

Freedom

JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM

Vol. XXIV.—No. 258.

OCTOBER, 1910.

MONTHLY; ONE PENNY

NOTES.

The Ferrer Commemorations.

On October 13, 1909, the Monarchists and the priests of Spain committed the infamous crime of shooting Francisco Ferrer in Montjuich. This intelligent, courageous, and energetic educationist, full of humanitarian ideals, full of hope and love for the rising generation, was murdered by the beasts of prey who rule in Spain. These monsters imagine that kingcraft and priestcraft can be eternal, and that the unutterable misery of the people, whom they starve in mind and body, must never be voiced, never be alleviated by the word or deed of man. Leave all to the priest and wait for heaven—that is the only hope they give to the people. But Ferrer, a true Libertarian in the widest sense, took up the work of dispelling the mists of superstition that aid so powerfully these black apostles of human misery and degradation. His grand ideas of education, and his splendid conception of how they might be realised, we all know. That glorious effort cost him his life. But if ever a man's ideals were spread far and wide by his martyrdom, that happened with the murder of Ferrer. A Francisco Ferrer Association has been organised in New York, and is doing all that is possible to continue his work. In every civilised country his ideas are being discussed and are winning adherents. And now that the anniversary of his death is at hand, we hear from all sides of commemoration meetings, which will again have a wide influence in helping on the work for which he died.

Private Monopoly and State Control.

At the Congress now being held at Barry by the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., laid down the following dictum: "Railway men and citizens must choose between one huge monopoly run solely for private interests or State ownership." It is a very serious matter to differ from an M.P., who is supposed to know all about everything, while we unfortunates live in outer darkness. But it is a risk we are prepared to take, and so we beg to point out that there is another choice open to the railway men and the citizens. If it were not so, humanity might as well give up the ghost; for if ever there was an instance of "out of the frying-pan into the fire," it would be to jump from private control to State control. We recommend Mr. Thomas to study what is happening with State railways on the Continent, where he will learn what the workers may expect from their new master; and as to the service, even as we write we read, under the heading "Unlucky [?] State Railway," "Yet another accident on the State Western Railway." The "unluckiness" consists in the fact that the State organises so badly, and keeps the road in such bad repair, that the whole business is a scandal.

An Alternative.

Now what is the alternative? Let us try to reason from facts. We have already under our eyes an organisation which may show us the way. The Co-operative Wholesale is not by any means an ideal Society. It is run too much on capitalist lines, and compromises with the wage system of to-day in a manner that often disgusts its own members. But it has done one excellent thing: it has shown us how a vast distributive organisation can be carried on free from the monopolist and free from the State. Now railways are vast distributive agencies. They not only distribute merchandise, but, if we may be allowed the expression, they "distribute" vast masses of people. The organisation of the railway systems has been a growth. They did not spring into their present perfection under the magic wand of a few directors. So many have helped that it is impossible to distinguish individual efforts. Now, all the directors from all the railways in England might be sent to seek their fortunes in

the Wild West; the Government could be told to keep its red-tape out of the way; and the organisation of our railway system could go on as well as, much better, in fact, than it does to-day. If ever there was a system that required the goodwill and keen attention of those who are working it, it is our railways. If ever there was a case where the stupidity from above should be replaced by knowledge and experience from below, it is in this instance. In other words, a co-operative organisation could replace the monopolists and save us from the State. But that means the railway men taking over the lines in the interests of the community; and it is in this direction the minds of the men require educating.

The Cotton Lock-Out.

This latest act in the stupendous struggle which is growing on all sides between Labour and Capital is remarkable for one thing—the wonderful development of solidarity, which, as we have already noted, has shown itself in other disputes. Those greedy thieves, the cotton lords, like their prototypes who have stolen the land, will grind the faces of the workers to save their own profits and rent. Does the price of raw material increase? Then wages must go down. Does trade decline? Then short time and reductions all round. Their own bellies must be filled with the luxuries of the land, even though the men, the women, and the children should starve. The same with the landlord. Tax him in proportion to his wealth, and the burden is thrown on to all the unfortunates who are dependent on him. The capitalist Press is shocked at the spirit of the mill hands, who stand so manfully by one comrade. They ought to admire them. If they remembered their Christianity—and they are all honourable Christians—they would recall the words of him who said: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least among you, ye have done it unto me." But their capitalistic instincts come before—a long way before—their creed, and they realise that the growth of this spirit amongst the workers means the fall of the money-bags—and the end of the capitalist Press.

The Berlin Riots.

The Berlin riots mean this, and nothing less than this—that the German people are ready for a radical change in their political conditions. As is always the case, economic causes are involved in more or less direct relation with what happens politically. But when the so-called "respectable and law-abiding" sections of a population are in open revolt against the police, we may be sure there is something fermenting in a nation that will have consequences. It is well known that the brutality of the German police is not far removed from that of the Russian Cossacks, and as a consequence they are hated by an intelligent people who are perhaps the best educated in the world. These abominable tools of the Junker rule have had their first lesson, and they must now understand they have the deep hatred and resentment of the German people to reckon with.

COMMUNIST CLUB, 107 CHARLOTTE STREET, W.

On Thursday next, October 13,

A GREAT

INTERNATIONAL COMMEMORATION MEETING

Will be held at the above Hall on the

ANNIVERSARY OF THE MURDER OF

FRANCISCO FERRER.

Speakers.

HARRY BOULTER, E. MALATESTA (in French), R. ROCKER (German),
E. LEGGATT, F. TARRIDA DEL MARMOL (Spanish), GUY ALDRED,
W. PONDER, W. TCHERKESOFF (Russian).

Chair at 8 o'clock prompt.

Doors open 7.30.

Admission Free.

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM.

BY PETER KROPOTKIN.

X.

ANARCHISM—(Continuation).

Fourier—a contemporary of the Great French Revolution, from which he derived his chief ideas—was no longer living when the International was founded. But his views had been popularised so well by his followers—especially by Considérant, who had given them a scientific unity—that, consciously or not, the most enlightened spirits of the Working Men's Association were very much under the influence of the ideas of Fourier.*

Now, the leading idea of Fourier was not so much the union between Capital, Labour, and Talent for the production of commodities, to which such a prominent place is usually given in most historical works on Socialism. His chief aim was to get rid of individual commerce for private profit, with all the speculations it necessarily provokes, and to call into existence a *free national organisation of exchange of all the commodities*.

To use Considérant's words, the remedy against all infamies of present exploitation Fourier saw in "*bringing into direct relations the producer and the consumer, by organising intermediary COMMUNAL AGENCIES, which would be the depositaries—not the owners—of all food produce, and would deliver this produce directly to the consumers, adding only to its price the real cost of transport, storage, and administration, which always is almost insignificant.*"

The COMMUNE, the free municipality—Fourier called it a *Phalanx*—had thus, in Fourier's opinion, to offer the solution of the great problem of Exchange and Distribution of Produce. But this Commune would not be the *owner* of the stored produce: it would only be a *depository*—an agency for storing the produce and distributing it, but realising *no profit*, and levying no tribute upon the consumers.

