

The Almighty I that considers all things, including human beings and lifeless objects, as its personal property is a tyrant whose power is unlimited, save by the force of its opponents: this principle would mean perpetual strife, the absurd triumph, not without morality, but with immorality, of the strong against the weak. The Almighty WE, the proletariat, seeks to dominate the world in the name of a pretended right based on manual labour.

It is no longer an individual endeavouring to impose himself, but a class ready to dominate the whole species.

I do not wish to refute evident paradoxes, whatever party they belong to. I have heartily laughed at certain invincible arguments, one more extravagant than another. Does the argument justifying eternal violence between man and man appear reasonable to you, that to be born it is necessary to sever the cord that attaches us to our mother? And yet this is a proof given by the *superman* of the impossibility of a spontaneous morality and of mutual help among men. Syndicalists fall into errors no less foolish. For them only horny hands of toil have rights. Who does no manual labour is an enemy by force of circumstances of the proletarian class. I do not believe that a more irrational absurdity has ever been conceived.

Revolutionary action cannot be circumscribed by a gospel of donkeys or scientists. There is abominable intellectual work, and there is equally hateful manual work.

Masons who build prisons, smiths who forge bars and chains, composers who set up bibles or work for bourgeois papers, are no doubt manual workers, and, even if compelled to, they do work no less pernicious than the judge who sentences, or the journalist who mystifies his victims and makes them adore their own oppressive chains.

Moreover, we see that in present society a true social moral sense is still to come, not less among the proletariat than among the bourgeois. In fact, we see that the most perverse, most tyrannical employers are former proletarians who have raised themselves by sheer craft and rascality.

And it is precisely to develop this *social moral sense* among men that we Anarchists must fight without truce, and never cease to demonstrate that the aim of our class-war is to abolish all social classes.

Our action cannot be a working-class action, but a human one, an eminently human one.—ACRATIBIS (in *La Battaglia*).

## RED TAPE IN THE NAVY.

A case once occurred, which is vouched for by naval officers who were present and who tell of it as a joke, showing the absurdities to which red tape can go. About twenty years ago a certain ship was in a foreign port. One of the men was taken sick, and on the recommendation of the surgeon was sent to a hospital on shore. The man finally died, and it became necessary to bury him. The simple and straightforward method would have been to call in the undertaker and have him arrange for a decent casket and a lot in the cemetery. This would be the usual procedure with a business man or ordinary citizen. The régime of economy and reform, however, would not permit of so simple a course. What actually occurred was this: The surgeon made a requisition on the paymaster for one coffin. Naturally, he did not have one in stock, and therefore it was forwarded to the fleet paymaster, who, also, not being in the undertaking business, had no coffins on hand. Then the Admiral directed the fleet paymaster to purchase one coffin, after obtaining prices from six reputable dealers. The same course had to be followed in securing the grave. The surgeon made requisition on the paymaster for one grave. Strange as it may seem, the paymaster had no graves in stock. Neither had the fleet paymaster. Consequently, the commander-in-chief directed the fleet paymaster to procure bids from six reliable dealers in graves, and purchase one from the lowest responsible bidder. All this, of course, is a screaming farce, but it is the horrible example to show what comes when common sense and experience are set aside to give room for the play of amateur and academic fancy.—*Engineering*.



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## "A DISHONOUR TO HUMANITY."

The Young Turks have deposed their bloodthirsty Sultan, the Anjumans of Young Persia have dethroned their despotic Shah.

When will Russia be so happy as to put down this Tsar, whose crimes against humanity and progress by far outweigh the bloody deeds of Abdul Hamid or the Persian autocrat?

Numerous were the victims of the Red Sultan's massacres in Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Armenia; but the Anti-semitic pogroms in Kishineff, Sedletz, Odessa, Belostok and the Crimea; the burning and cannonading of Moscow, the Baltic provinces, Georgia and Poland; the massacres in Tomsk, Saratoff, Tver; and the Bloody Sunday in St. Petersburg surpass in number of victims and cruelty all the abominations of the Sultan.

As for the Shah, he is certainly only a blundering beginner compared to his Russian master in oppression. The cannonading of the Persian Parliament, the massacre of deputies, the suppression of democratic clubs, the persecution of the Persian progressive press which in so short a time had developed so wonderfully—all these misdeeds of the Shah were accomplished at the instigation of the Tsar and carried out by the Tsar's servant, Colonel Liakhoff.

The friends and defenders of the Tsar in European Parliaments and Press have until now tried to whitewash the Tsar from the horrors of his government. But we Russians know who is the real author of this oppression and barbarity unprecedented in the history of the last three centuries. We know who is the soul of the reaction; we know it is Nicholas II.

