

Freedom

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NOTES.

Art and Anarchism.

The highest art must always be Anarchistic, because before all things it must be free, must deal with living issues, must answer to the real relationship of life and things. But it is not often the great artist understands that his finest achievements are dependent upon other things besides his own skill; that he *learns* as well as teaches, and has to find his inspiration in that never-ceasing action and reaction which makes the whole world kin. Hans Richter, the greatest *intellectual* conductor we have yet seen, has illustrated this with a charming simplicity. In a few brief words of farewell to the members of the London Symphony Orchestra he said: "The hours I have spent with you have been hours of happiness. And while I have been teaching I have learnt. If a conductor says he is a good conductor by his own merits, I should say he is a swindle. It needs a good orchestra to teach a conductor the possibilities in his work. And that, gentlemen, is what you have done for me." Such a statement must be a revelation to those who love to preach that only by obedience and authority to the heaven-born teachers and "superior" people can humanity accomplish great things in any sphere of its activity. In an Anarchist society art would become a brotherhood of fraternity and equality which would certainly despise the Fabian's "rent of ability," but which would develop individual capacities to the highest point.

Nemesis in Japan.

Japan martyred the Anarchist Kotoku and his comrades for the same reason that other despotisms have done the like—to stop them from preaching the truth. Now the Anarchists are dead, some of the terrible evils which had aroused their hatred of existing conditions in Japan are being publicly denounced by Dr. Kurwada, a member of the Japanese Upper House. The 10,000 factories she has built employ nearly a million workers, 700,000 of whom are females, and of these a tenth are under fourteen years of age. Children are in the factories almost before they are out of their infancy. These infernos are run night and day. Conditions in them are simply indescribable, and the wages do not keep body and soul together. Dr. Kurwada asserts that the women of the towns are used up, and that now they are brought up from the country under false promises, to be broken in health and morals. They are treated as slaves, and their punishment is the lash or sometimes the dark cell. Such is the Nemesis that Capitalism, which now holds the sway in Japan, has brought to its unhappy population. What a crime to denounce this bloodthirsty exploitation which devours women and children as a machine consumes fuel! What a crime to suggest that a better social system might be established than this nightmare of greed and plunder! Kotoku and his comrades have died, but they have let the light in to show the world what a commercialised and militarised Japan really means.

Rules and Regulations.

Every Anarchist who has discussed with opponents will recall the oft-repeated question, "How can you organise society without rules and regulations?" Our Social Democratic friends are particularly keen on this point, as has been exemplified in some recent debates. A little rational thinking would make it clear that there is all the difference in the world between being "ruled and regulated" as we are to-day, and agreeing freely about methods and arrangements which hurt nobody, but, on the contrary, are a distinct advantage to us all. It is understood, for instance, that trains must start at stated times because it facilitates travelling; that silence should prevail in the reading room of a public library, for reasons we all understand. Anarchists not only recognise this, but point to it as the real basis of social customs that are never disputed, because they are not "rules" as such are understood but the outcome of free

agreements become customary. So much for that side of the question. Now, do we ever realise that rules not infrequently become a real danger to us all? We could give many instances, but let the following be digested. Mr. J. E. Williams, general secretary of the A.S.R.S., said recently at a meeting in York: "Rule had been given very great prominence in reports on accidents recently. Whatever might have been its virtues years ago, economic changes had taken place which had made it absolutely obsolete, and instead of it being likely to minimise accidents, it was likely to be the creator of them." Will our opponents kindly say what is likely to happen to our "ruled and regulated" lives under Social Democracy when the *great* economic change—the social revolution—has made rules and regulations "absolutely obsolete"?

APPEAL OF MEXICO TO AMERICAN LABOUR.

The following Appeal has been sent from the Mexican insurgents to S. Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labour, and has been printed in *Mother Earth*. Because of the ominous and disgraceful silence of the English Press over the Revolution in Mexico, we publish it in *FREEDOM*, and hope all who have any regard for human liberty will give it the widest publicity:—

Sir,—The Mexican Liberal Party appeals to you—to you directly and officially, as head of the largest body of organised labour in the United States. It appeals to you in a cause as just and holy as ever recorded; it makes an appeal, therefore, that you cannot and, we are sure, will not resist.

It is time that the workingmen of the United States speak out, and it is for you to give the word, promptly and decisively.

The slavery against which we are fighting is the slavery your American Federation of Labour was organised to fight. The chains that the money power has fastened on us are the chains against which you fret. Our cause is your cause, but your cause in its extremest, most pitiable and, therefore, most irresistible form.