Fourier gave a further extension to his idea. He supposed that all the families of a rural Commune constitute a *Phalanx*; they put together their land, their chattels, and their agricultural implements, and cultivate their land, or engage in industrial pursuits, as if the land, the chattels, the machines, etc., were their common property—a careful record, however, being kept of every inhabitant's contribution to the working capital.

Two main points had to be kept in view in such an association. There must be *no disagreeable labour*. All labour must be so organised, so distributed, and so diversified as always to be *attractive*. And *no sort of coercion must be exercised*. In a society organised on the principle of free association, no sort of coercion could be tolerated, and none would be needed. With some intelligent attention to the needs of every member of the *Phalanx*, and with its combination of agricultural, industrial, intellectual, and artistic work, the members of the *Phalanx* would soon recognise that even the passions of men, which under the present structure of society often become a nuisance and a danger, and are always an excuse for coercion—even the passions might be a source of progress, if their exercise be recognised, and a reasonable social outlet for them be given in the shape of new ventures, risky enterprises, social animation, diversity, and so on.

As to how the commodities produced would be distributed, Fourier—who, after the defeat of the Great French Revolution, and during the awful reaction that followed it, was naturally induced to advocate peaceful solutions only—insisted upon the necessity of recognising the principle of *association* between Capital, Labour, and Talent. Accordingly, the value of the commodities produced by each *Phalanx* ought to be divided, in his opinion, into three parts, one of which would remunerate Capital, another would remunerate Labour, and the third would be the share of Talent. However, most of the Internationalists saw in this part of Fourier's ideas a mere concession to the reaction that reigned during his lifetime; at any rate, they treated them as a point which did not affect the more essential portions of his schemes, were the following:—

1. The Commune—*i.e.*, a *small territorial unit*—is to be considered as the basis of the new Socialist society.

2. It is the depository of all the commodities produced in the surrounding locality, and the intermediary for exchange. It represents also the association of consumers, and very probably in most cases it will also be the *producing unit* (which may, however, also be a professional, and not a territorial group, or a federation of producing groups).

* It is known, from our friend Teherkesoff's work, that it was from Considérant's "Principles of Socialism: Manifesto of the XIXth Century Democracy," published in 1843, that Marx and Engels borrowed the theoretical part of the economic principles which they expressed in the "Communist Manifesto." The borrowing, indeed, even of the form itself, is quite evident to any one who will consult both manifestoes. As to the practical programme of that Manifesto, it was, as Professor Audler has shown, that of the Communist, French and German secret organisations, originating from the *débris* of the secret societies of Babeuf and Buonarroti.

3. These Communes freely federate, in order to constitute the Federation, the Region, or the nation.

4. Labour *must* be rendered *attractive*. No solution whatever of the Social question is possible, so long as this has not been achieved. And to attain this is quite possible.

5. To maintain harmony in such communities, no coercion is necessary. The influence of public opinion alone will do.

As to how distribution would take place in each Commune, this would have to be settled by the Commune itself, which may introduce the Communist principle, "to each one according to his needs," or adopt some system of remuneration by results. This last alternative solution was the essence of what was known among the Latin nations as "Collectivism"—in opposition to the authoritarian Communism of the Babeuf schools.

And finally, as to how the present society could pass over to a Socialist one, it was almost unanimously recognised by the workers that the time is soon coming when a new revolution, much deeper and more universal than that of 1848, would break out; and then the workers would do all in their power to dispossess Capital of its present monopolies.

This, then, was the ground upon which the Anarchist ideas were going to develop within the International.

One sees from the above sketch how the Jacobinist ideas—centralist and authoritarian—intermingled in the International with ideas of local independence and federation. Both were legacies of the Great French Revolution. If the centralist ideas were handed down directly from the Jacobinists of 1793 and the conspiracy of Babeuf, through the secret Communist organisations of the first half of the nineteenth century, the ideas of local independent action were handed down, at least among the French, from the powerful and truly revolutionary and constructive action of the "Sections" of Paris and the Communes of 1793-94, which I have described lately in "The Great French Revolution."

It must be said, however, that the former, *i.e.*, the Jacobinist current, undoubtedly was the more powerful of the two. The educated middle-class people who had joined the International were mostly Jacobinist.

And now came the terrible Franco-German War, into which Napoleon III. and his advisers madly rushed, in order to save the Empire from the rapidly advancing revolution; and with it came the crushing defeat of France, the Provisory Government of Gambetta and Thiers, and the Commune of Paris, followed by similar attempts at Saint Etienne in France, and at Barcelona and Carthage in Spain. And these popular insurrections brought into evidence what the *political* aspect of a Social Revolution ought to be.

Not a Democratic Republic, as was said in 1848, but *the free, independent Communist Commune*.

This was the form that the Social Revolution must take—the independent Commune. Let all the country and all the world be against it; but once its inhabitants have decided that they *will* communalise the consumption of commodities, their exchange, and their production, *they must realise it among themselves*.

More than that. We made one step more. We understood that if no central Government was needed to rule the independent Communes, if the national Government is thrown overboard and national unity is obtained by free federation, then a central *municipal* Government becomes equally useless and noxious. The same federative principle would do within the Commune.

The uprising of the Paris Commune thus brought with it the solution of a question which tormented every true Revolutionist. Twice had France tried to bring about some sort of a Socialist revolution, by imposing it through a Central Government, more or less disposed to accept it: in 1793-94, when she tried to introduce *l'égalité de fait*—real, economic equality—by means of strong Jacobinist measures; and in 1848, when she tried to impose a "Democratic Socialist Republic." And each time she failed. But now a new solution was indicated: the free Commune must do it on its own territory, and with this grew up a new ideal—ANARCHY.

We understood then that at the bottom of Proudhon's "Idée Générale sur la Révolution au Dix-neuvième Siècle" (unfortunately, not yet translated into English) lay a deeply *practical* idea—that of Anarchy. And in the Latin countries the thought of the more advanced men began to work in this direction.

Alas! in Latin countries only: in France, in Spain, in Italy, in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, and the Wallonic part of Belgium. The Germans, on the contrary, drew from their victory over France quite another lesson and quite different ideals—the worship of the centralised State.

In the Latin countries, then, the lesson of the Paris and the Carthage Communes laid the foundation for the development of Anarchy. And the authoritarian tendencies of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association, which soon became evident and worked fatally against the unity of

action of the great Association, still more reinforced the Anarchist current of thought. The more so as that Council, led by Marx, Engels, and some French Blanquist refugees—all pure Jacobinists—used its powers to make a *coup d'état* in the International. It substituted in the programme of the Association Parliamentary political action in lieu of the economic struggle of Labour against Capital, which hitherto had been the essence of the International. And in this way it provoked an open revolt against its authority in the Spanish, Italian, Jurassic, and East Belgian Federations, and among a certain section of the English Internationalists.