The following are the proofs. When last year, the Constitution in Turkey was proclaimed, the Tsar ordered the Viceroy of the Caucasus to take all precautionary measures against the penetration of ideas of liberty into the Russian provinces adjoining Turkey and Persia, and to check by all means the Constitutional party in Persia. At the same time the Russian Ambassador and Colonel Liakhoff were placed at the disposal of the Shah and the reactionary party.

Everyone knows what followed, and how the Persian revolutionists were able to capture Teheran and Liakhoff, and depose the Shah, thus defeating the Tsar's designs.

But we are sure that the spiteful and vindictive Tsar will not leave Persia alone. He will try to avenge the defeat of his policy in Persia, even if it should cost Russia hundreds of thousands of lives, disasters and humiliation, as was the case with Japan.

Since his journey as Tsarevitch to Japan, where he was assaulted by a Japanese policeman, the Tsar could not bear to hear the very name of Japan without showing his hatred and contempt. By the intermediary of his personal friends and counsellors, Besobrasoff, Alexieff, and others, assisted by private financial grants from the Tsar, intrigues were started in Manchuria; and when his most capable ministers, Witte and Kuropatkin, insisted on the recall of those men and on the evacuation of Manchuria, according to the treaty, the Tsar obstinately continued his policy, thus compelling the Japanese to declare war. Everybody knows the suffering which this war brought on the Russian people and the humiliation to the Empire.

Again we must seek in the vindictive character of the Tsar the cause of Finland's troubles. On ascending the throne the Tsar tried to disregard the fundamental laws of the Empire. Instead of using in his first manifesto the legal title "Autocrat of All the Russias, Tsar of Poland, Grand Duke of Finland,"

etc. etc., Nicholas expressly omitted the latter title. The Finnish Senate, on receiving this manifesto, refused to promulgate it as being illegal. The Tsar was obliged to yield and to publish another manifesto with the ordinary formula. But he never pardoned Finland this humiliation, and inaugurated the policy of oppression of this small and gallant nation.

Endowed with a weak intellect, educated by ignorant and rapacious priests, Nicholas is the very embodiment of superstition. By preference he surrounds himself with all sorts of spiritualistic humbugs and fortune-tellers. He hates science and persecutes all who show genius and talent in Russia.

It was he who ordered and promulgated as head of the Russian Church the excommunication of Tolstoy. Plehve himself said that the Jewish massacres were due to the Tsar, he being the leading Anti-semitic in Russia.

The recently published "Tsar's Journal" gives us a clear insight into the revolting pettiness and vindictiveness of its crowned reader. This "Journal" consists of a collection of reports which were weekly presented to the Tsar by the Minister of the Interior and the Chief of the Secret Police. Only one copy of it is prepared, but by an extraordinary chance twelve numbers were copied by friends of revolutionists and published in Paris by Bourtsch in his well-known historical review "The Past."

The police evidently know what fare the Emperor requires. There is never a report on a legislative or governmental question; it is filled with the minutest details of espionage on students, literary people, and workers. The smallest misunderstanding between the workers and the employers is reported in detail; for instance, how a foreman of a small factory in a provincial town was ill treated by his workers; how in Warsaw two girls were arrested because they were dressed in black with red trimmings, from which the spies suspected a political plot, etc.

Each number of the Tsar's "Journal" contained as a supplement the original or copies of private letters intercepted by the police. One of these was a letter from Tolstoy to a friend, another from a Russian in London to his Bulgarian friend in Sofia, others were from Young Turks to their countrymen.

Evidently his Majesty has no conception of honour to prevent him from accepting the intercepted letters of others! Evidently he revels in reading other people's correspondence!

Fed by spies' reports, his hatred against workers and intellectuals has been growing continually. It is easy to understand how such a man with a stroke of his pen could send hundreds of students as soldiers to Manchuria, order to shoot in the slightest strike disorders, and authorise his uncle Vladimir to massacre the St. Petersburg people who peacefully came to offer a petition on the Bloody Sunday.

It was with his consent that Trepoff published his famous order to the soldiers, "Do not spare cartridges; you will be punished, not for abusing, but for not using, your arms."

It is the Tsar who rewards every general, governor, and officer who distinguishes himself by oppression and ferocity. Generals Möller, Alikhanoff, Neidhart, Reinbot, Dubasoff, Tolmacheff, Scalon, Rieman, Minn—all who made their name hated by bloodshed and cruelty, by cannonading and burning, destruction and massacre—all were promoted to his Majesty's personal adjutants.

Let none say that the Tsar does not know all about this.

