

Freedom

JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

Vol. XXV.—No. 262.

FEBRUARY, 1911.

MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

KOTOKU'S LIFE AND WORK.

[The following sketch of Kotoku and his companions, written just before their execution, has been sent us by one who knew him personally, to whom we are also indebted for the photograph.

DENJIRO KOTOKU was born about 40 years ago in Tosa (Province Shikoku), the son of one who would now be termed a doctor. He came early under the influence of a tutor in his native town who was much advanced for his time, and who already began to question whether "Mitsuhiro" rules by divine right, and if the story that his Imperial Japanese Majesty is the "direct Descendant of the Sun" can really be given any credence. As far as I know, Kotoku never attended any middle school, high school, or university, and it is therefore absurd to put "Dr." before his name. A little story will suffice to prove my case. I spoke to him of a mutual doctor friend, and it seems I used "Dr." once too often. Said he, slightly vexed, cigarette in one hand and in the other resting his head: "Why do you omit putting the vocation of others before their name, and never once forget 'Dr.' when you speak of K——?" Of course, it's useless for me to state that I had any intelligent reply to his rather quiet, opportune query.

Kotoku, who strongly resembles a Korean, is gentle, kind, and rather retiring; he is slightly below the stature of the average Japanese, but intellectually so much above them.

Notwithstanding all statements to the contrary, he was editor-in-chief of Japan's most popular paper, published in Tokio, the *Yaradsu-Chohu*, which publication can easily bear comparison with the infamous Hearst sheets of this country. Previous to the outbreak of hostilities between Japan and Russia, on account of his anti-war attitude he resigned, and with him Sakai, Nishikawa, and Ishikawa, who with Kotoku form the group in the photograph I enclose. The signatures are in Kotoku's handwriting.

As the spokesman of the anti-war party, he incurred the displeasure of the Government. From that time on Kotoku and his followers were marked men. Together with the men in the photograph, and others, he started a weekly paper known as the *Heimin-Shimbun* (the Paper of the Common People), which was soon suppressed by the authorities, but was followed by *Hikari* (Light). This publication also was suppressed, and was followed by *Chocugen* (Straightforward), which went the way its predecessors did. By this time Sakai, Nishikawa, and Kotoku, in the order mentioned, took their turns and became involuntary boarders of the Japanese Government. "*Heimin-Sha*" (the People's Publishing House), however, went on turning out pamphlets and books too numerous to mention. The police raided the establishment and confiscated everything, by so doing thinking conservatism is safe and that awful teaching of "revolutionary Socialism and Industrialism" is once for all banished from the shores of the Island Empire.

Kotoku's health was much impaired during his imprisonment (which he, like the rest of them, put to good use by the study of languages), so Dr. Tokidairo Kato suggested that Kotoku might accompany his eldest son (also a doctor) to America, and later to Europe, at the expense of Dr. Kato. He accepted, went to America, and got acquainted with a new phase of political and economic ideas. During his stay in San Francisco the awful earthquake and fire came between him and the plans of the Katos, so they returned to Japan.

After his return, strong in health, with the support of a rich young fellow countryman (but who later, so it is said, turned traitor and police spy), he started the daily *Heimin-Shimbun*, with a great circulation. For his unquestioned ability as a writer (some of his contemporaries call him the most poetic writer of modern Japan), his sincerity, honesty, and all that is essential to make a good and true man, is acknowledged even by his enemies. But the daily *Heimin-Shimbun* had a short life, and went the same way by the same methods as its predecessors.

From Tokio, the capital of Japan, to the smallest hamlet, Kotoku went about preaching the gospel of human emancipation, fearlessly and straight. No Divinity, said he, would look on and allow a state of things in which the children he created in his own image may starve or be sold into *yoshiwaras* (brothels.)—And here let me bring to your notice that after the Russo-Japanese War, Japanese women were actually sold by weight for the purpose of prostitution in China. Incredible as it may seem, it is said that during the war, in the city of Tientsin, North China, in the Japanese concession, women of the Red Cross Society, with the regalia and emblem on them, prostituted themselves for the benefit of that organisation.—No person of authority, Kotoku said, has any claim to divinity if he be blind to the poverty and depravity of his



immediate surroundings.

Is it any wonder that Kotoku became more and more the thorn in the flesh of the governing class, and at all costs had to be made impossible, no matter how low and despicable the means by which to accomplish their infernal purpose.

I understand that early in August, while already on board a ship bound for America, whence he intended to go to Europe, to attend the International Socialist Congress in Copenhagen, he was arrested, charged, the gods may know with what not, and the result is too well known to enter into details about. I have written to about eight people in various stations of life, asking for details concerning the affair; but it is rather doubtful whether I will get the desired information, in view of the terrible persecutions of people with progressive ideas and the

working of the most perfect system of espionage the world has ever known. The Christian nations of the Occident, including Russia, might go to school to the little brown man, with whom spying is a most accomplished art.

Suga Kanno, Kotoku's wife and co-worker, was twenty-nine years of age. She did not have regular schooling, but studied under private teachers. The exact date of their marriage is unknown to me, but it was soon after a Socialist meeting at the *Kiukikwan* some three years ago. She is one of the most intellectual women of Japan; fearless, kind, and "true blue." Has written several novels, and was a regular contributor to magazines and newspapers. Her brother, Massao Kanno, publishes the *Japanese Daily News* in Los Angeles, California, but will not allow himself to be interviewed by me.

T. Sakai is about the same age as Kotoku, and was born in Kokura (Province Kiushu), the son of a "Samurai" (a retainer of the Imperial dynasty, who in feudal times was privileged to wear two swords: the military caste). He is well set, slightly inclined to be corpulent. For several years he was a co-worker with Kotoku, and was enthusiastically imbued with the same spirit and principle as his friend.

And now they are to die.

What is the crime for which they are condemned? Did they really conspire against the Imperial family? No! Their crime consisted chiefly in writing and speaking against the exploitation of the working class. Enlightening and arousing the toilers to their true interests. And that is the only way they brought on themselves the wrath of the powers that be.

Kotoku and the rest of that little band of comrades will go to their doom—die as stoical and unconcerned as only their kind and race know how.

L. F.

"ROUGHEDGE-EDELWEISS."
(Pasadena, Calif.)

January 18.

P.S.—I wish that you invite Socialist, Labour, and other progressive papers to copy or translate this article, *but give due acknowledgment.*

The above sketch of the life of Kotoku, with the photo of himself and comrades, will be reprinted on good paper, and sold at one penny. Orders can be received now at FREEDOM Office.

GODLESS ANARCHY.

With the experience of a few propaganda meetings, one is able to see that the attackers of our position may be divided into two distinct groups—(1) Those who attempt to *escape* the problem by alcohol or religion; (2) those who have faced it, and having discovered some method of organising industry, attempt to make use of "those forces which now dominate society" (*i.e.*, the political institutions) to bring about the necessary revolution.