* *

In Mikhail Bakunin, the Anarchist tendency, now growing within the International, found a powerful, gifted, and inspired exponent; while round Bakunin and his Jura friends gathered a small circle of talented young Italians and Spaniards, who further developed his ideas. Largely drawing upon his wide knowledge of history and philosophy, Bakunin established in a series of powerful pamphlets and letters the leading principles of modern Anarchism.

The complete abolition of the State, with all its organisation and ideals, was the watchword he boldly proclaimed. The State has been in the past a historical necessity, which grew out of the authority won by the religious castes. But its complete extinction is now, in its turn, a historical necessity, because the State represents the negation of liberty, and spoils even what it undertakes to do for the sake of general well-being. All legislation made within the State, even when it issues from the so-called universal suffrage, has to be repudiated, because it always has been made with regard to the interests of the privileged classes. Every nation, every region, every commune must be absolutely free to organise itself, politically and economically, as it likes, so long as it is not a menace to its neighbours. "Federalism" and "autonomy" are not enough. These are only words, used to mask the State authority. Full independence of the Communes, their free federation, and the Social Revolution within the Communes—this was, he proved, the ideal now rising before our civilisation from the mists of the past. The individual understands that he will be really free in proportion only as all the others round him become free.

As to his economic conceptions, Bakunin was at heart a Communist; but, in common with his Federalist comrades of the International, and as a concession to the antagonism to Communism that the authoritarian Communists had inspired in France, he described himself as a "Collectivist-Anarchist." But, of course, he was not a "Collectivist" in the sense of Vidal or Pecqueur, or of their modern followers, who simply aim at "State Capitalism"; he understood it in the above-mentioned sense of *not* determining in advance what form of distribution the producers should adopt in their different groups—whether the Communist solution, or the labour cheques, or equal salaries, or any other method. And with these views, he was an ardent preacher of the Social Revolution, the near approach of which was foreseen then by all Socialists, and which he foretold in fiery words.

The form which Anarchism takes now under these various influences will be analysed in our next issue.

(To be continued.)

THE STRIVING FOR EQUALITY.

If we ask ourselves what is the one underlying purpose of the Labour revolts so frequent at present, we are forced to reply that it is to attain equality. The striving, however, on the part of the workers is at present wholly unconscious of its ultimate goal, and, of course, would not have assumed its present forms if it were not.

Men are, and have been through the ages, dissatisfied more or less, in this way or that, with their conditions of life; but why is it, if we admit that the conditions of the working classes throughout Europe are better now than ever before (an easy admission on the part of the bourgeoisie), that the workers are so dissatisfied? Have we a *progressus ad infinitum*, at each stage of which the workers of the world lose sight of the advantages they possess, compared with their ancestors, and think only of obtaining for themselves a few more benefits? If this be so, then the saying that "history repeats itself" attains, indeed, a wonderful significance! The position of the privileged few is for ever guaranteed, while the discontent of the workers is seen to be a necessary factor of evolution—but that is all. In fact, in the language of Hegel, we see the world perfected and perfecting itself at each stage of its existence.

This would be well enough if we could understand a person groping for ever in the darkness, or a man going through life and learning nothing from his experiences. But man learns through experience. Slowly, perhaps; but that is often because his experiences are too hard for him; they require, in order to be understood, a mind more comprehensive in its grasp than is existent, perhaps, at the time. But if all experience, all phenomena, may be reduced to law, if Spencer's statement about the universality of law is correct, then

mankind must at different periods of its existence come to understand in its full significance what was before dark and not understood.

This is so concerning the struggle for equality. The principle of equality, at first wholly unknown, next when stated for the first time considered preposterous, and now laid down as a principle and largely advocated, has not yet reached the stage of its development when it will be accepted as a law of life as certainly as the other laws of existence are.

The ardour of revolutionists can be easily understood if we consider for a moment how impatient any one becomes when he is in possession of a truth which, however, the world will not recognise either through natural obtuseness or a perverted understanding. But whereas the recognition of most scientific truths has been very remotely connected with the welfare of humanity, the principle of equality is one that literally—no, I beg pardon, only metaphorically—cries to heaven to be understood because of its supreme importance to the vast majority of human beings. The wonder, then, is not that there are revolutionists actively asserting the principle of equality, but that there are many asserting the principle of equality who are not revolutionists. Revolutions in science are common enough; those brought about by Copernicus in astronomy and Darwin in biology are so hackneyed that I beg the reader's indulgence for the mention of them.

The principle of equality, then, as perceived in the historic striving after equality, has already met with varying degrees of acceptance; but when it is embraced by any one as being of the highest importance, it begins to exercise a far-reaching effect on such a one.

Recognising equality as the goal to be attained, he seeks to translate thought into action, to exemplify the principle in his own person, and attains thereby a dignity (not quiet, nor yet obstreperous) that affirms him a true man. He becomes at the same time the inveterate enemy of all those who stand in the way of equality. The millionaire is, in his eyes, a swollen monster who requires attention at the hands of the leech doctor; the old aristocrat with an imperious air is one who deserves no better than a slapping of the face, a proceeding ludicrous enough to laugh him out of his gigantic absurdity! Old forms and ceremonies not capable of withstanding the onslaught of reason must go, and a sphere for infinite self-development be made possible. "Il nous faut de l'audace, et encore de l'audace, et toujours de l'audace!"—the words of Danton become the order of the day. See what the principle of equality developed to the full becomes! There can be no limit to its exercise. Truly it gets into the blood!

Then why do so many stop short at a mere enunciation and mild proof of it? Some there are who only desire equality, others desire and believe it to be possible, others again evince it in their daily lives. In the latter, the idea has reached its full development; consequently, the restlessness, impetuosity, and even wildness of a true revolutionist are all in keeping with what he professes, and destined to have no small effect on those around. These are fertile soil in which to sow the idea destined in time to ripen to perfection.

Thus, after our brief sketch we look with new eyes on the struggles of the workers. We see that what they are striving for in part is what will one day be demanded in full, but that at present a mere improvement of material conditions sums up their demands, because they do not see the true import of their struggle. We who do can be quiet and listless no longer, and must make it our duty to bring light where there is darkness. The struggle as at present carried on is hopeless; Labour achieves victories, but it suffers many defeats, and advances are repulsed from time to time. But this is a condemnation of the old methods only; the man or body of men who stand as revolutionaries can never suffer defeat if what they believe to be true is the truth. The mild ones, however, are always defeated—they defeat themselves, because their methods are in accordance with the *progressus ad infinitum*, which, as we have seen, leaves things much as they were before. The true man, man the insurgent, is preparing for a great leap, in spite of the saying, *Natura non facit saltum*, because he recognises that unless this is done he cannot get free. Not economic freedom alone is it that we want, although by the exigencies of the situation that plays the foremost part; we want freedom in every sphere.