We are in revolt against unspeakably atrocious slavery, forced on us and supported by the American money power. The Standard Oil Co., the Guggenheims, the Southern Pacific Railway, the Sugar Trust—all that Wall Street autocracy against which you and the great masses of your nation are making such vigorous protest—are the powers against which we of Mexico are in revolt. They have dispossessed us of our lands and rendered us homeless by the hundreds of thousands; they have left us the choice of exile or imprisonment in such hells as the Valle Nacional.

To support this Wall Street inferno, American soldiers are being called to arms. Already by the tens of thousands they are being sent to our borders, that they may aid in stamping out the last spark of that freedom which is supposed to be the basis of your Republic.

It is time for effective protest, and it is you who can make it most effectively.

The issue is clear, unmitigable, beyond evasion. We repeat that our cause is your cause, and we call on you to give it voice—promptly, clearly, and decisively.

Yours for human liberty,

(Signed) RICARDO FLORES MAGON,

For Junta, Mexican Liberal Party.

519½ E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.

LABOUR DAY IN HYDE PARK.

MONDAY, MAY 1, AT 3.30 P.M.

Platform **A**.

Speakers—R. ROCKER, W. PONDER, A. RAY, J. TOCHATTI, J. TURNER, and others.

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

XIII.

THE MEANS OF ACTION (*Continued*).

Without entering here into an analysis of the different revolutionary movements, it is sufficient to say that our conception of the coming social revolution is quite different from that of a Jacobin dictatorship, or the transformation of social institutions effected by a Convention, a Parliament, or a dictator. Never has a revolution been brought about on those lines; and if the present working-class movement takes this form, it will be doomed to have no lasting result.

On the contrary, we believe that if a revolution begins, it must take the form of a widely spread popular movement, during which movement, in every town and village invaded by the insurrectionary spirit, the masses set themselves to the work of reconstructing society on new lines. The people—both the peasants and the town workers—must themselves begin the constructive work, on more or less Communist principles, without waiting for schemes and orders from above. From the very beginning of the movement they must contrive to house and to feed every one, and then set to work to produce what is necessary to feed, house, and clothe all of them.

As to the Government, whether it be constituted by force only or by election; be it “the dictatorship of the proletariat,” as they used to say in France in the “forties,” and as they still say in Germany, or else an elected “Provisional Government,” or a “Convention”; we put no faith in it. We know beforehand that it will be able to do nothing to accomplish the revolution, so long as the people themselves do not accomplish the change by working out the necessary new institutions.

We say so, not because we have a personal dislike of Governments, but because the whole of history shows us that men thrown into a Government by a revolutionary wave have never been able to accomplish what was expected from them. And this is *unavoidable*. Because in the task of reconstructing society on new principles, separate men, however intelligent and devoted they may be, are sure to fail. The collective spirit of the masses is necessary for this purpose. Isolated men can sometimes find the legal expression to sum up the destruction of old social forms—when the destruction is already proceeding. At the utmost, they may widen, perhaps, the sphere of the reconstructive work, extending what is being done in a part of the country, over a larger part of the territory. But to impose the reconstruction by law is absolutely impossible, as was proved, among other examples, by the whole history of the French Revolution.

During a revolution new forms of life will always germinate on the ruins of the old forms, but no Government will ever be able to find their expression *so long as these forms will not have taken a definite shape during the work itself of reconstruction* which must be going on in thousands of spots at the same time. Who guessed—who, in fact, could have guessed—before 1789 the rôle going to be played by the Municipalities and the Commune of Paris in the revolutionary events of 1789-1793? It is impossible to legislate for the future. All we can do is to vaguely guess its essential tendencies and clear the road for it.

* *

It is evident that in understanding the problem of the Social Revolution in this way, Anarchism cannot let itself be seduced by a programme that offers as its aim: “The conquest of the power now in the hands of the State.”

We know that this conquest is not possible by peaceful means. The middle class will not give up its power without a struggle. It will resist. And in proportion as Socialists will become part of the Government, and share power with the middle class, their Socialism will grow paler and paler. This is, indeed, what Socialism is rapidly doing. Were this not so, the middle classes, who are very much more powerful numerically and intellectually than most Socialists imagine them to be, would not share their power with the Socialists.

On the other hand, we also know that if an insurrection succeeded in giving to France, to England, or to Germany a provisional Socialist Government, such a Government, without the spontaneous constructive activity of the people, would be absolutely powerless; and it would soon become a hindrance and a check to the revolution.