The first of these two classes is perhaps the least interesting, but some comrades, especially those struggling in Scotland, where the whisky and the good old-fashioned King of Heaven and Hell are still potent factors in life, will admit that it cannot be ignored.

Those whom the "temporal" spirit has "moved" are generally too incoherent to be understood; but those who have sought shelter in the less substantial narcotic must, as we have said, be answered. Both are alike in that, standing in their vivid world of *unreality*, they grow angry to see us still struggling against the unpoetic economic and political barriers which prevent us enjoying the *real* life of the real world.

Should our opponent be a Christian, he will proclaim the brotherhood of man founded on the fatherhood of God, *i.e.*, the equality or equal slavery of man beneath the superiority or mastership of the Deity. "Call no man your father upon earth, for one is your master, even Christ." "Neither be ye called masters, for one is your master, even Christ." On the other hand, should they be church or chapel goers, probably they will have eliminated from their religion any inconvenient dogmas about equality, and will be content to repeat again and yet again that Jesus is the only way of salvation. To all these and similar objections coming from the theologians and their victims, we may answer—

(1) That if we suppose God as the creator and master of the world and ourselves, there is only one logical attitude that we can take up, whether it be as regards the Labour struggle or any other problem. We must expect the change to come through Him. Nor do we escape this by urging the "free will" argument, which at best is simply giving a name to that element in our God-given nature which has drawn us into difficulties. If we get so far as to take any personal responsibility whatever, the utmost we can do is to utter the prayer: "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and renew a right spirit within me."

The history of the Scottish Church serves to illustrate the devastating effect of this doctrine of shifted responsibility, as late as the middle of the nineteenth century the clergy and their faithful flock even going so far as to oppose all rational efforts to cope with disease or famine on the grounds that these would be carnal attempts to overthrow

the divine will. In a message of rebuke which these learned Scottish divines sent to the wicked English authorities who were about to take sanitary precautions against the cholera epidemic, it was suggested that the proper precautions to adopt would be fasting, prayer, sermons, and a day of national humiliation before God (thus reducing the body to a state of weakness and susceptibility to disease).

Some Christian Churches to-day stick rigidly to this principle, and look upon all organisations for direct social reform as ungodly and therefore condemned, and it is little argument in the favour of Christians as a whole that most of them compromise and trust God to do a little, and the politicians to accomplish the remainder.

(2) The teachings of immortality so closely connected with religions always tend towards carelessness concerning human life and social conditions, sometimes in the more logical religions even going so far as to uphold war on the ground that the spirit is eternal and therefore cannot be destroyed in the conflict. In short, where the immortality of the individual is taught, life in eternity is all-important, and brief life here may well be spent in humble service of God, if in making the sacrifice we may win the favour of him who will be our master in the future life.

In defiance of this attitude of mind the Anarchist sings the "Love-Song of Earth" and proclaims "Man the master of things."

(3) It is not difficult to see from the two foregoing arguments that there is a much greater and wider difference yet remaining between the two positions—the fundamental difference which is the source of all the others. On the one hand, the religious man gets all his great moral truths, his guidance, in short, his philosophy of life, from the unknowable, or from Comrade God, according to the degree of familiarity with his Master that he has attained; while on the other hand, the Anarchist sees the source of his philosophy of life in his material surroundings, the knowable, though perhaps the unknown. He does not search for his guiding principles in the land of mystery or expect to find them unalterably implanted in him by some unknown divine agency. He would rather expect to find their origin in accumulated experience, and having discovered their natural birth and robbed them of the privilege of divinity, he constantly subjects them to the test of further experience, relegating to the scrap-heap of past superstitions those which are no longer serviceable, and revising the remainder to suit the exigencies of his period. Thus morality becomes subject to expediency, a statement which may sound alarming to the conventional thinker, but which if universally applied becomes the very law of progress.

This is the philosophy which pervades the life of the Anarchist. Just as the constitution or the organisation is not the *cause* of unity, but simply the result or statement of it, so a code of morality is not the *cause* of good living, only neither is it the end from which to start in reasoning or acting. It is the result or statement of good living, and is reached last.

The object of this article was to answer the objections commonly raised at propaganda meetings, or rather to put forward an argument which would be found to contain those answers if properly understood. There is a temptation to go much more fully into the question. It would be so easy to show how the arguments used against aristocracy by the democrats might be used in relation to the Theistic idea. But the practical difficulties of time and space again intervene, and therefore I resist temptation, thus giving an actual illustration of the materialistic evolution of one of the moral dogmas.

After a question on religion has led an Anarchist to declare himself an atheist, a point is frequently raised by one who claims to be a Socialist, and wishes to point the superiority of "his Socialism" over Anarchism, because, he declares, his brand does not contain the germs of atheism, but is non-religious, not anti-religious—therefore equally acceptable to men of all religious creeds. This man must be answered.

Firstly, the arguments we have used against trust in God apply equally to his position and to ours—*i.e.*, always supposing his position to be direct interference with the course of human affairs. Secondly, we can prove by innumerable quotations that he who views these questions from the Christian standpoint is forced to become an Anarchist *in so far as* he must absolutely reject human authority exercised over man. Thus the real facts of the case are exactly opposite to the representations of the "Parliamentary Socialist." The Christian Anarchist, or Tolstoyan, can put forward a good show of logic to defend his position, and though we believe him to be wrong, yet he is a man to be respected. But the man who advocates authoritarian control, and tells those whose support he seeks that his doctrine is neither for nor against Christianity is, we fear, a man to be suspected. Thirdly, perhaps most effectively we may quote to this "Parliamentary Socialist" one of themselves. Mr. Belfort Bax says:—

"The saying of Tridon, subsequently repeated by Bebel and others, to the effect that Socialism stands for a system of life and thought expressing itself in economics as Communism, in politics as Republicanism, and in religion as Atheism, embodies in a few words a large measure of truth. It may be convenient for Socialists, with a view to election expediency, to seek to confine the definition of Socialism to the economic issue abstracted from all the other issues of life and conduct. But the attempt to limit the term Socialism within the four walls of an economic definition is, in the long run, futile. Such a limitation is justified neither by historic usage, nor, as above pointed out, by the implications involved in the economic change itself."

We are obliged to Mr. Belfort Bax for explaining to us the reason why his brother politicians refuse to answer religious objections to their creed.

G. B.

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

XII.

A FEW CONCLUSIONS OF ANARCHISM.

Such being the leading ideas of Anarchism, let us take now a few concrete illustrations, to show the place that our ideas occupy in the scientific and social movement of our own times.