The manhood of a human being is the result of a relation, is itself a relation, and, as has so often been pointed out, can only be when the manhood of others likewise finds expression. At the culminating point of the struggle, oppressor and oppressed vanish together and become free men, the result of a long conflict through the ages. How inevitable it all appears, and yet it awaits the final accomplishment. One last titanic struggle, and mankind enters upon a new life, enters upon *its* life.

H. W. WILLIAMS.

Where the palaces are very splendid, there the fields will be very waste, and the granaries very empty. The wearing of gay embroidered robes, the carrying of sharp swords, fastidiousness in food and drink, superabundance of property and wealth:—this I call flaunting robbery.
—LAO TSE (600 B.C.).

The Great French Revolution, 1789—1793.

By P. A. KROPOTKIN.

610 pages 8vo, cloth, 6s. net, postage 5d.

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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

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

Wholesale price, 1s. 6d. per quire of 26 post-free in the United Kingdom.

All communications, exchanges, &c., to be addressed to

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International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen.

Within the last week or two I have attended two Congresses—the Social Democratic at Copenhagen, and the Trade Union at Sheffield. It is twenty-one years ago since in July, 1889, I attended, as a delegate from the Socialist League, the Marxian Socialist Congress in Paris. At that time, Socialism was still something of a terror to the privileged classes on the Continent, and an unknown quantity in this country. There were yet some remnants of the old pre-Parliamentary and avowed revolutionary Socialists. These did not think the great work of Socialism was to exhaust its energies in trying to regulate Capitalism, or in dealing with difficulties created by the system. To them it meant a new order, the advantages of which were so apparent, that soon the majority of the workers would recognise them, and be ready to forcibly overthrow the existing conditions, and replace them by those based on equity and justice, as summed up in the teachings of Socialism.

Even those who advocated Parliamentary action, put it forward on the grounds that it provided opportunity for propaganda, rather than as a means of securing Socialism. Many of the delegates who attended that Congress had seen the inside of prison as a reward for their revolutionary ardour, while others had made great sacrifices for the cause. All spoke of the emancipation of Labour.

Yet it was that Congress which convinced me of the inherent danger of the German Social Democratic Party, and confirmed me in the Anarchist position. It was there I saw Volmer in his uniform, on the platform, directing the German delegates how to vote in the body of the hall, like an army officer commanding his men. Their hands shot in the air like a company of soldiers presenting rifles at the word of command. You could almost hear them rattle. It was the political caucus, plus military methods. Political power may lay that way, but not the emancipation of Labour, a free society.

Well, twenty-one years have passed, and where is that party now? It still uses the old phrases, repeats the old dogmas, and ends—in impotence. Judging by some of the German speeches at Copenhagen, Capitalism is the "devil," Socialism the "blood of the lamb," and the Social Revolution the Day of Judgment. But when it comes to translating this "blood and fire" into concrete resolutions, to be acted upon, they are so mild and effective, that, as was truly said by an old English Social Democrat, they would be rejected by the Liberal Federation of England as being too conservative. Mere commonplace statements and platitudes, whittled down to make them acceptable to the tamest among the delegates, they become utterly unworthy of so wide a movement. Why, even the ordinary capitalist parties would be more bold, and the different Governments ready to grant more important social palliatives than these erstwhile revolutionary but now feeble folk are brave enough to formulate. In these Congresses they do not discuss theory or principle, or revolutionary tactics. All these are settled questions with them. Since the exclusion of the Anarchists, a Parliamentary policy is the only one to be pursued. Karl Marx, interpreted by Kautsky, and diluted by insipid social reformers of all kinds, is the last word. As a result, the movement has become an arrested development, and is rapidly degenerating into a rudimentary organ, without power to act. In spite of the Prussian Social Democratic policy of political isolation, in

every country it is already being steadily merged in ordinary Parliamentary processes. It is no longer feared, it is only abused as a political rival in democratic politics.

To these people, Socialism has become what Republicanism is, say, to *Reynolds's Newspaper* or the advanced Radicals—a dim ideal, often entirely lost sight of in the political electioneering policy of to-day. It is not Socialism but Parliamentary success they are concerned with. Many of them, if it came to having to make a definite choice between these, would abandon the former for the latter without the faintest compunction. They are not even seriously concerned about the realisation of Socialism—but Parliamentary success means to them their very existence. Only so far as Socialism can be used by them as a bunch of carrots to the voting donkeys, do they care a scrap about it.

In some respects the Congress was inspiring. The number of nationalities and the hundreds of delegates reflected the widespread character of the movement. And I found among them some, especially from the Balkan States, who knew and admired the writings of Kropotkin.

On the other hand, the English I.L.P. contingent seemed as much a pilgrimage as a delegation; with a few cunning and astute politicians to manipulate them. They had among them school teachers and clerks on holiday, and a few members of Boards of Guardians and others eager to see the houses for old people, and other institutions of that character in Denmark.

In the national sections the different English and American organisations fought for representation on the International Bureau. In both cases the more moderate bodies won. Gradually the movement is being dragged down to the level of a democratic social reform, political, electioneering party. In every country the same influences are at work. Just as in the early Church, cunning and unscrupulous men are getting on top, and the same corruption will follow their political success.

The strangest sight of all was to see Keir Hardie and Ramsay MacDonald play the part of stalwarts. On the question of unemployment and militarism they tried to strengthen the resolutions. So wishy-washy were these, as they came from the Commissions, where the Germans carried the day, because as a well organised political party they came to the Congress with cut-and-dried forms and expressions on the different questions, that they gave absolutely no lead even to the English Labour Party—non-Socialist and moderate as it is. This will give some faint idea of where the so-called International Socialist movement is drifting, when these men have, for their own political purposes, to try to put some life into the policy being formulated. And in any case it was good to hear them push the General Strike as a means to prevent war, even if they did not seriously mean it, and had no intention of propagating the principle at home.

The final entertainment to the delegates in the Copenhagen Town Hall was a very fine affair. The Danish are a most hospitable people, and since the Socialists are in power in the city, the Mayor welcomed them on behalf of the party. The magnificent spread was provided by the Trade Unions of Copenhagen, so that it could not be said the Socialists had used the public funds for their friends.