One general who, not wishing to shoot upon his mutinous soldiers, quieted them by persuasion, was dismissed by the Tsar's orders; and in the presence of courtiers and officials, Nicholas II. said to the old warrior: "You should have shot them, general, you should have shot them."

Cruel and vindictive as Nicholas is by character, at the same time he is a coward. When in October, 1905, the general strike of the railway and post men isolated St. Petersburg for three days, the Tsar, seized by fear, granted the long-desired Constitution.

But now, as with Japan and Finland, the Russian people became the butt of his rancour and hate. Seeing that the general strike was not followed by a revolution, and the whole autocratic order was left intact, one by one he withdrew the granted rights, and inaugurated this unprecedented reign of terror which has hanged over 4,000, condemned to hard labour over 8,000, and banished to Siberia 80,000.

Those who have seen Russia in the last three years know that nearly a million of men have been driven out of their work and homes by this reaction. If we count that each of these victims had at least five relations, friends or dependants, it comes to this, that there are now between five and six million people who hate and curse the Tsar for their suffering and tears. Hatred is the underlying feeling in town and village, more or less hidden under a momentary submission.



The Tsar and his entourage are well aware of this hate. Day and night he trembles for his life. He no longer dares to visit Russia's real capital, Moscow. He lives surrounded by Cossacks and an army of spies in Peterhof and Tsarskoe Selo, or he is on the sea giving to humanity the unprecedented spectacle of an amphibious coward and autocrat who receives his crowned relatives and friends on the water and there pays them his visits, out of the reach of the people's eye and arm. Too well he knows that his name is execrated by civilised nations as well as by his own downtrodden and starving subjects.

The Red Sultan is dethroned by the revolution; the Tsar's protégé, the Shah of Persia, is deposed by his subjects. And we hope that before long outraged humanity and the rising Russian people will avenge themselves on this vindictive coward and cruel despot, and dethrone him.

A RUSSIAN.

#### THE CITY CORPORATION AND THE TSAR.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

Dear Sir,—Being greatly in sympathy with your opposition to the proposed visit to this country of the Patron of the Black Hundreds (a sympathy which was still further increased by hearing your speakers at that splendid welcome to Madame Vera Figuer at South Place Institute last month), I thought I would venture to make the same suggestion to you that I have made to the Socialist papers. I would suggest, therefore, that since the Tsar has decided not to "honour" London with a visit, and since the City Fathers have decided to act after their kind and proceed upon an unauthorised mission to Cowes with an "address of welcome," all who sympathise with the victims of Russian bureaucratic tyranny should assemble on the appointed day, in or near the station from which the City Fathers are to depart for Cowes, and show them, either vocally or by the wearing of signs of mourning, that the people of this country repudiate the whole visit, and in particular the part therein which the City Corporation is to take upon itself—take without any warrant whatever from us, the people. City Fathers can no more be kept from hovering about a crowned head than bluebottles can be kept from buzzing about a larder window.—Yours very faithfully,

CHARLES J. HOGARTH.

#### WALT WHITMAN ON LIBERTY.

Liberty relies upon itself, invites no one, promises nothing, sits in calmness and light, is positive and composed, and knows no discouragement. The battle rages with many a loud alarm, and frequent advance and retreat—the enemy triumphs—the prison, the handcuffs, the iron necklace and anklet, the scaffold, garrote, the lead-balls, do their work—the cause is asleep—the strong throats are choked with their own blood—the young men drop their eyelashes towards the ground when they pass each other. . . . And is liberty gone out of that place? No, never. When liberty goes, it is not the first to go, nor the second, nor the third to go: it waits for all the rest to go—it is the last. When the memory of the old martyrs is faded utterly away—when the large names of patriots are laughed at in the public halls from the lips of orators—when the boys are no more christened after the same, but are christened after tyrants and traitors instead—when the laws of the free are grudgingly permitted, and laws for informers and blood-money are sweet to the taste of the people—when I and you walk abroad upon the earth, stung with compassion at the sight of numberless brothers answering our equal friendship, and calling no man master—and when we are elated with noble joy at the sight of slaves—when the soul retires in the cool communion of the night, and surveys its experience, and has much ecstasy over the word and deed that put back a helpless, innocent person into the gripe of the grippers, or into any cruel inferiority—when those in all parts of these States who could easier realise the true American character, but do not yet\*—when the swarms of cringers, suckers, doughfaces, lice of politics, planners of sly involutions for their own preferment to city offices or state legislatures, or the judiciary or Congress, or the Presidency, obtain a response of love and natural deference from the people, whether they get the offices or no—when it is better to be a pound booby and rogue in office at a high salary than the poorest free mechanic or farmer, with his hat unmoved from his head, and firm eyes, and a candid and generous heart—and when servility towards state or federal government, or any oppression on a large scale or small scale can be tried on without its own punishment following duly after in exact proportion, against the smallest chance of escape—or rather when all life and all souls of men and women are discharged from any part of the earth—then only shall the instinct of liberty be discharged from that part of the earth.—WALT WHITMAN (*Preface to "Leaves of Grass"*).