When we are told that we must respect Law (written with a capital letter), because "Law is Truth expressed in an objective form," or because "the leading steps in the evolution of Law are the same as those of the evolution of Mind," or again, because "Law and Morality are identical, and only differ from each other in form"—we listen to such high-flown assertions with as little reverence as Mephistopheles did in Goethe's "Faust." We know, of course, that those who wrote them spent much effort of mind before they thus worded their thoughts, imagining them to be extremely deep; but we know also that these were nothing but unconscious attempts at broad generalisations, founded, however, on an altogether insufficient basis, and obscured by words so chosen as to hypnotise men by their high-style obscurity.

In fact, in ancient times men endeavoured to give a divine origin to Law; later on, they strove to give it a metaphysical basis; but to-day we are able to study the origin of the conceptions of Law, and their anthropological development, just as we are able to study the evolution of weaving or of the ways of honey-making by the bees. Having now at our disposal the work of the anthropological school, we study the appearance of social customs and conceptions of Law amongst the most primitive savages, and we follow their gradual development through the codes of different historical periods, down to our own times.

In so doing, we come to the conclusion, already mentioned on one of the preceding pages:—All laws have a *double origin*, and it is precisely this double origin which distinguishes them from customs established by usage and representing the principles of morality existing in a particular society at a particular epoch. Law confirms these customs: it crystallises them; but at the same time it takes advantage of these generally approved customs, in order to introduce in disguise, under their sanction, some new institution which is entirely to the advantage of the military and governing minorities. For instance, Law introduces, or gives sanction to, Slavery, Caste, paternal, priestly, and military authority; or else it smuggles in serfdom, and, later on, subjection to the State. By this means, Law has always succeeded in imposing a yoke on man without his perceiving it, a yoke which he has never been able to throw off save by means of revolutions.

Things came to pass in this way from the earliest time till our own; and we see the same going on now, even in the advanced legislation of our own days—in the so-called Labour legislation; because, side by side with the "protection of the worker," which represents their acknowledged aim, these laws surreptitiously insert the idea of *compulsory* arbitration by the State in case of a strike (compulsory arbitration—what a contradiction!); or they interpolate the principle of a compulsory working day of so many hours. They open the door to the military working of railways in case of a strike; they give legal sanction to the oppression of peasants in Ireland, by imposing high prices for the redemption of the land; and so on. And such a system will flourish as long as *part* of society will make laws for the *whole* of society; and by this means they further extend the power of the State, which constitutes the principal prop of Capitalism.

As long as laws are made and enforced, the result necessarily will be the same.

We understand therefore why Anarchism, since Godwin, has disowned all written laws, although the Anarchists, more than any legislators, aspire to Justice, which—let us repeat it—is equivalent to *Equality*, and impossible without it.

* *

When the objection is raised against us that in repudiating *Law* we repudiate *Morality*, as we do not recognise the "categorical imperative" about which Kant spoke to us, we answer that the language of this objection is in itself strange and incomprehensible to our mind.* It is just as strange and incomprehensible as it would be to a naturalist who studied *Morality*. Before entering into the discussion, we therefore ask our interlocutors this question: "What do you mean by this 'categorical imperative'?" Cannot you translate your assertion into comprehensible language, as, for example, Laplace used to do, when he found the means of expressing the formulas of higher mathematics in words that every one understood? All great scientists do that; why do not you do as much?"

In fact, what do men mean when they talk of "universal law" or "categorical imperative"? Is it that all men are

* I am mentioning here an objection which I borrow from a recent correspondence with a German doctor.

imbued with the idea: "Do not do to others what you do not want them to do to you"? If so, very well. Let us begin to study (as Hutchinson and Adam Smith have done before us) whence came this moral conception, and how did it develop? Let us then study in what degree the idea of Justice implies Equality. A very important question, because only those who consider *others* as their *equals* can obey the rule: "Do not do to *others* what you do not wish them to do to you." A serf-owner and a slave merchant can evidently not recognise the "universal law" or the "categorical imperative" as regards serfs and negroes, because they do not look upon them as equals. And if this remark be correct, let us see whether it is possible to inculcate morality while inculcating ideas of inequality.

Let us analyse next, as Guyau did, the "sacrifice of self," and let us see what were the causes and the conditions that have most contributed in history to the development of moral sentiment in man—be it only of that sentiment which is expressed in the commandment concerning our neighbour. Then we shall be able to deduce which social conditions and institutions promise the best results in the future. We shall learn how much religion contributed to it, and how far the economic and political inequalities established by Law hamper it. What is the part of Law, punishments, prison, and that of the judge, the gaoler, and the executioner?

Let us study all this in detail, separately, and then we shall be able to talk, with some practical result, of social morality and of moralisation by Law, by Tribunals, and by Superintendents of Police. But high-flown words, that only serve to hide from us the superficiality of our would-be knowledge, had better be left alone. They may have been unavoidable at a certain period of history, though even then their having been useful is very doubtful; but now, fit as we are to undertake the study of the most arduous social questions in exactly the same way as the gardener on the one hand, and the physiologist on the other hand, study the most favourable conditions for the growth of a plant—let us do so!

* *

Again, when an economist comes and says to us: "In an absolutely open market the value of goods is measured by the quantity of work socially necessary to produce those goods" (see Ricardo, Proudhon, Marx, and so many others), we do *not* accept this assertion as an article of faith for the reason that it was put forth by a particular authority, or that it may seem to us "devilishly Socialistic." "It is possible," we say, "that it is true. But do you not see that, in making this assertion, you maintain that the value and quantity of work necessary are *proportional*, just as the rapidity of a falling body is proportional to the number of seconds that the fall lasts? You thus affirm a certain *quantitative relation* between labour and market value. Very well; but have you, then, made mensurations, observations—*quantitative measures* that alone could confirm a *quantitative* assertion?"

You can say that, *broadly speaking*, the exchange value of goods grows if the quantity of necessary work is greater. *This is how Adam Smith expressed himself*, adding that under capitalist production it is so no more. But to jump to the conclusions that *consequently* the two quantities are *proportional*, that one is the measure of the other, and that this is a law of Economics, is a gross error. As gross as to affirm, for example, that the quantity of rain that is going to fall to-morrow will be proportional to the quantity of millimetres that the barometer will have fallen below the average established at a certain place in a certain season. The man who first remarked that there was a correlation between the lower level of the barometer and the quantity of rain that falls—the man who first remarked that a stone falling from a great height has acquired a greater velocity than a stone that has only fallen one yard, made scientific discoveries. That is what Adam Smith did as regards Value. But the man who would come after such a general remark has been made, and affirm that the quantity of rain fallen *is measured* by the quantity the barometer has fallen below the average, or else, that the space traversed by a falling stone is *proportional* to the duration of the fall and is measured by it, would be talking nonsense. Besides, he would prove that *scientific methods* of research are absolutely strange to him. He would prove that his writings are *not scientific*, however full of words borrowed from scientific jargon. But this was exactly what was done by those who made the above-mentioned affirmation about Value.

(To be continued.)

The Great French Revolution, 1789—1793.

By P. A. KROPOTKIN.

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

FREEDOM PRESS, 127 OSSULSTON STREET, N.W.