In the situation there, we have an illustration of the very limited service that political power can confer on the workers. A Socialist majority may in public affairs tip the scales in their favour. The Town Hall may be lent freely to them, the police may protect instead of forbidding their processions and demonstrations. The sons and daughters of poor men may be employed in the public service, and prove themselves as honest and efficient in administration as those of the well-to-do. But Capitalism in all its forms remains untouched,—the big mass of the workers must still rely entirely on their own power in organisation to even slightly resist the exploitation of their masters in the factory, the field, or the shop. As one of the Young Socialist Party said to me at this very function, pointing to his employer who was present,—“He is a good party man, but he does like his profits!” In short, just as with the Labour Party in power in the State in Australia, so with the Socialists in power in Copenhagen, at best they can only administer those public affairs arising out of and under the domination of Capitalism, leaving the economic exploitation of the workers untouched. It is that great problem, the self organisation of labour in a free society, which the workers must hammer out for themselves. In doing this, Anarchist principles and methods are bound to be adopted. The very political successes of the Social Democrats make this inevitable. Copenhagen in 1910, even more than Paris in 1889, has confirmed me in my Anarchist faith.

Sheffield must wait till next month.

JOHN TURNER.

ANTIMILITARIST RESOLUTIONS AT THE SOCIALIST CONGRESS.

The English and French delegates, with the sympathy and support of many others, submitted to the recent Congress at Copenhagen antimilitarist resolutions urging the working classes of those countries between whom war has been declared to proclaim a general strike in order to paralyse military preparations. As could be expected, German Social Democrats bitterly opposed this proposal. This opposition and the way it was carried on at last drew forth the protest of the French and English delegates against the German Social Democratic tactics and teachings.

It is very remarkable that as far back as 1867, at the second Congress at Lausanne of the great International Association, identical propositions of a general strike in case of war were brought forward by the Swiss delegates and supported by the English delegates—Randal Cremer, Odger, and Jung—as well as by all the French branches of the Association. The Congress unanimously adopted the propositions. At that time the international Socialist movement had hardly any partisans in Germany, and German Social Democratic Parliamentary tactics had not penetrated into the international working-class movement. At that period English Trade Unionists were engaged in an energetic struggle for the legal recognition of their Unions by Parliamentary legislation, and the best Radical reformers, such as John Stuart Mill and Frederic Harrison, were actively supporting the movement. As to France, the cradle of the international movement, the working classes were preparing the fight against the Second Empire; and the banner of the International was the rallying-point, not only of the French workers, but also of the Belgian and Swiss.

In these circumstances, it is easily understood that the proposal of a general strike in case of war was enthusiastically adopted by the Congress of Lausanne in 1867.

But when in 1871 the Commune of Paris was drowned in blood, and the Parisian proletariat, mostly Internationalists, were persecuted for the next fifteen years; when Gladstone's Acts legalising Trade Unions and enlarging the Parliamentary franchise had pacified the English Trade Unions, among whom respectability and moderation took the place of agitation and economic struggle, there was nothing to check the ascendancy of German Parliamentary and legal teachings and tactics. The intrigues of Marx, Engels, and Liebknecht* soon brought division into the International. The surviving revolutionary elements and the Federalists were excluded. English Trade Unionists had already retired definitely. The Revolutionists and Federalists continued to hold congresses and to propagate the statutes and resolutions of the International. Antimilitarism, antipatriotism, the general strike also in case of war, formed the subjects of discussion in their papers and groups.

In 1889 the legal reformers and Parliamentarians, headed by German Social Democrats, started a new International, which they declared to be the continuation of the old International Association. At the first Congress our Anarchist comrades presented themselves as members of the old International who had continued its traditions and Congresses; but all their proposals were rejected. At the second Congress at Zurich in 1893, comrades Domela Nieuwenhuis, Cornelissen, and Landauer submitted again the Lausanne resolutions of a general strike in case of war. Instead of discussing them, Liebknecht and Dr. Aveling and his friends provoked a disorderly scene, and the police were called in. Naturally, the resolutions were not only not voted, but not even discussed.

At the next International Congress in London in 1896, the French, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch delegates again brought those resolutions forward. This time the English Labour and Trade Union delegates supported the resolutions. The Germans seeing that they could not avoid the discussion, succeeded in fixing it for the last day, when, of course, no time was found.

At this Congress the Parliamentarians openly separated themselves from all revolutionary and Anarchist organisations. Until the recent Congress of Copenhagen, German predominance gave no opportunity to the working-class organisations to discuss the only efficacious means of stopping war.

We welcome, therefore, the fact that the English delegates have at last revolted against the timorous legalism of the Germans, and are upholding the antimilitarist and anti-war resolutions of the great International, where their fathers and the fighters of the Commune together recognised that only by a

* The published correspondence between Marx and Engels, Sorge (of New York) and Dr. Kugelmann (of Hanover), gives us a clear picture of those intrigues between 1870 and 1876.

general strike can a Government which declares war be brought to listen to the voice of the people.

DEFYING THE LAW.

The situation in the Labour movement is still ominous with the spirit of revolt. For while the rebellious element in the Unions is being thwarted in every possible way by the tactics of the leaders and the officials, who see in it the beginning of the end of their personal ascendancy, the feeling of the men is undergoing such a profound change in the struggle against the employers, that the delegates at the conferences have, for fear of consequences, had to stiffen their backs in their dealings with the masters. So although some compromise may end it all, it will probably be far more favourable to the men than it would have been without their "indiscipline" in striking.

From the boilermakers in the North-East to the miners of South Wales is a long stretch, but the position is practically the same. The men are chafing at the legal bonds with which their leaders—in the craven spirit of keeping on good terms with the powers that be to serve their own ends—have bound them. At every effort the men make, not only to maintain their "living wage," but even to resist victimisation by the masters, they find themselves checked by these very "agreements," which they are always told are the right and proper way of getting what they want, but which they find always turn the scale in the interests of the masters.

The pity of it is that the majority of the men are not yet clear enough in their ideas, nor decided enough in their action, to take full advantage of the spontaneous strike. They probably still have some feeling of dependence on their leaders, as well as some scruples about "defying the law," which they have been taught to regard as a crime only second to denying the existence of God. In other words, they are still trammelled by the two superstitions of fear of divine wrath and dutiful submission to the law. It is encouraging to find that the law, at any rate, is not receiving that reverence and respect that our rulers maintain and insist is due to it.

Now, it is of the first importance that the men should understand that they must act as seems best to them in the circumstances in which they find themselves placed. And if they need an example to prove this, they have only to turn to the action of their own leaders. The Osborne judgment, as we know, is threatening their "means of existence," and that is something that your well-groomed, highly respectable, law-abiding Labour leaders cannot regard with indifference. They are, indeed, very wroth. Not for years has there been such a show of "spirit" as at the recent Sheffield Congress. They are simply up in arms. *They are rebelling against the law. THEY ARE ANARCHISTS—TO SERVE THEIR OWN ENDS!*

Are we blaming them for this? Not at all. We only blame them for denouncing this same spirit of revolt when it could be used with so much advantage in the interests of the men. Moreover, we know well enough that their dislike of the men's defiance of legality is due to the fact that such action will inevitably prove the absolute uselessness of the Labour M.P.s. Their occupation would be gone, and the men would have learned the real value of Direct Action. Even then there would still be enough trouble in front of the Unions, for the ruling classes do not surrender their privileges at the first attack; they have plenty of resources, and they know how to compromise at the last moment.