* *

In studying the preparatory periods of revolutions, we come to the conclusion that no revolution has had its origin in the power of resistance or the power of attack of a Parliament or any other representative body. *All revolutions began among the people.* None has ever appeared armed from head to foot, like Minerva rising from the brain of Jupiter. All had, besides their period of incubation, their period of evolution, during which the masses, after having formulated very modest demands

in the beginning, gradually began to conceive the necessity of more and more thorough and deeper changes: they grew more bold and daring in their conceptions of the problems of the moment, they gained confidence, and, having emerged from the lethargy of despair, they widened their programme. The “humble remonstrances” they formulated at the outset, grew step by step to be truly revolutionary demands.

In fact, it took France four years, from 1789 to 1793, to create a Republican minority which would be strong enough to impose itself.

As to the period of incubation, this is how we understand it. To begin with, isolated individuals, profoundly disgusted by what they saw around them, rebelled separately. Many of them perished without any apparent result; but the indifference of society was shaken. Even those who were most satisfied with existing conditions and the most ignorant were brought by these separate acts of rebellion to ask themselves: “For what cause did these people, honest and full of energy, rebel and prove ready to give their lives?” Gradually it became impossible to remain indifferent: people were compelled to declare themselves for or against the aims pursued by these individuals. Social thought woke up.

Little by little, small groups of men were imbued with the same spirit of revolt. They also rebelled—sometimes with the hope of a partial success; for example, that of winning a strike and of obtaining bread for their children, or of getting rid of some hated functionary; but very often also without any hope of success: they broke into revolt simply because they could not remain patient any longer. Not one or two such revolts, but hundreds of small insurrections in France and in England preceded the Revolution. *This was unavoidable.* Without such insurrections, no revolution has ever broken out. Without the menace contained in such revolts, no serious concession has ever been made to the people by the governing classes. Without such risings, the social mind was never able to get rid of its deep-rooted prejudices, nor to embolden itself sufficiently to conceive *hope*. And *hope*—the hope of an improvement—was always the mainspring of revolutions.

The *pacif* abolition of serfdom in Russia is often mentioned as a proof of the possibility of a deep change being accomplished without a revolution. But it is forgotten, or ignored, that a long series of peasant insurrections preceded and brought about the abolition of serfdom. These revolts began as early as the “fifties,” perhaps as an echo of 1848, and every year they spread more and more over Russia, while at the same time they became more and more serious and took a violent character, up till then unknown. This lasted till 1857, when Alexander II. at last issued his letter to the nobility of the Lithuanian provinces, containing a promise of liberation to the serfs. The words of Herzen: “Better give liberty from above, than wait till it comes from below”—words repeated by Alexander II. before the nobility of Moscow, in 1856—were not a mere menace: *they expressed the real state of affairs.*

The same has occurred whenever a revolution drew near, and we can safely say that as a general rule the character of each revolution was determined by the character and the purpose of the insurrections that preceded it.

Consequently, to expect a *Social* Revolution to come like a Christmas-box, without being heralded by small acts of revolt and insurrections, is to cherish a vain hope. It is—not to see what is going on all round, in Europe and America, and to take no notice of the hundreds of strikes and small uprisings occurring everywhere, and always taking a more widespread and a deeper character.

XIV.

CONCLUSION.

What has been said in the preceding chapters will probably be sufficient to give a general idea of Anarchism and to show the place it occupies in modern thought and its relations to modern science.

It represents an attempt to apply the generalisations obtained by the inductive-deductive method of natural sciences to the appreciation of human institutions; as also to foretell, on the basis of these appreciations, the probable aspects of the further march of mankind towards liberty, equality, and fraternity, guided by the desire to obtain the greatest possible sum of happiness for each unit in every human society.

Anarchism is the inevitable result of the intellectual movement in natural sciences which began towards the end of the eighteenth century, and, after having been retarded by the triumph of reaction in Europe after the defeat of the French Revolution, flourished anew in all its might sixty years later. Taking its origin in the natural philosophy of the eighteenth century, it had not its basis completely established till after the revival of science which took place in the middle of the nineteenth century, giving new life to the study of institutions and human societies on a natural science basis.

The so-called “scientific laws,” which seemed to satisfy the

German metaphysicians during the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, find no room in Anarchist conceptions. Anarchism recognises no method of research but the scientific one; and it applies this method to all sciences usually described as the humanitarian sciences.

This is the scientific aspect of Anarchism.