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.
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The Japanese Martyrs.

The legal murder of D. Kotoku, his wife, and ten comrades adds one more (and a terribly black and brutal one) to the long list of the crimes of despotism. That they were innocent of everything but the desire to advance human freedom and well-being is evidenced by the method of procedure of the Japanese Courts. Had there been the slightest evidence of their guilt, the facts would have been blazoned forth so that all the world might have known. In that case an open trial would have been a triumph for the reactionary policy of Katsura.

But they were innocent; and only by that last resource of despotic cowardice—the secret trial—could their deaths be compassed. Tokio, 1911, is an echo of Chicago, 1887. Both were legal murders, and both have many features in common; but to the horrors of the Chicago sacrifices to the fury of American capitalism, Eastern despotism has added the barbaric methods for which it is notorious, and has not scrupled to sacrifice a woman, whose sex the last flicker of chivalry might have respected, but whose elevation of character, intelligence, and refinement seems to have been an added reason for these venomous enemies of mankind to crush her.

So the spirit of revolt in Japan passes through its baptism of blood, and henceforth the Japanese nation can regard itself as truly "civilised." It has its modern navy and its "Dreadnoughts," and an army infected with the spirit of German militarism. It has its "land question" and the factory system with all its attendant evils of sweated labour, insanitation, and abnormally high death-rate. Children there are offered up to the Moloch of exploitation as they were here a hundred years ago. There are slums, overcrowding, unemployment: in fact, a complete miniature of that great and glorious system of modern capitalism which treads humanity down in all civilised—and one might almost add uncivilised—nations; which makes its own morality to suit "the order of the day," and does not hesitate to crush those who question its "rights"—that is to say, who expose its crimes.

Such is the system that is now growing apace in Japan. Naturally the force and fraud upon which it rests, the misery and suffering it engenders, revolt those natures—alas, too few!—who suffer with the sufferings of the people, who understand the causes of all they see around them, and explain to the toilers how good life might be were it not for the greed and oppression which makes a small, useless, dominating class their masters. The enlightened and humanitarian D. Kotoku, his wife, and comrades studied these social phenomena, and formed conclusions which inevitably led them to adopt the Socialist and Anarchist ideals. These principles they courageously preached, winning the respect of those who knew their wholehearted and disinterested work in the good cause. That they should have attempted or even advocated assassination is a base lie that could not stand the light. Hence the closed doors and the secret trial.

No, the murder of these people, the pick of humanity, has been consummated because they were too enlightened, too desirous to help the oppressed, and, therefore, too dangerous to that hybrid "civilisation" which is rotting Japan, to be tolerated by a brutal and corrupt officialism. Katsura, Stolypin—these are the tools of Mikado and Tsar that are to stem the stream of human progress. These men who have given nothing to the world, who have no ideas—mere official mediocrities who care only to use police corruption, military force, and the hangman's rope to destroy the best in the land—these creatures are to

bolster up a dying system at the cost of human liberty, human well-being, human progress.

The evil men do not only live after them; it can often be seen shadowing them as they pass through life. These men have not killed and cannot kill the ideals that are beginning to instil hope into the people of all nations. What they have done is to give a lesson in that brutal contempt for human life which will haunt them as an avenging ghost when future troubles arise.

Speaking of the French Revolution, Madame de Staël uttered the warning that the fury of revolts is in proportion to the viciousness and brutality of the institutions which oppress. So it will always be, and so the tools of despotism may live to understand.

HOUNDSDITCH AND ANARCHISM.

The murder of three policemen in Houndsditch by burglars, and the siege in Sidney Street, have led to such an outburst against Anarchism and Anarchists, that we think it desirable to give some explanation of what Anarchism really means. But before doing so we will say a few words on the Houndsditch affair.

In the first place, we protest most emphatically against the lies in the press suggesting that aliens are criminals. This country has almost the lowest percentage of aliens of any of the great industrial nations, and they come here for the same reason as Britishers go to other countries—because they wish to earn a living, and are no more criminal than the people of these islands. No nation has sent forth more of its own people as aliens over the world than Great Britain.

Secondly, hundreds of burglaries take place yearly in this country, and this one only differed from the others because the burglars were foreigners and used firearms. No evidence has been forthcoming as to the political opinions of the persons engaged in the crime, except that they were probably revolutionists from the Baltic provinces of Russia. But almost at once the press took up the cry of "Anarchists!" and since then have done everything possible to make out that Anarchists are nothing but a lot of murderers and thieves. If half that the papers said about us were true, then some special form of torture for us should be invented to meet the case. But these sensational stories were simply invented to sell the papers—and also their readers.

Even if some of the people concerned were Anarchists, it would not prove that they were burglars because they were Anarchists, any more than that the Leicester Sunday School teacher was a burglar because he was a Christian, or Crippen a murderer because he was a Roman Catholic. In our prisons to-day there are thousands of men and women whose religion is entered as Church of England, Roman Catholic, Methodist, or whatever other sect they belong to; but nobody suggests that their religion was the cause of their criminal actions, and therefore that priests and churches should be suppressed.

Then, why this attack on those holding Anarchist ideas? Because the ruling classes of the world know that when the people understand the real meaning of Anarchism, all their privileges and power will vanish. They know that every day the Anarchist movement grows stronger, and that unless a great effort is made to stop it now, it will speedily sweep away all kings and governments, and with them will go the swarms of soldiers, lawyers, priests, and others who support them with force, fraud, and superstition. The execution of the Chicago Anarchists in America, of Ferrer in Spain, and of Dr. Kotoku and his eleven comrades in Japan, shows how far Governments will go in their attempt to stop Anarchist ideas from reaching the workers. All the lies which have appeared during the last few weeks are part of the campaign to blacken the character of Anarchists so that the public will not interfere if the authorities adopt repressive measures in the future.

To read the papers recently, one would think that human life was a very sacred thing to the ruling classes of this country, and that their hearts were broken because three policemen had been killed. What hypocrites! When have they hesitated to shed blood if their interests were at stake. The Crimean War cost thousands of lives, yet a Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, said cynically that on that occasion "we put our money on the wrong horse." The loss of life was nothing to him. During the Boer War, when the soldiers and the women and children in the concentration camps were dying in thousands, Joseph

Chamberlain said: "The suffering is immaterial." Of course, the gold mines were the only things worth considering.

Besides war, think of the waste of human life in the mines and on the railways of this country. But the London papers were so taken up with their sensational articles on the Houndsditch case, that they almost ignored the terrible explosion at the Bolton colliery, which killed 350 men and boys, a tragedy due to the criminal neglect of the warnings of danger which were issued several days previously. Colliery explosions, however, happen so often that newspaper editors devote very little space to them. But if the miners go on strike to force a few extra pence a day from wealthy colliery proprietors, then the papers are full of it, and police and soldiers are drafted into the district to overawe the strikers and protect the property of the mine-owners; and royalty sends touching telegrams inquiring about the health of the pit ponies. Men, women, and children may starve, but not pit ponies!