\* This clause is obviously imperfect in some respects; it is here reproduced verbatim from the American edition.

#### THE WHITE TERROR IN RUSSIA.

On Sunday, July 25, a splendid mass meeting was held in Trafalgar Square to protest against the Tsar's visit. The speakers, people of various political opinions, unanimously denounced the barbarities committed by the Tsar and his Government of spies and executioners.

Public opinion in France, Denmark, Sweden, Belgium, Italy, and England at last has recognised the personal responsibility of the Tsar for the appalling state of things in Russia.

The excellent little book, "The Terror in Russia," by our comrade Kropotkin, is doing splendid service. The terrible picture which it gives of the summary executions, tortures, flogging, and deportations has aroused public opinion and the indignation of people of all creeds and parties at the Tsar's coming visit.

The Tsar's visit, says the English democracy, will be an outrage to the nation. If the Tsar dares to go to Italy, the workers of that country have declared that they will paralyse industry by declaring a general strike. And, indeed, his reign and government are an outrage to humanity!

Systematically, Nicholas has driven Russia back to a state of barbarity. Every man or woman who is not willing to denounce his or her neighbour is suspected by the police. The road to advancement and favour is open only to spies and police officials. From Plehve—who yet as a youth of twenty years began his political career by denouncing a Polish patriot who had adopted him as his son—to the members of the highest body in the country, the Senate, all have earned their advancement in the cause of reaction. The Senate, in its Department of Law, counts among its members such men as Sinovieff, Schurmer, Svolansky, Kovalensky, Makharoff, and others, all of whom were in the service of the secret police. Ministers such as Kurloff and Stolypin distinguished themselves by organising pogroms in Saratoff, Minsk, and other places.

The same practice reigns in the Orthodox Church, of which the Tsar is the supreme head. Vladimir, the Metropolitan of Moscow, is openly acknowledged as the spiritual leader of the Black Gang, whose murderous weapons he blessed. He made his position by denouncing and spying on the liberal clergy. His private morals are such that in England he would soon be in contact with the law. His rapacity and that of his helper Vastorgoff, now the intimate protégé of the Tsar, is notorious in the whole of Russia.

Such statesmen and spiritual leaders cannot have any conception of legality and responsibility; they inoculated Nicholas II. with those extravagant ideas as to his autocratic rights which are the main cause of his savage despotism. Though Russia never possessed any good laws or a good social organisation, nevertheless there existed some sort of legality. But the Tsar has deliberately trampled on all laws, and in many cases has openly thanked murderers, and authorised every officer, every police agent, to shoot, to flog and ill-treat men and women, boys and girls, if not blindly obedient. The Tsar has handed over the country, its government and justice, to police and Army. The intellectual and moral standard of the latter may be gauged from an official report which states that among many hundreds of officers who wished to enter the military academy, none could write correctly his mother-tongue, and the majority had only a very primitive knowledge of elementary geography, history, etc.!

No wonder that such a band of illiterate, immoral creatures, when let loose on the defenceless population, committed crimes and atrocities unparalleled in the history of the last three centuries! During only five months after the manifesto granting the Constitution (November, 1905, to April, 1906) the number of their victims was:—

|                                               |        |
|-----------------------------------------------|--------|
| Killed ... ..                                 | 14,000 |
| Wounded (of whom many died) ... ..            | 20,000 |
| Executed ... ..                               | 1,000  |
| Condemned to prison, deportation, etc. ... .. | 70,000 |

To give an idea how these appalling figures are reached, we need only mention that at the pogrom in Tomsk, three days after the granting of the Constitution, 1,150 were killed and wounded; during the pogrom at Odessa from the 2nd to the 6th of November, 1905, over 1,000 were killed and 5,000 wounded. Around Riga 200 were executed.

These figures do not include the cannonading of Moscow nor the number of victims of the Caucasus, where three small towns were burnt, and 104 villages in Georgia were destroyed more or less completely, and 3,000 people killed and 7,000 wounded. So that altogether the number of victims—apart from those condemned and executed by courts-martial as given in FREEDOM of last year—was over 42,000!

And the man in whose name and by whose orders all these horrors are perpetrated dares to come to a civilised country and ask the democracy to give him a public welcome!

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## SOCIALISTS AND SOCIALISM.