Taking advantage of the scientific method of the exact sciences, as well as of the researches made of late under the impulse of this method, Anarchism endeavours to reconstruct all sciences concerning man, and re-examines the generally received conceptions of Law, Justice, etc. Basing itself on the new data obtained by anthropological research, and extending the work of its eighteenth-century predecessors, Anarchism has sided with the individual against the State, and with society against the authority which, by virtue of historical inheritance, dominates society. On the basis of historical data accumulated by modern science, Anarchism has demonstrated that State authority, which steadily grows in our days, is in reality but a noxious and a useless superstructure which, for us Europeans, only dates from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: a superstructure built to the advantage of Landlordism, Capitalism, and Officialism, and which in ancient times has caused already the downfall of Rome and Greece and many other centres of civilisation once flourishing in the East and in Egypt.

The authority that was constituted in order to unite the nobleman, the judge, the soldier, and the priest for their mutual protection and their class advantages, and which always was an obstacle to the attempts of man to create for himself a life somewhat secure and free—this authority cannot become a weapon of enfranchisement, any more than Caesarism or Imperialism, or the Church, can become instruments of a social revolution.

In political economy, Anarchism has come to the conclusion that the evils of the present day are not caused by the capitalist appropriating for himself the "surplus value," or "net profit," but by the fact itself that "net profit" or "surplus value" is possible. This appropriation of the produce of human labour by the owner of capital exists only because millions of men have literally nothing to live upon, unless they sell their labour force and their intelligence at a price that will make the net profit of the capitalist and "surplus value" possible.

This is why we consider that in political economy the first chapter to be studied is the chapter on *consumption*—not that on *production*; and when a revolution breaks out, the first duty to attend to will be to remodel consumption, so that shelter, food, and clothing should be assured to one and all. As to production, it will have to be organised so that the principal needs of all the members of society should be satisfied first. This is also why Anarchism cannot look upon the coming revolution as a mere substitution of "labour cheques" for gold, nor of the State as the universal capitalist for the present capitalists. In the coming revolution, the Anarchists see a first step towards *free Communism*, untrammelled by the State.

Is Anarchism right in its conclusions? The answer will be given us by a scientific criticism of its basis on the one hand, and especially by practical life on the other. But there is one point on which without doubt Anarchism is absolutely in the right. It is when it considers the study of the social institutions as a chapter of natural science; when it parts for ever with metaphysics; and when it takes for its method of reasoning the method that has served to build up all modern science and natural philosophy. If this method be followed, the errors into which Anarchists may have fallen will be easily recognised. But to verify our conclusions is only possible by the *scientific inductive-deductive method*, on which every science is built, and by means of which every scientific conception of the Universe has been developed.

[THE END.]

THE ONLY WAY.

With the exception of London, on Sunday, May 7, the Labour and Socialist bodies of Great Britain will assemble in their various towns, and with all the pomp and ceremonial incidental to the great occasion, will march in procession through the streets to an appointed meeting-place, there to throw down the gage and bid bold defiance to their capitalist masters. The air will resound with strident denunciations hurled from many platforms. Vast crowds of earnest listeners give patient attention to the bewildering array of facts and arguments poured forth from the apparently inexhaustible resources of the orators.

Suddenly comes the blare of a bugle, simultaneously the several chairmen "put the resolution." It is carried, and the crowd begins to scatter and to go its separate ways. The annual "demonstration" is over.

On the morrow the events of yesterday are become a memory, the insatiable maw of Capitalism has claimed its victims, the brief moment of independence is over.

Alone amongst the workers of the world, the "free-born" men of Britain express their belief in the solidarity of Labour on a Sunday—their capitalist masters would object on a working day.

When at the International Socialist Congress, held in Paris in 1889, it was decided that the first day of May be held as a holiday, that the toilers of the world might express their sense of solidarity, it was hailed as a step towards the Revolution. The hope of revolutionists rose high. Labour seemed at last about to assert itself. These hopes have been sadly disappointed. Instead of becoming more and more revolutionary with the passing of the years, the workers have become more and more entangled in the anti-revolutionary tactics of the Parliamentarian.

Everywhere the revolutionary ideal has been forced into the background. Everywhere the advocates of the insidious reactionary policy of "revolution by the ballot-box" have gained the upper hand. But signs are not wanting that a change is at hand. Dissatisfaction is evident on all sides. The spirit of rebellion, too long held under, is steadily spreading. The multi-coloured bubbles blown forth by the politician have one by one been pricked and dissolved into the nothingness from whence they came.