Amongst other crimes with which we have been charged is that of expropriation. Well, our rulers should be good judges of expropriation! Do you know that between the years 1760 and 1849 they passed Acts of Parliament by which they stole (they called it "enclosing") 7,350,000 acres of common land from the people? Do you know that more than half the area of the United Kingdom is owned by only 2,500 people? Do you know that this private ownership of the source of the means of life is the main cause of all our poverty, misery, and disease? Those of us who are allowed to work have to pay toll to these monopolists, and the toll we pay, roughly speaking, is all we produce except so much as is sufficient to keep us alive to produce more wealth for our taskmasters. Expropriation!

Well, you will say, what do the Anarchists propose as a remedy? We propose that the people shall retake possession of the land which has been stolen from them, and that they pay neither tax nor toll to any one. Unless we have free access to the land, we cannot be a free people. And, with the land, we will also take possession of everything on the land, and use it for the benefit of all instead of for a few. No longer will we build palaces and live in slums, no longer make fine clothes and wear rags, no longer provide luxuries for others while our children cry for food. All who are able and willing to work shall share freely in the good things of life; and when each one takes his or her part in the work, with the help of our present machinery and that which the inventive genius of the people will produce, a few hours each a week is all the toil that will be necessary to produce enough and to spare for all.

But can we grow enough food in this country for all of us? Certainly. As Kropotkin has written: "If the soil of England were cultivated as is the soil in Belgium, we could grow food for 37,000,000 inhabitants. If it were cultivated as it is at present on the best farms in this country, in Lombardy, and in Flanders, we should be able to feed 80,000,000 people."

But how do Anarchists propose to bring this change about? As the word "An-archy" (no-government) implies, we do not trust in Government, which is simply an executive committee of the great landlords and capitalists. They may give us a few sops at times, such as Eight-hour Acts (which don't act) and old-age pensions at an age when most workers are dead and buried (giving 5s. a week to the pensioners and taking £100 a week themselves); but anything that is likely to put a stop to their robbery will be opposed by them tooth-and-nail. No; Governments must always govern, whether they are Liberal, Tory, or Socialist Governments. The basis of Anarchism is equality, and there can be no equality between those who govern and those who are governed. Therefore, we must rely on ourselves. But first of all we must understand that it is our freedom we desire, freedom to live, to work, to love; and then, as the poet Cowper said—

"Slaves that once conceive the glowing thought
Of freedom, in that hope itself possess
All that the contest calls for; spirit, strength,
The scorn of danger, and united hearts;
The surest presage of the good they seek."

The above article has been printed as a leaflet for free distribution, and we ask for the hearty co-operation of our readers both in the distribution and in the cost of printing. Bundles will be sent on application. Carriage, 6d. per 1,000.

THE TERROR IN RUSSIA.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

76 pages; 2d., postage 1d. extra.

FREEDOM PRESS, 127 OSSULSTON STREET, LONDON, N.W.

THE MYLIUS CASE.

The only possible interest to be taken in such a ridiculous fiasco as the Mylius case is to ask oneself the question, what is at the bottom of it all? In other words, what game is this that is being played in Paris which in less than two years brings two trials, those of Guy Aldred and Mylius, before the public?

Let us note, to begin with, the high-sounding titles of the sheets that have caused the trouble. The *Indian Sociologist* might lead one to expect an important philosophical review of high literary merit. The *Liberator*, an advocate of Republican ideas, would also seem to indicate a serious journal devoted to an intelligent exposition of Republican principles. Neither of them had the slightest importance either as to sociology or to Republicanism.

The next thing to observe is that those responsible for the appearance of these publications are located in Paris, and make use here of two comparatively irresponsible young men, who distribute the papers almost at random, who seem to have no very definite aims, and are certainly representative of no movement. Both these young men have been sentenced, while those responsible have skulked on the other side of the Channel. Earnest and sincere people do not act in this way; and since the Indian Nationalist movement gained nothing from the appearance of the *Indian Sociologist*, and since there is absolutely no Republican movement in England for the *Liberator* to exploit (and no serious movement if it existed would own such a paper), we ask again, what is at the bottom of it all?

The editor of the *Liberator*, who is said to be an American, ought to understand that Republicanism does not consist in attacking the private life of a monarch, but the monarchical principle itself. In other words, if a king were a miracle of virtue he could never be accepted by a true Republican. But does Mr. James imagine the English people would be the gainers by substituting a Theodore Roosevelt for George V.? Fools as they may be in some things, they have not fallen to that depth of idiocy.

All things considered, it is impossible to take these people seriously, and after the wretched fiasco of the Mylius defence one wonders if it were not more profitable to look in another direction for an explanation of it all. If the King had desired an opportunity to make a clean sweep of the rumours respecting his private life, he could not have found a better occasion if it had been provided for him. The Coronation is approaching, and we wonder how many cheers the ridiculous, and, we must add, disgusting attack of the *Liberator* will gain for him? After all, it will turn out a very good thing for the King, and the people in Paris have done him a really good turn.

But perhaps that's what they meant to do.

COMMUNIST PRODUCTION v. HIGH FINANCE.

I.

In the struggle with the industrial capitalists for better conditions, in the stress and toil of building up the modern Labour movement, many reformers and Socialists have failed to mark and understand the most recent economic developments of our own times. I refer to the rapid rise to a world-wide influence of the great cosmopolitan bankers and financiers. To-day the great financial interests are everywhere supreme—in industry, in commerce, and in politics. Even the best informed orthodox Socialists are beginning to sound the alarm. The September (1910) *Socialist Review*, in an article dealing with an important work on "Finance-Capital" by a German Socialist, stated that "in the economic life of all nations a new world has come into being; the older analysis of the development of capitalism no longer suffices us." J. Ramsay MacDonald admitted the facts of the situation in very plain words in the introduction to a recent I.L.P. pamphlet on the Wage Fund. He said:—"The power of the financier is to be that by which Labour Parties and Labour Governments are likely to be brought to grief. . . . The class which is the creditor class can bring to its knees any public movement with which it disagrees, because by refusing to continue credits, by unsettling confidence, by raising the price of money, it can always create panic and crisis, and thereby turn the people back upon the paths upon which they have entered." Graham Wallis, in "Human Nature in Politics," and other moderate men have reiterated the above in so many words. Clearly the outlook is a grave one. With the growth of Socialism, Syndicalism, and Anarchism, there has been a corresponding organisation and consolidation of the great interests. Skilful financiers have not only got the better of democratic Governments, but they have undone to some extent the progress made by revolutionary Syndicalism in France and elsewhere. High finance is no vague chimera, it has enormous power to corrupt and circumvent the conquest of progress, therefore I think time will not be ill spent in understanding the chains that bind us, the chains we are to break.