In considering our differences with those bodies who claim to be working for the emancipation of the productive classes, we Anarchists find ourselves in combat with those middle-class theories which have emanated from "half-baked philosophers," and unfortunately have permeated the Socialist idea. Therefore, in our survey of the matter, we are driven back to fundamental principles. Now the members of the S.P.G.B. are indefatigable in their efforts to prove that their theories are founded upon sound reasoning. That they, above all other parties seeking Parliamentary power, have at last discovered the road to working-class emancipation.

But, after all the claims they make, certainly their criticism of other Socialists is somewhat inconsistent. What does their position amount to? At most a modification of existing institutions is their aim, if they ever get as far as that. In opposing "palliatives and reforms," they consider that they are quite revolutionary. But, like the S.D.P. and the I.L.P., they have a credulous belief in Parliamentary effort. They seek to adorn the benches of the House of Commons. In fact, when we consider their attitude in general, we are justified in assuming that, like all who seek power, they imagine that Parliament so far has failed because they have not entered its portals. But if they adopt the title of "Socialist" and are prepared to "go the whole hog," is it reasonable to suppose that they can realise Socialism with the aid of an effete middle-class institution, which is the reflex of capitalist exploitation and wagedom?

Besides, Parliament only ends in the perpetuation of class-rule, let our friends remember that; and while they make some able attacks upon some of the "political chloroformers," it is idle to assume that they can eradicate evils that are inherent in the system itself. They would have another "straight jacket" ready for the worker. You cannot purify Parliament, neither is it possible to eradicate those evils that are inherent in such an institution. Any attempt to interfere with the functions of an organism ends either in the death of the organism or the functions reinstate themselves.

The January issue of the *Socialist Standard* makes some allusion to the Anarchist position. But before going any further, as "one of the dreamers and idealists hopelessly out of touch with the real factors of the struggle," I should like to give our friends a "nut to crack" as regards the economic aspect of Socialism. Now they claim to be Socialists "of the first water," yet it seems that they ignore primary principles. But, in common with all other Socialists, they agree that the workers are exploited and robbed by an idle and unproductive class, who, being in possession of the means of production, etc., deprive the worker of the major portion of what he produces, leaving him a bare subsistence in the form of wages. Then as a solution of the problem, all Socialists maintain that it is necessary to abolish the unproductive classes, in order that the workers shall have the fruits of their individual and united efforts. Therefore this implies an entire change in the economic basis of society—not a modification. It is the antithesis of any system which is founded upon wagedom. To realise the true conception of Socialism, every individual must have free access, not only to those things that are necessary for productive labour, but to the means of life also. Therefore the negation of authority is imperative—an economic change implies also a political change.

The abolition of capital rule means the negation of Parliamentary rule of any character. This subversion of Socialist principles—the importation of a system of remuneration which belongs to capitalist rule—has created confusion all round. It has been the work of those theorists who, being steeped in middle-class prejudices, and always favourable to compromise, elaborated their theories upon a basis of discipline and subordination, without understanding the institutions of the people themselves. Thus we are told by Kautsky that "all forms of modern wage payment—fixed salaries, time wages, piece wages, bonuses—all of them are reconcilable with the spirit of a Socialistic commonwealth." Socialism, indeed! These are the teachings of those who are merely political reformers. It is only the inception of another phase of human slavery tempered with the right to choose your masters.

We desire Socialism and we look forward to it, but we regard politics as a potential factor of reaction, and we maintain that the struggle must be kept in the economic field. In their manifesto, the S.P.G.B. cite that well-worn phrase "the democratic control of the means of production," etc. But what control would the worker have except in theory? He would

be dominated by an elected and professional class. And one is justified in maintaining that what the political Socialists are aiming at is nothing more than increasing the remuneration of the worker. That passes as Socialism. Moreover, they ignore the most important factors of progress; they do not seem to realise that it originates from individuals, not majorities, and can only find expression when the individual is no longer fettered by man-made law. Without infringing the liberties of others, he adopts a line of action which appeals to him. Experience alone determines whether he is right or wrong. Majority-rule is synonymous with mediocrity-rule. Human progress depends, not upon the modification of political systems, but upon the realisation of individual freedom. Man has advanced so far, not by conforming to ideals imposed by legalism, custom, or tradition, but by breaking the fetters of authority. And we see the spirit of solidarity that has always animated human kind. Without it no society could exist. Sociability and sympathy are characteristics that have evolved through the process of voluntary association. Social habits, practised through long ages, they have become inherent in humanity, and we regard society, not as a crystallised organisation based upon brute force and man-made laws, but as an agglomeration of associations founded upon the basis of mutual agreement, combining their efforts for the common good. Social organisation, therefore, is plastic in character; consequently it gives free play to all those varied aspirations and temperaments, and it adapts itself to those tendencies and struggles which constitute progress.