But the men would at least be on the right road—the only road, in fact, that leads to emancipation; and if they pursued this road with courage and intelligence, they would find the capitalist conceding the "palliatives" which their leaders cannot wring from the House of Commons. Of course, they would be regarded as "undesirable citizens" by the exploiters; probably they would be called Anarchists; but have not the noble lords who have robbed us of our land, who help to make our laws, and who are themselves now organising resistance to the law as exemplified in Mr. Lloyd George's Form IV.—have not these people been called "Anarchists"? And what have they cared? They would use as much "Anarchism" as they thought fit if they found it useful, just as they would use force—the force which is a crime if used by the worker—to maintain their power and privilege.

Yes, the streets may run with blood when the "property" of the rich is in danger, but it is "against the law" to "down tools" when the miserable wages of the workers are cut down by the capitalist. The Unions need a little more of Danton's "audacity" in their dealings with the employers.

THE REAL CAUSE OF THE HIGH COST OF LIVING.

Seldom in history has the nefarious rôle of the State in the life of a nation been so clearly demonstrated as during the last two years.

From all sides, in Europe as well as in America, there is a general outcry against the increased cost of living. Germany, France, Austria, Spain, Canada, and the United States are in revolt against the high tariffs on imported goods. The scarcity of meat in Germany, Austria, and France has been the special cause of great irritation amongst all classes. "Reduce the tariffs!" "Open the frontier!" "Down with the meat monopolists!" such are the mottoes of the demonstrators in Vienna, New York, Paris and elsewhere.

The people are sincerely convinced that if in Austria, for instance, free imports of cattle should be allowed, the market will be immediately replenished and prices lowered. But let us think for a moment where the cattle supply is to come from. Germany, France, Spain, Italy, even Russia, are in a bad way themselves. The special cattle-breeding countries are Argentine and New Zealand. If these two countries, which furnish England, and perhaps a few other small Free Trade States, with meat at a cost of eightpence a pound, had to provide for an additional 130 millions of inhabitants (France, Germany and Austria), the meat prices in a short time would certainly be going up again, and another meat famine might be expected.

But those large capitalist and militarist States cannot consent to abolish, or even diminish, those tariffs and duties, because their very existence depends upon taxes, and even now their yearly Budgets regularly show enormous deficits.

It is the State, with its bureaucracy and militarism, which is devouring the fruits of the labour of the nation, and causing scarcity, and even famine, in spite of the increasing productivity of the working classes.

A hundred years ago, when railways, steamers, and telegraphs did not exist, each country had to produce its own food supply. State taxes, heavy as they were on the people's shoulders, were as nothing compared with the present. All the European States together at that time had at their disposal less than £160,000,000, whilst a hundred years later (1908) the yearly levy on the people of Europe was over £1,740,000,000.

The population of Europe has only doubled, but the number of people living on the Budget as military, naval, or civil State officials, and all those deriving an income from State bonds, is now fifteen times greater than at the beginning of last century. A moderate estimate of the number of those parasites living on the produce of the labouring classes of Europe is 28,000,000 persons. Amongst these, at least 10,000,000 are the very pick of the nation, healthy, young and strong, who are forced to live the parasitical life of a soldier or sailor.

Is it astonishing that European nations are more and more impoverished and exhausted under such a heavy burden? Free Trade or Protection is no remedy as long as those 28,000,000 of idlers, of whom 18,000,000 are living in luxury, exist at the expense of the toilers.

Let us hope that the momentary sharp suffering of the people in their daily lives in France, Germany, and elsewhere will open the eyes at least of the Socialists to the fact that no amelioration of the social and economic condition of the people, no realisation of social justice can be expected until the enslaving and devouring State has been abolished.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Labour Day in the United States.

It is known that the first of September is celebrated by the large Unions as Labour Day. This celebration has nothing revolutionary in it; instead of having the character of a demonstration of the class war, as the First of May often is in Europe, it is the occasion for well-to-do and more or less conservative workers to glorify the progress which the working classes have achieved in the Great Republic. This year the day has been celebrated in the usual way. In New York 70,000 persons, amongst whom were 5,000 women, marched in nine groups through the aristocratic quarters in Sunday clothes and wearing blue or red vests and coloured hats, "more resembling soldiers," say the reports, "than workers." But this time there is a new feature in this masquerade. The last congress of the American Federation of Labour passed the following resolution: "Considering that the Churches and clergy are taking a growing interest in the Labour movement . . . it would be advantageous for both parties, the Church and the workers, to choose a special day to fix the attention of all classes on Labour questions. Therefore the Congress decides to put aside the Sunday before the first Monday in September as the Labour Sunday, officially so-called by the American F. of L., and to invite the American Churches to sacrifice a part of that day to the explanation of Labour questions." Many ministers have enthusiastically received this proposal. Of course! They would hardly find better occasion to propagate their religion. Ministers of 700 churches have been invited to co-operate with the various Labour centres who have been encouraged by communication from Samuel Gompers.

There seems yet much to be done among the American workers

before they will emancipate themselves from the belief in authority, whether ecclesiastic or capitalist.

Happily, another large Labour organisation, the Industrial Workers of the World, is working in quite another spirit, and in this direction there is hope of more revolutionary tactics.

Austria-Hungary.

The workers and employees of the Austrian Southern Railway informed their administration that unless satisfactory answers were given to their demands, they would begin from September 15 to practise "passive resistance." These tactics, which are well known in Austria, consist in a strict application of all regulations. On the first day the obstruction and disorganisation was felt on all lines, and the trains were all late. On some lines the passenger traffic was completely disorganised. After a week of these tactics, the company had to submit and work has been resumed in a normal fashion.

In the Austrian Labour world there is a bitter fight going on between Centralists and Decentralists, or, as the former like to call the latter, Separatists and Czech Nationalists. The latter are tired of being ordered about, and of paying contributions to the Empire Trade Union, which has its centre in Vienna and is entirely in the hands of German-speaking Social Democrats. The latter seem to think that all revolt and desire for decentralisation can be crushed by preaching that Centralism and the principle of discipline are the first necessity of economic struggle. It would seem perfectly clear to any observer that national autonomy is the first factor of a really living and strong Labour movement. A pamphlet by a Centralist Social Democrat, Bauer, openly lays down the law that the Union has to control the whole Empire, and must decide (from Vienna of course!) all wage questions and strikes in whatever corner and among whatever nationality of the Empire they may happen to break out.

It is yet to be seen if the Czechs, once they have their own Unions organised, will refrain from Centralism within their own organisation.