Before discussing the mechanism of finance—our currency and

banking system—let me give a few instances of the enormous power wielded by finance-capital.

The most glaring evil of high finance is that it can and does corrupt social and political life. The ramifications of the great interests touch all the influential classes. Financiers sit in Parliament, prominent politicians are closely related to the great financial families. Consider the influence of a great London bank, or the weight of the great provincial banks through borrowers, customers, shareholders, stockbrokers, etc. Each one of these can be a power for reaction. Again, imagine the collective power that such organisations can exercise in opposing an obnoxious Act of Parliament, or in crushing some popular movement. The average man has little conception of the wide-spread influence of finance. In America the Standard Oil Co. boasts that it has the Government in its pockets. Or, take the influence of the Rothschilds in Europe; I have been told on good authority that one of the Rothschilds has boasted that in a decade or so they expect to dominate the principal banks of Europe. We know to-day that they have great influence in England, France, Austria, Turkey, and Servia, also that one of the younger Rothschilds has an important position in the Imperial Bank of Germany. "The Rothschilds practically embrace the whole of Europe in their financial network," says the "Encyclopaedia Britannica."

The world's Press stands biased in the interests of capitalism. Baron Reuter, a banker, is at the head of one of the great international news agencies, to mention only one important connection.

At the present time the various States of Europe owe the Rothschilds the enormous sum of £1,300,000,000. How did the small firm of Frankfort bankers and dealers of a century ago obtain such a tight hold upon the industrial and social resources of Europe? By our usurious banking and currency system. There is no surer way of ultimately getting control of the resources of a country than to encourage it to borrow huge sums of money under the conditions which pertain to-day. This explains the comment of a New York paper on international bankers and China:—"The rush of the nations up to bewildered China with the announcement that she really must borrow some money from each of them scarcely seems like a scene from real life." Such is the altruism of modern civilisation!

Someone has illustrated the kind of miracle that is performed by usury, by pointing out that a penny invested at 5 per cent. compound interest in the first year of the Christian era would to-day amount to a sum more than a million times the present wealth of the world. Even moderate interest could not be earned if allowed to accumulate, a fact Fabians and Socialists (?) who advocate the compensation of landlords and capitalists would do well to take to heart.

(To be continued.)

EMMA GOLDMAN'S BOOK.*

From her busy, strenuous life as a propagandist, Emma Goldman has managed to find time for literary contributions to *Mother Earth*. These essays, gathered together and presented in an excellently printed volume, now lie before us.

Whatever failings the book may have, it can at any rate be truly said that Emma Goldman stands alone as the one woman who has had the great courage—an indomitable courage, we would call it—to write this book and to issue it to the world. In these days when economic servitude seems to have sapped the last fibres of moral courage that we once possessed, when the people are fed by a press whose lying advertisements tell us more truth than the editor and his staff, and which will hound the best and the bravest to prison or the scaffold to pile up the dollars with its increased circulation,—under such conditions how much do we owe the courageous heart of a woman that can give us this book?

In the dozen essays this volume contains, many subjects that the cowardice of society leaves untouched are dealt with vigorously. All are so written that clearness and directness of expression make plain the meaning to all those who read them. "Patriotism," "Prisons," and "The Traffic in Women" seem to us the most powerfully written, as well as the best reasoned out of all the essays. But none need fear dullness in anything the book contains; something of the eloquence of the author seems to illuminate the pages, though, perhaps, this arises only with those who know the personality of the writer.

For after all, Emma Goldman is an active propagandist before all things. In the lecture hall and the meeting place, her influence is at its height, her energetic eloquence has its full effect. If half of those who have heard her on the platform will read her book, it will have an immense circulation, and certainly an educational influence; besides which, as she says in her preface, "The relation between the writer and reader is more intimate." For this reason she has published her book, and we heartily wish it a full success.

We must not omit to add that an excellently written biographical sketch of the author by Hippolyte Havel, and also a good portrait, add considerable interest to the book.

* *Anarchism and other Essays*. By Emma Goldman. \$1.00. New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 55 West 28th Street.

CORRESPONDENCE.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

SIR,—FREEDOM is indeed to be congratulated on her correspondent, Mr. S. Carlyle Potter, who writes in the December issue. To those of your readers who are Anarchists before they are Communists there is no subject more worthy of study than the science of the mechanism which unites capital and labour—namely, money. Allegiance to Anarchism presupposes that, given two methods of removing a social evil, that which involves the least interference between man and man is to be preferred. Now the mistake of Communism is that it assumes the present social evil to result from *unrestricted* freedom of contract, overlooking the fact that in that most vital branch of human relations, the free extension of the means of publishing mutual trust between individuals, the State has for ages set down its foot with disastrous results to prosperity.

Let us consider for a moment what we mean by the provision of capital to labour. When one man has produced more than he needs he is in a position to lend to another who may be able, if the means of present gratification are afforded to him, to produce in his turn. Where perfect mutual confidence does not exist, the borrower will give to the lender his I.O.U. to repay at a future date. But the lender probably wishes to purchase before the time of redemption of the promise, and as the borrower's I.O.U. may not be acceptable to strangers, there is needed the intervention of a third party whose business it is to endorse the notes of all such persons who may be worthy of trust. This man specialises on the labour of valuing the integrity of prospective producers, and the community circulates his endorsed notes when it is satisfied that his judgments are sound.

Mark now the evil of the State interference in these matters. In primitive days this public guarantor was obliged to give gold to would-be producers, because mutual confidence was not sufficiently advanced to permit the use of paper documents. The time came when he found that he was able to circulate paper promises to pay gold to bearer on demand, instead of the gold itself, and as soon as people found that they were able to get gold for these notes *when they wanted it* they used these notes in their exchange transactions. The advantage to the community from this innovation was considerable, for by its means the banker, as he came to be called, was able to make much greater advances to producers than he would have been able to had he been compelled to use gold. Freedom for others to set up as bankers would have rapidly reduced the charge for issuing such paper to the lowest possible, and as the community became more accustomed to the methods of checking the soundness of the banker's issues, the need for gold for exchange purposes would gradually have disappeared. The State, however, stepped in and gave the monopoly of such note issue to a private corporation, with the result that the means of setting up fresh industry was restricted. With but a comparatively few amendments this prohibition persists to-day. Our banks are still compelled to use an unsuitable substitute for gold, the cheque-note issue being entirely prohibited.

There is no room here to discuss the exact points where this restriction operates. Let it suffice if I point out that, on theoretical lines, the social evil would never have arisen if, in the early days of the industrial revolution, there had been perfect freedom in the supply of capital to labour. The early manufacturers would scarcely have been left in the enjoyment of such huge profits when there was facility for other capable workers to obtain the means of setting up factories. Every such extension of industry would have caused goods to be sold cheaper, while at the same time using up the labour which had been displaced by the introduction of machinery, and causing wages to rise. There is no reason why this process should not have proceeded until the workers were obtaining such high wages, and those workers who had become employers such low profits, that it would not have been to the interest of the next most capable worker to turn employer. We should then never have heard of the demand for the abolition of free competition.