No longer hypnotised by Parliament and its gaseous emanations, we see what important factors spontaneous effort and free association are to-day. How all that is best in man has its source, not in authority, but in this universal spirit of mutual sympathy and combined effort. These are potentialities which are the foundation of all true social life, and are opposed to all systems founded upon discipline and subordination. Therefore we are Anarchists because we observe the tendencies towards individual liberty and free grouping—a higher form of social life—and that the subjection of humanity to political oligarchies and professional cliques would eliminate individual initiative and self-reliance, and would keep man a slave.

R. MOORE.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### CAN A GENERAL STRIKE BE SUCCESSFUL.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—This subject seems to me a most important one for the working class at this moment. "N" says in his article on this subject: "Too many things are taken for granted which require continuous fresh examination." I wish to impress these words on the mind of "N." and others. "Will an effective strike of this kind be possible before immense masses are filled with indignation and enthusiasm to such a degree that they might and would straightaway make a revolution and not stop at a passive strike?" Immense masses are already filled with indignation and would revolt if they had the opportunity of doing so, and had someone to show them how it was possible to be done. "N." does not attempt to show them any reasonable method by which they could act. He says: "Each trade comprises men of most different opinion and character. To make this mixed crowd, or a greater part of them, act unanimously for a general purpose is more difficult and a longer way than that the revolutionary-disposed and like-minded men of all trades should meet and unite and act in common for some purpose which is revolutionary action." But where, when, and by whose invitation, "N." does not say. Suppose, in the first place, these men did do so, might I point out to "N." that unless these men had at least the sympathy of these immense masses they would be very helpless indeed! I should be sorry for the section who revolted having the immense masses against them which they would have at the present time, because they believe it would be madness to make the attempt. But it is not necessary, in my opinion, for men who advocate physical force to cut themselves adrift from men who believe in using any and every means to bring about the destruction of the present rotten system of capitalism.

"N." says: "Extremely few trades are really important to society or cannot be replaced to some degree by military or private effort, or dispensed with for a time." But I say on the contrary that extremely few trades are necessary to be held up to paralyse the whole of commerce, which could not be carried out by the military or private effort. There are bakers and many other trades in the Army, but they cannot produce without materials, and these materials are not produced by the Army or Navy, but by the proletariat collectively. Ships do not plough the ocean by wireless telegraphy! Motor cars, trains, masses of troops have to be moved by quite a different method. Says "N.," "I think that society is organising for resistance," etc. Well, comrade, I don't; I don't believe that society will do anything of the kind until they have seen the fallacy of the Parliamentary machine by sending a majority of State Collectivists to the House of Chin Waggers.



In my humble opinion, the Industrialists have the soundest basis for revolutionary action; but they are in a very crude state. They require the help, sympathy, and advice of physical force revolutionaries to perfect them. I have tried to do my share in this direction. Go ye and do likewise.

"N." concludes from all this that, "whilst many small reforms are obtained by the usual Trade Union and Syndicalist methods, nothing of importance can be won by large masses without revolutionary struggles as of old." That is just what I and my comrades are telling the people, and we want you all to come and assist us. "Anarchists have more reason than ever to hold their views before the people; but these views must be brought up to date." I might point out that the advocates of Anarchist Communism and Industrialism are just the very people who are up to date. That is why we have such a small following, because the immense masses are all behind. But what can you expect when all over the country tribes are going about teaching the people that the only way to bring about Socialism is by sending men of their choice to the House of Chin Wagers, begging for gradual reforms? For many years past I have advocated international class-conscious solidarity on the part of the workers; but the overwhelming majority of them are still apathetic or opposed to solidarity. Notwithstanding the cry of the class war, there appears to me to be less class war now than there was 30 years ago. If "N." does not agree with the position I have laid down, will he or Comrade Malatesta, or anyone else, "state a case," as the lawyers say, and we will discuss it, privately or otherwise? I must say, in conclusion, it is no use putting forward abstract ideals; they are all right in theory, but what are we to do in practice?

Faternally yours,  
THE IRISH REBEL.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### Turkey.

The movement amongst the workers in Turkey has lately been spreading rapidly. At present there exist Trade Unions of Turkish railwaymen and gas-workers, Bulgarian printers; Greek cigarette-makers, soap-workers, printers, tailors, cabinet-makers, boot-makers, stone masons, shop assistants, and workers employed in State monopolies and municipalities; also Jewish cabinet-makers, tailors, masons, and shop assistants.