For the present they are not only attacked by the German-speaking Centralists, but they were also lectured at the International Shoemakers' Congress at Copenhagen, which took place at the same time as the International Social Democratic Congress. The Congress passed a resolution requesting the International Union to break off all relations with the Czech Unions and to refuse any help. This looks very much like an excommunication by the Catholic Church! But worse was yet to come for the sinners against Centralism and discipline! The Congress decided also to ask the Social Democratic Congress, then sitting at Copenhagen, to condemn severely the Separatism of the Czech. Not a word in favour of the autonomy demanded by the Czechs Unions; not a word against the extreme Centralism at Vienna. And yet a little toleration might easily have restored peace between the two parties. The Social Democratic spirit of intolerance on the Congress and of the International Central Committee seems to have been known by the French Shoemakers' Unions, who, in "Anarcho-Syndicalist" terms, says the German paper, had refused to take part.

Anarchist propaganda in Austria and Bohemia is regularly carried on by strong groups which publish the bright and well-written paper *Wohlfahrt für Alle*. Its editor, Pierre Ramus, had a curious experience the other day. On a journey through North Bohemia he was suddenly arrested in Brüx for selling papers and for "instigating to revolt." In the prison they told him that he could not write or communicate with anyone till the police had concluded their investigations, which took—nine days. Naturally, the comrades were in the greatest uneasiness; but this did not prevent the paper coming out regularly. As it is thought that the police had hoped to prevent the latter by the arrest of the editor, their trouble was all in vain.

Sweden.

It will be remembered how the general strike which broke out all over Sweden last spring ended in a complete defeat of the workers, who, like a well-disciplined army, blindly followed their leaders' orders to be peaceful, legal, and quiet. The defeat of the strikers was the long-desired opportunity for the employers to make their power felt by the workers. Apparently, however, the events of the general strike have not been without effect on the Labour Unions. Everywhere they have begun to emancipate themselves from the tutelage of political parties. Fifty-two of those Unions have officially broken with their former organisation, and have adopted new tactics, revolutionary and non-Parliamentary. The "Central Organisation of Swedish Workers" has been founded, which includes local Unions and follows the lines of Revolutionary Syndicalism. This movement is making enormous progress owing in great part to the propaganda of the "Young Socialists" of Sweden. In Stockholm alone 20,000 workers have left the old movement, which thereby has lost half its adherents. Among those who stay on, many have lost so much interest and confidence that they do not even continue to pay their contributions.

One of these new Syndicates, that of the bricklayers, only recently had a chance to test their strength. They declared a strike at Karlstadt, and, though not quite successful, nevertheless obtained an increase in wages; and last, but not least, their Union had to be recognised by their employers.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

A COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

SIR,—I should like, through FREEDOM, to inform your readers that, as a delegate to the next quarterly meeting of the Co-operative Wholesale Society (North-West Section), it is my intention to move that a Committee be formed to consider the advisability of taking control of the whole of the industries of the country. As I use the expression in its broadest possible sense, I hope that any of your readers in sympathy with such a line of action will bring the matter before any other societies they may be connected with, so that by linking our forces we may help each other and so strengthen the movement.

Quite true, that at the meeting at which I was appointed some declared that they did not understand my resolution; but how superficial that understanding was perhaps the following will show. One old member, who said he did not understand the matter, proposed directly afterwards that the Society should celebrate its Jubilee by giving the members a free tea at the expense of the Society. The underlying principle of my proposal is a similar one, that members of the whole of society shall have a free existence at the expense of society at large, which means that what we create we enjoy—i.e., Communism.

But some may say that the two illustrations are not alike; that in the first case the members of the Co-operative Society had the means fully under their own control, and that in the latter case the people have not. The difference, I think, from this point of view is not so great as may at first seem. The people, I believe, have the means under their own control, but they have not yet realised the means of taking and controlling industry in the interest of all. I ask you, as the editor of FREEDOM, to kindly help us towards that end by bringing us into communication with each other, and so spread our ideas among the Co-operators, who already have the beginnings of a free Communal organisation in their hands.—Yours fraternally,

A. H. HOLT.

MARK TWAIN'S LEGAL TANGLE.

(The following extract is taken from Mark Twain's "Answers to Correspondents.")

"DISCARDED LOVER."—"I loved, and still love, the beautiful Edwitha Howard, and intended to marry her. Yet, during my temporary absence at Benicia, last week, alas! she married Jones. Is my happiness to be thus blasted for life? Have I no redress?"

Of course you have. All the law, written and unwritten, is on your side. The *intention* and not the *act* constitutes the crime—in other words, constitutes the *deed*. If you call your bosom friend a fool, and *intend* it for an insult, it *is* an insult; but if you do it playfully, and meaning no insult, it is *not* an insult. If you discharge a pistol *accidentally*, and kill a man, you can go free, for you have done no murder; but if you try to kill a man, and manifestly *intend* to kill him, but fail utterly to do it, the law still holds that the *intention* constituted the crime, and you are guilty of murder. Ergo, if you had married Edwitha *accidentally*, and without really *intending* to do it, you would not actually be married to her at all, because the *act* of marriage could not be complete without the *intention*. And ergo, in the strict spirit of the law, since you deliberately *intended* to marry Edwitha, and didn't do it, you are married to her all the same—because, as I said before, the *intention* constitutes the crime. It is as clear as day that Edwitha is your wife, and your redress lies in taking a club and mutilating Jones with it as much as you can. Any man has a right to protect his own wife from the advances of other men. But you have another alternative—you were married to Edwitha *first*, because of your deliberate intention, and now you can prosecute her for bigamy, in subsequently marrying Jones. But there is another phase in this complicated case. You *intended* to marry Edwitha, and consequently, according to law, she is your wife—there is no getting around that; but she didn't marry you, and if she *never intended* to marry you, *you are not her husband*, of course. Ergo, in marrying Jones, she was guilty of bigamy, because she was the wife of another man at the time; which is all very well as far as it goes—but then, don't you see, she had no other *husband* when she married Jones, and consequently she was *not* guilty of bigamy. Now, according to this view of the case, Jones married a *spinster*, who was a *widow* at the same time and another man's *wife* at the same time, and yet who had no *husband* and *never had one*, and never had any *intention* of getting married, and therefore, of course, never had been married; and by the same reasoning you are a *bachelor*, because you have never been any one's *husband*; and a *married man*, because you have a wife living; and to all intents and purposes a *widower*, because you have been deprived of that wife; and a consummate *ass* for going off to Benicia in the first place, while things were so mixed. And by this time I have got myself so tangled up in the intricacies of this extraordinary case that I shall have to give up any further attempt to advise you—I might get confused and fail to make myself understood. I think I could take up the argument where I left off, and by following it closely awhile, perhaps I could prove to your satisfaction, either that you never existed at all, or that you are dead now, and consequently don't need the faithless Edwitha—I think I could do that, if it would afford you any comfort.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

LIVERPOOL.