The situation is to-day somewhat complicated by the length of time during which we have permitted the employer-monopolists to retain their hold. But it is not hopeless. Let us but permit freedom to individuals to issue whatever tokens of mutual confidence they see fit. There must result increased facility for fresh *combines* of capital to compete with the present swollen trusts. Every such entry of fresh competition must tend to reduce the prices of goods and increase wages, thus beginning the return to the ideal conditions sketched above.

I put the matter deliberately to the readers of FREEDOM in order to see how many men there are in the Communist movement who have an eye for an angle in argument. When each man has the right to decide whether he will pay another to work for him, or whether the reward offered by the other is sufficient to induce him to forego the opportunity, freely extended to every deserving man, of setting up for himself, society can obviously be considered more Anarchistic than when society lays it down that all men shall put their produce "into the common pot." Moreover, this proposal does not necessitate a return to small factories; the most economical method of production will prevail. The freedom of mutuality of credit will ensure that whatever owners of machines exist are paying as high wages to their workers *as their profits will afford*, such machine-owners being continually exposed to the possibility of competition from other employers.

The Communist movement has always deplored the suppression of the individual necessitated by State ownership of machinery. It remains to be seen whether the movement has still sufficient vitality of perception and power of application to study to take up this question and thresh it out to its conclusion.—Faithfully yours,

HENRY MEULEN.

15 Gainsboro' Road, Bedford Park, W.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

United States.

The progress of events in the U.S.A. seems to be leading to a definite point in the struggle between the workers and the High Courts, wherein Judge-made law has brought us back almost to a similar condition to that of the times of the *lettre-de-cachet* and the Bastille. A powerful Corporation or Trust has only to signify to the Judge what it requires and people are thrown into prison at that gentleman's sweet will. This has gone on to such an infamous extent that in the *Appeal to Reason* for January 7 Eugene V. Debs has issued a stirring "Declaration of Revolt." Therein he points out that the Judges of the Courts are so openly used in the interest of the capitalists that even the mockery of a trial is dispensed with. This results in such an odious form of tyranny that there is nothing left but open revolt against the whole system. Debs quotes what Lincoln said on this subject, viz., that "If the policy of the government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned the government into the hands of that eminent tribunal." "February 12th," Debs adds, "the anniversary of Lincoln's birthday, cannot be more patriotically celebrated than by the inauguration of a national demonstration of protest against the despotic encroachment of the capitalist Courts." Perhaps it may not be taken up on that particular date, but the revolt will come all the same.

Australia.

The "political action" of the Labour Party in N.S.W. is not, we see, giving satisfaction to those who have put their hopes in it. Of course, it will be said that this is an old cry of the Anarchists; but although we have foreseen what must happen by placing men—even the best of men—in power above their fellows, it is nevertheless not us, but their own followers, who are denouncing them. One important matter for which they are condemned is their action in regard to May and Stokes, two miners who were sentenced to two and three years respectively for their part in the Broken Hill strike. The Melbourne *Socialist* prints a facsimile of a petition with the signatures of all of the Labour Party *when out of office*, towards the close of 1909. These gentlemen, now elected and in the Cabinet, stir not a finger to give effect to their own petition, and Stokes is still in prison! But there is another indictment against this Labour Government that was to show us the *practical* way to abolish the capitalist system, for the *Socialist* accuses it of betraying the domestic workers, in so far as it has "allowed the Industrial Alteration of the Constitution to leave Parliament without including domestic workers in its benefits." "The Labour Party has turned traitor," says another writer, who adds that although this great injustice has been pointed out, "it refuses to remedy this fatal mistake." Well, we think "the fatal mistake" is sending them to Parliament at all. They are sure to fail the workers the world over—and even in a country where women have the vote!

France.

Once more the murder is out, and we learn that Durand, the trade unionist recently sentenced to death for the alleged incitement to murder a blackleg in the French railway strike, has been the victim of a vile plot fabricated by one Delarue, in the employ of the Compagnie Transatlantique. One of the witnesses for the prosecution, Paquentin, has made a declaration in which he says their evidence was dictated to them by this man Delarue, and that it was at his instigation they swore that the death of Dongé had been voted at the strike meeting at the suggestion of Durand. Delarue, the *provocateur*, had paid their fares to Rouen, paid for their food and lodging, and given them money beside. Paquentin, who made this confession, was reproached for his conduct by the inquiring magistrate, to whom he replied:—"What can you expect? My wife was about to have her fourth child, and heaven knows, somewhere I must find bread for my children!" That is an epitome of the whole horrible business. The ruling powers let loose the serpents of the spy system to tempt these hungry wretches and the foul work is done. Everywhere, everywhere, in "high circles" and in low, this putrescence of a decaying system exudes and sows corruption. Sometimes it succeeds in bringing the best of mankind to the scaffold; at another time it becomes a danger to the very people who rely on it, as was the case with some of Azeff's plots. As the poison is everywhere, comrades cannot be too cautious with whom they make acquaintance.

ANARCHY.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal.—*Century Dictionary*.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

LIVERPOOL.

For the benefit of subscribers to the school in Liverpool, I regret to announce that for the present we are compelled to discontinue until we again find suitable rooms. Although somewhat expecting an eviction, still I gave credit to the I.L.P. that they, at any rate, would not be perturbed by the piffle in the press. However, comrades, it is done—we are evicted!

The local press made it their bounden duty to inform the pious public that there was such an "extraordinary thing as an Anarchist Sunday School in Liverpool," where, it was alleged, we taught the young idea how to use all manner of bloody ways to murder people, as if there were not enough of these agencies regulated by the Christian Church in the shape of Boys' Brigades and Boy Scouts. There was a flutter in the dovecoats of the S.E. Branch of the I.L.P. But how were they to tell me without showing the "trembling at the knees"? Ah! that was the question. So they trumped up a flimsy charge that my young comrades were naughty, they sang secular songs on a Sunday, they danced and ran about as children are wont to do, and I *allowed* them to do so!

After the press had made calumniating statements against us, and told us what we did and did not do, they sent their representative to visit us; but the caretaker of the I.L.P.—anxious about the reputation, such as it is, of the I.L.P.—denied our existence. When I reproached him for it—oh my! what a dance and song he made about the "reputation," about the "electorate," and the voters!—for you must know that their branch is graced with a City Councillor, and "there's the rub!" In two days I received notice to quit at once, and so all my forty young comrades are now turned out in the cold, cold world because we had no "reputation." So much for the eviction.

On January 13 we had a right royal time with the youngsters. Geo. Davison had invited them to a social, and we finished our career under the I.L.P. roof with the determination to hold fast to the school until we are again lodged safely in another home. I must thank those comrades who made the social a success by their timely help in the catering.