The progress which all these Trade Unions are making has led the Government of the Young Turks to oppose directly the organisation of the working classes. A mass meeting was held in Salonica by more than twenty workers' Unions and Socialist and Co-operative Societies to induce the Government to change its policy. But the very opposite took place. After a lively debate in the Turkish Parliament, a law was voted by a great majority denying the workers the right of combination.

So also in Turkey the workers have found out that they need not look to Parliament in their fight for their claims; but must, like their Western brothers, learn to rely on their own strength and revolutionary direct action.

### Japanese in America.

Surely there are already many signs that the East is awakening from its slumbers. Now we have the pleasure to announce that in Chicago the first number of the *Proletarian* has appeared, the weekly organ of the Japanese workers in the United States. The paper aims at propagating the principles of Socialism and Revolutionary Syndicalism. The editor is Takuhashi, 302, Well Street, Chicago, Ill.

The publication of this paper once again proves the effectiveness of propaganda in Japanese circles in America, as there existed already another Japanese paper, called *Ro-do*, published at Fresno, Cal., 921, F. Street, which is the official organ of the Japanese Workers' Union (Nippon Ro-do-sha Domei), which was organised in August, 1908, and counts 4,000 members. At present steps are being taken to convoke a conference at Chicago, where the preparations for organising all the Japanese in America may be taken in hand. "Let the Japanese take part in the general American Labour movement," is the motto of the *Proletarian*. If we think of the outcry of the American Federation of Labour against Japanese immigration, the method of the Industrial Workers of the World to go and propagate amongst the Japanese has surely proved better than all the proposed laws for keeping out Orientals.

The President of the American Federation of Labour, which counts two millions of members, but believes still in the identity of interest of employer and workers, is at this moment in Paris. Gompers tried to make his French public believe that Revolutionary Syndicalism in America, represented by the Industrial Workers of the World, is without any importance. But if the latter are not yet so strong as the Federation of Labour, they have, at any rate, shown a higher sense of their Socialist responsibility in the question of Japanese labour in America, and, as we have said above, with a very good result.

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## THE PLACE OF ANARCHISM IN SOCIALISTIC EVOLUTION.

By P. KROPOTKIN.

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## PROPAGANDA NOTES.

[Reports of the Movement are specially invited, and should be sent in not later than the 25th of each month.]

### GLASGOW.

Charlie Kean has been busy doing propaganda work here, and has caused a revival among the schools of Anarchism, making comrades buckle on their armour who had no intention of doing so for some time. The Jewish Anarchist Communist Group of Glasgow, an active body of comrades, held an indoor meeting in Breadalbane Hall, Oxford Street, on July 11, at 6.30 p.m., with Kean as lecturer, the subject being "Anarchism and Industrial Unionism." Kean is an Anarchist of the Individualist school, and was quite at home while dealing with his favourite subject. But when dealing with Industrial Unionism, he seemed to be a little at sea, which goes to show that we should study our opponents' side of the question almost as much as our own, and should never underrate an adversary. There were about 200 present. The lecture lasted an hour, and questions and discussion two hours, yet only some ten left before the finish. Glasgow people are very "keen" of discussion, and Kean is not the first Anarchist or Anarchist Communist that has come here and got hard nuts to crack. The Scots are considered somewhat slow; "slow but sure" ought to be their motto, and when they do settle on any question, they "haud on." So when they understand the philosophy of Anarchism they will "mak' siccor." When question and discussion time arrived, there were various schools of thought represented, such as the Socialist Labour Party, Industrial Workers of Great Britain, Industrialist League, Anarchist Communist, etc. The first opponent was W. Paul, S.L.P., an earnest and sincere young man, a fluent speaker who can state his case well and knows when he has said enough. Next on the list came J. Wilson, I.W.G.B., who made out a good case for his organisation. Then Dan Wilson explained and defended his position as a member of the Industrialist League. No Anarchist Communist took part in the discussion, probably thinking that the skein would be ill enough to unravel. Not a sound was heard when Kean was called upon to answer. He pictured the wastefulness of voting, proved that the old State coach of Parliament was obsolete, and was only meant to be a drag on the workers. From an Anarchist point of view, the S.L.P. member and the Industrial Unionist seemed to get the worst of the argument, but Kean could not so easily pick holes in the garment of the representative of the Industrialist League, as they, like the Anarchists, are Direct Actionists. All he did was to pick at an article in their paper, the *Industrialist*, entitled "Are Industrial Unionists Anarchists?" by L. Boyne. Some points in the article gave him cause, but on the whole it seemed to be on the right track. We all understand one another better now, and hope to meet again "some other day" and sharpen our wits so that we will be stronger to fight in the battle for Liberty.