Students of Spanish are invited to address given below on Fridays at 8.30 p.m. Discussions on social topics are held in that language. We anticipate success in this movement on behalf of Internationalism, and hope to see friends and comrades availing themselves of this opportunity of practising or disseminating their ideas in Spanish.

The French group has not yet made its appearance, but there is hope.

The Industrial Union, to which several of our comrades belong, has had several meetings during the month. A great number of pamphlets have been sold, and success seems imminent. We hope to occupy the Engineers' Hall, Mount Pleasant, every Wednesday evening.

The demonstration of protest against the atrocious sentence on James Larkin has been successful, and Larkin was released on October 1. I would be glad to supply any comrade with a pamphlet dealing with the case. I might add that several of the sellers of pamphlets dealing with this case have received letters from the solicitor of our "Socialist" James Sexton, C.C., J.P., demanding the stoppage of the sale. "This is significant of much."

The school at 1 Clarendon Terrace, Beaumont Street, has had successful gatherings. Mat Roche has realised our anticipations, and we have had some interesting educational lectures. On August 28, Comrade Portet spoke to the children of the school and wished them to make clear that they accept what seems to them right and reject what seems to them wrong; to develop their thinking faculties, and have the courage of their convictions. Do not forget that Ferrer died for the sake of the children, and it remains for us to redouble our efforts for the emancipation of the child's brain from the superstitions of priestcraft and statecraft. We shall welcome any comrade to our school.

The funds come in slowly, but the rent-collector is a certain visitor. Receipts (August 25 to September 25)—School 4s 1½d, F. Goulding 6d. Picnic deficit and rent, £2 6s.

DICK.

International Club, Spekeld Building,
Canning Place.

LEEDS.

We are keeping on as usual and making some progress. Comrade Matt Sollitt does good work amongst the people that gather at the Town Hall Square, speaking to large crowds on the reasons for the revolt in the Trade Unions. The ideas of Anarchism and Direct Action are well received. Our comrade "Jim," as we call him, also does some speaking in an energetic manner. But I must mention a new speaker, Ben Goldberg, who but recently could hardly hold the platform for five minutes, and now with pluck and perseverance is able to speak for three-quarters of an hour, and answer well all questions. So we have three good speakers here, and I think it would be well for us to have a demonstration in Town Hall Square on October 13, and speak on the great work and splendid objects of Francisco Ferrer; and appeal to the people to organise Modern Schools, as he did so ably in Spain.

ALEXANDER.

NORTH LONDON ANARCHIST COMMUNIST GROUP.

Very successful meetings have been held in this district, especially on Sundays in Regent's Park. Among our speakers have been W. Ponder and A. Ray, in addition to our usual speakers, H. Greenbourn and Will Clarke. On Friday, the 23rd, a successful meeting was held at Victoria Road, Kentish Town, Greenbourn being the speaker. Many intelligent questions were asked and satisfactorily answered. The next evening, Percy Street, Tottenham Court Road, was the scene of action. Greenbourn made a few opening remarks, and then Clarke delivered a lecture on "Direct Action v. Legislation." Being Saturday evening, the usual treatment was meted out to us, but after the storm came a calm.

On Sunday evening we paid a visit to Bolsover Street, Portland Road. Greenbourn, in opening, showed the absolute futility and humbug of politics. W. Clarke, who was the speaker, delivered a lecture on "The Logic of Anarchist Communism." Literature sales good. Meetings are held as follows:—

Saturday, 8 p.m., Percy Street, Tottenham Court Road.

Sunday, 11.30 and 3.30, Regent's Park.

" 7.30, Bolsover Street, Portland Road.

WALTHAMSTOW.

We have not held many meetings as our comrade Ponder has been resting for a Sunday or two. We had our American comrade Ben Reitman at West Green Corner one Sunday evening. He gave a very interesting address and had an enthusiastic audience, plenty of questions being put. This month Ponder has had help from our comrades Greenbourn, Baron, and Ray. We also had a new convert, who has spoken on three Sundays. With this new help we started holding Sunday morning meetings at West Green Corner. The Leyton branch of the S.D.P., which was expelled a short time ago for rebelling against majority rule and discipline, held an inaugural meeting on Saturday, the 24th, and they now call themselves the Leyton Socialist Society. Our comrades Ponder and Large attended the meeting, which was a success. Let us hope this experience of majority rule in the S.D.P. has given us more adherents to fight for the cause, and for the overthrow of both majority and minority rule.

FANNER.

SOUTHWARK.

The elements are evidently on the side of the Anarchists, for they have sent fine evenings for our propaganda. We continue to hold meetings on Wednesday evenings at Union Road, Newington Causeway; and on Thursday evenings at St. George's Circus. Comrades Ponder, Guy Aldred, and Ray have been our speakers, and have addressed large and attentive audiences. We have had interesting opposition from members of the S.D.P. Let them all come. But they are not anxious for opposition from Anarchists; their objection is that there is an identity of aims between the two parties. I fancy they have another objection. Some of the sane members of the party assert that Socialism is only a stepping-stone to Anarchism, for which admission many thanks; but what will the Mrs. Grundys of their party

say? We shall continue our meetings as long as the weather will permit us to get an audience. Comrades from a distance are heartily invited.

T. P.

BATTERSEA.

We have had Ben Reitman from America speaking here. He was well received by a large audience, and gave a good address on Anarchism. He said Anarchists did not teach violence, that the philosophy of Anarchism is based on harmony; but he acknowledged the right (I am writing this from memory) of any one, whether Anarchist or not, to strike back at organised force. We hope that if he comes to England again, he will pay us another visit.

On Sunday evening, September 25, an over-zealous policeman arrested me at a meeting at the Prince's Head, Battersea, and falsely charged me with disorderly language and making use of obscene language. Next day, I made a good defence, and was bound over to keep the peace for six months.

W. UNDERWOOD.

WALTHAMSTOW AND EDMONTON ANARCHIST GROUP.

Meetings are held every Sunday at Angel Road, Edmonton, at 12 o'clock; and at West Green Corner, Tottenham, every Sunday evening at 7 o'clock.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.

Meetings are held at Glasgow Green every Sunday afternoon, and at Avenue Road, Springburn, every Thursday evening at 8 o'clock.

Help for the Chainmakers.

The following amounts have reached us on behalf of the strikers at Cradley Heath. Any further sums that may come to hand we will also forward and acknowledge:—

Acknowledged last month 13s 6d, Collected at Richfield's Work-room, Clifton, 7s, Collected at Lincoln (W. Schapiro) £1 1s 6d, Collected at Glasgow (J. McAra) 6s, R. Moore 1s, H. Johnston 2s 6d, C. M. 2s, F. Levett 1s, M. Young 2s 6d, Anon. 5s, V. Whitty 2s, Comp 6d, A. Ryland 2s 6d, G. Davison £5—total £8 7s.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(September 7—October 6.)

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