Donations (Dec. 25 to Jan. 25)—B. Black 2s, W. M. 8d, School 2s 6d.

The Revolutionary Industrialists are having good gatherings on Sunday evenings (8.30) at 2 Birchfield Street, Islington. The Club rooms at that address are open each evening. Correspondence on this subject should be addressed to S. H. Muston, address as below. There has been a depletion in numbers, but it has left the remaining stalwarts with more energy to push on the cause of solidarity.

International Club, Spekelland Buildings,
Canning Place.

DICK JAMES.

GLASGOW.

The comrades here have begun this year as active as ever, determined to keep the Red Flag flying.

On January 3 our first group meeting was held. As it was holiday time, it was lively owing to some of the old comrades telling us about the history of the past Anarchist groups; whoever writes it, it will be interesting. On Sunday, January 8, Comrade Max could not appear, and instead Comrade A. B. Howie gave us a lecture entitled "The Only Way." The title of his lecture, he observed, was egotistical and dogmatic, and he did not deny it; but his investigations were inspired by a love for the truth, and the truth as he found it was the only way. If any one could show him to be wrong, he would abandon his claim and follow in any way which could prove itself to be a true one. As an Anarchist Communist he claimed the use of this planet and all its resources for the good of all, instead of being, as they are to-day, held in the possession of a privileged few, held not by any moral title, but by force and fraud. Only by direct action on the part of the people themselves could the rights of the people be won. Laws had been imposed upon men who had nothing by those who had all. Such one-sided laws ought not to be obeyed, but ought to be resisted to the last drop of blood. This had been the principle and policy of the greatest men who had risen to bless the race. To this end they must be educated, stimulated, and organised. This is what Co-operative Societies, Trade Unions, and all advanced movements should work for. Economic liberty was the foundation of all liberty. Our comrade had no difficulty in proving this from historical records of the past. May I also state, the audience was the largest as yet, and they appreciated the lecture.

Our comrade Barrett is doing an immense amount of propaganda in the open air. Large crowds surround him; the energy, ability, and enthusiasm he puts into his speech grip his audience. He has been the means of many a one coming round to see that the accounts of Anarchism in the press are venomous. He has the character of a man that one reads about but seldom sees.

Group meetings are held in the Clarion Scouts Rooms, 26 Elmbank Crescent, in February, on Tuesdays the 14th and 28th, at 8 p.m. In the Brassfinishers' Hall, 36 Main Street, Gorbals, on Sunday, February 5, at 7 p.m.; lecturer, A. Max; subject, "Anarchist Communism." Watch for report of Comrade Dugald Semple's lecture in next month's issue.

MACGREGOR.

BRISTOL.

On the initiative of several local Socialists and Anarchists, with the ready co-operation of the S.D.P. and I.L.P. branches here, a public meeting of protest against the secret trial and intended murder of D. Kotoku and his comrades, was held in the Haymarket on Sunday morning, January 22. James Sutton, of the S.D.P., presided, and first called upon a comrade from Whiteway to address the meeting. In the short time at his disposal our comrade gave us a brief sketch of the career of D. Kotoku; the nature of the work for which he and his comrades had been condemned, and the manner in which the Japanese authorities had set aside their own usual legal procedure in their determination, at all costs, to get their prisoners condemned. Walter Ayles, Organising Secretary of the I.L.P., next addressed the meeting, followed by Miss Zelda Kahan and Tom Phillips of the S.D.P. Mrs. Ben Tillet explained that Ben would gladly have been with us had he been in Bristol that morning. All the speakers in earnest words expressed their condemnation of the methods of barbarism and

victimisation pursued by the Japanese Government. The following resolution, put to the meeting and carried by unanimous assent, was forwarded at once to the Japanese Embassy, London:—"This mass meeting of Bristol citizens emphatically protests against the atrocious sentence of death passed upon Dr. Kotoku and twenty-five others by a secret Court at Tokio."

A large number of FREEDOM's containing the facts were distributed, and a collection taken amounted to 15s 6d, which, happily, just covered the expenses of the meeting.

A similar resolution to the above was also passed at the Bristol East Free Discussion Class, and sent on to the Japanese Embassy and local press.

Collected at Jack Flynn's, and forwarded to meet deficit on London Meeting, 10s.

NOTICE.—Will all readers of FREEDOM in Bristol desirous of forming a Freedom Group here please communicate with Jack Flynn, The Haymarket? Now! he's waiting there for you. A. P.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(January 12—February 8.)

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—F. Baker 2s, J. Hellum 4s 2d, H. Glasse 5s 3d, E. Rhodes 2s.

FREEDOM Subscriptions.—F. Rouret 1s 6d, R. A. Lown 1s, A. D. 2s, J. Hellum 2s, H. Johnson 1s 6d, F. M. P. 1s 9d, C. Cade 1s 6d, S. Rizzo 1s 6d, Miss M. 2s, W. J. Pike 2s 6d, J. J. 1s 6d, J. Turner 2s 6d, F. Nicol 4s, P. Secco 4s, F. W. Lear 2s, R. Barrett 1s 6d, W. P. Smith 1s 6d, E. E. Rimbach 1s 6d, J. Halliwell 1s 6d, F. Shuttleworth 1s 6d, G. Senior 2s.

Japanese Protest Fund.—F. Baker 2s, C. H. Grinling 2s, A. Harvey 7s 6d, B. Black 2s, "Alvan Marlaw" 1s 6d, L. E. Singer 1s, G. Davison £5, A. Ross 8d, M. Dugham 2s 6d, Dr. E. Duchemin 4s, L. J. Simons 2s, Collected at J. Flynn's, Bristol 10s, J. M. H. 1s 6d, V. Whitty 2s.

FRENCH BOOKS ON SALE.

The following volumes of "Bibliothèque Sociologique" (Paris: P.-V. Stock), can be obtained from FREEDOM Office. Price 3s. post-free, except when otherwise stated:—

C. ALBERT: "L'Amour Libre."

BAKOUNINE: "Œuvres" (reprints of scarce early pamphlets and articles, first publication of unpublished manuscripts). 4 vols.

CAPIERO: "Abrégé du 'Capital' de Karl Marx." (A resumé of Marx's "Capital" by Cafiero, the friend of Bakunin). 1s. 4d. post-free.

C. CORNELISSEN: "En Marche vers la Société Nouvelle."

CŒURDEROY: "Jours d'Exil" (1849-1851): (Memoirs of an early French Anarchist). 3 vols.

L. DESCAGES: "Soupes" (Nouvelles).

SEBASTIEN FAURE: "Le Douleur universelle. Philosophie libertaire."

G. FERRERO: "Le Militarisme et la Société Moderne."

JEAN GRAVE: "L'Anarchie. Son but. Ses moyens."

" " "L'Individu et la Société."

" " "La Société Mourante et l'Anarchie."

" " "Réformes, Révolution."

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