A. B. HOWIE.

### MANCHESTER.

A vigorous open-air advocacy of Atheism and Anarchism is being conducted in this city and its suburbs. All forms of superstition, from the God idea to the policy of the village-pump politician, are pitilessly criticised by a small though strong circle of independent Anarchists. Every effort has been made to suppress the campaign. "Father" Lawless exhorted his congregation at St. Patrick's not to attend the meetings of those wicked Anarchists lest their souls might be lost to the Devil. Over twenty "followers" of the meek and lowly Nazarene have demonstrated their boundless love for their enemies by demanding of the authorities the incarceration of the lecturers. They learned that proceedings could not be instituted unless a breach of the peace occurred. These respecters of "law and order" endeavoured to create an organised disturbance in the hope of forcing the arrest of the speakers, but without success.

Eight meetings are held weekly; a permit to collect has been refused. Sales of literature amounted to £1 4s. 5d. in the three weeks, July 1—21.

### LEICESTER.

On June 24, Midsummer Day! I held a very good meeting in the Market Square, in spite of the fact that it was very cold and windy; subject, "The State"; literature sales, 2s. 6d. Sunday following held two splendid meetings at 11 and 7.30; literature sold, 8s.

On Monday I set down my chair in the midst of about thirty Territorials in the Market Square. It was 7.35, and they had to fall in at 8 o'clock prompt; so I announced my subject as "The Territorial Army a Fraud," and began the meeting. More "Terriers" turned up and most of them were interested, although not a few of them wanted to fight me. I had my eye on the clock, however; and at two minutes to eight I let fly the final arrow into the fighting men by calling them cowards and automatic man-killers, and then offering to fight some of them who were anxious to do battle. The clock strikes eight, the bugle sounds, and there is a general stampede of the "heroes" to the accompaniment of the laughter of the crowd and pathetic appeals from myself for them to remain and settle the dispute.

On Thursday, July 1, I held my last meeting in Leicester at 7.30 and it lasted until 10.30. As the Duke of Rutland had been opening a Boer War memorial that day, and also being pension day, all the "heroes" of South Africa were in town filling themselves with Dutch courage at the expense of the public. At this meeting, two of the



South African warriors came forward to make me withdraw the term "hired assassins" which I applied to them, otherwise they would both punch my adjective, etc., etc., head. However, they soon climbed down and were glad to get away at the finish. I contrasted them with Buwalda of the United States Army, pointing out what he had done with his medal, until at last all the crowd were with me. Nearly all my stock of literature was disposed of at these meetings.

I travelled from Leicester to Manchester by train, arriving early on Sunday. Although a comrade declared that it was no use speaking, as the only crowd to be got were rowdies, I had a good meeting, selling about 2s. worth of literature. I was told that our comrades Paley and Winter have had large crowds every night in the week.

F. SIBBITT.

#### BATTERSEA FREEDOM SOCIETY.

On various occasions recently I have spoken in opposition on the platforms of the State Socialist parties, the Church Socialist League on Clapham Common letting me have their platform twice one afternoon. On Sunday, July 18, Comrade Ray and myself held forth at the S.E. gates, Battersea Park. On the previous Sunday at Clapham Common Comrade Kitz spoke from the I.L.P. platform on the Tsar's visit, and made a rattling good speech, which was well applauded. He started by saying, "I speak from this platform as an Anarchist."

For particulars of the above Society, write to the secretary (enclosing stamp for reply), Emily Holden, 107 Durham Buildings, Battersea, S.W. Letters for me should be sent to the same address.

W. UNDERWOOD.

#### C. KEAN ON TOUR.

Comrade Kean concluded a ten days' propaganda visit to Edinburgh and environs, and has gone on to Kilmarnock till August 3, when he travels on to Paisley, opening same night. (Paisley comrades see handbill.) Wednesday, August 4, 8 p.m., at Hall, 54 Dalmarnock Road, Glasgow, debate with members of the Industrial Workers of Great Britain. Thursday, August 5, proceed to Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Comrade Kean is now booked up through England to London, and cannot accept any further engagements.

#### East London 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.

#### Liverpool Communist Sunday School.

Meets every Sunday at 3 p.m. at the I.L.P. Rooms, 1 Clarendon Terrace, Beaumont Street (enter gate almost opposite Alt Street). Come and spend an hour with the children.

#### Canning Town Group.

Meetings are held at the corner of Beckton Road every Sunday at 11.30 and 6.30. Speakers heartily welcomed.

#### MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

Unavoidably omitted.

#### PHOTOGRAPH OF MARIE SPIRIDONOVA.

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