With disillusionment comes wisdom. The bitter experience of hopes raised but to be again and again disappointed is forcing a recognition of the truth vainly preached by the revolutionist—the bitter, unpalatable truth, that the way to the New Society is a hard and stony one. The haven is not to be gained by the "gentlemanly conduct" of Labour legislators, nor by "ameliorative measures" of "practical politicians." The dense undergrowth of the capitalist jungle will not be cleared away by soft and honeyed words.

The task of the revolutionist is a long and stern one. The difficulties to be surmounted will not be lessened by shutting one's eyes to them. It must be recognised that the upholders of vested interest and privilege will not lightly give way. They will use any and every weapon to defend their privileges, and to resist the advance of the workers.

Let us not, then, make the common mistake of despising the enemy's strength; let us enter the contest with our eyes open, inflexibly resolved that our right *must* triumph; and that, at no matter what cost, Capitalism and all that it stands for will be wiped away, and on the ruins will be founded the New Society. J. P.

A CORONATION ODE.

Hooray for George; and yet again hooray;
And still hooray, till every loyal throat
Is dry as "Blogg's Sermons." Let's be gay,
And wag a flag, and act the blooming goat.

Lo, on this day the second son of Ned
Dons a gold hat—though not before, 'tis true,
The Primate has poured on the royal head
Some sacred hair-oil and a prayer or two.

On this auspicious date each lordling wears
His Sunday togs; each peeress her best gown;
Also, the trousers of provincial mayors
Grow baggy, doing homage to the Crown.

To-day, the headmen of the British clan
Will broach the wine-skins (hence these hearty cheers);
Also, the patriotic working-man
Will smash his hat and purchase sundry beers.

And sycophants will syc. the livelong day
To gain a knighthood (title rich and rare!);
And having crawled upon their stomachs, they
Will henceforth keep their noses in the air.

It's true, the day George Wettin gets his crown,
A half-a-crown is more than some have got
Who live beneath his rule—but they are down
Because they drink and gamble, like as not;

If they worked hard, and didn't get in debt,
And were content to do as they were bid,
And never drank or gambled, each would get
Each year, like George, four hundred thousand quid.

Let's dwell on more congenial things instead:
Let's think how, everywhere, some corpse snob
Will hand out silver medals made of lead
Amidst the cheers of an admiring mob.

Note, how the nation's youngsters will be stuffed
With buns and sentiment, till, growing tired
Each goes home *plus* a mug, and somewhat puffed
(Said mug by other mugs will be admired).

The paupers—some of them—will be regaled
With goodly fare (but not *too* good, of course).
Although to make their fortunes they have failed,
They'll be allowed to cheer until they're hoarse.

The very rich will have a glorious day,
Thanks to their store of dividends and rents.
As to the very poor, I think—but they
Are, after all, of little consequence.

KARL.

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The Labour Movement and Labour Day.

It would seem that Labour Day in England will this year be submerged by the rising tide of the Coronation craze. There is at the moment no burning question to kindle popular enthusiasm; the poor Welsh miners are forgotten; the smaller Labour troubles, such as the threatened strike of taxi-cab drivers and the revolt of the poorly paid women employed by that "Progressive" sweater Idris, are not of importance enough to form a "burning question" at a Labour Day demonstration. As to other matters, such as the new gospel of peace and the dreary wrangling over the Lords' Veto—well, people get used to these things and take no further notice. The Socialist movement itself is still afflicted with Jingo Imperialism and with the Socialist politician, who still preaches that he can peacefully and legally merge the cankerous system of Capitalism into his ideal State-controlled Social Democracy.

As a matter of fact, it is this confusing of the ideal of pure Socialism (mankind's complete economic emancipation) with the capitalistic machinery of State control that has brought about the present apathy, and is certainly responsible for the lack of fire and enthusiasm apparent at those times when "the voice of the people" should be heard. Take, for instance, the tone of the two Congresses just held, that of the S.D.P. at Coventry, and that of the I.L.P. at Birmingham. In neither case was there a sign of the recognition of a great revolutionary idea that would infuse some hope of a forward march into the hearts of the workers. Instead of that, we have in the case of the S.D.P. a heated discussion on the question of the increase of the Navy. But if Hyndman wants more Dreadnoughts, as Blatchford wants more submarines—all for the glory of the British capitalist—they have the columns of the *Morning Post* and the *Daily Mail* at their disposal; and surely Hyndman should understand that the bedrock cause of the class war, of which he talks so much, is the class ownership of the means of production, which means in reality the class ownership of the workers as wage-slaves. Besides, are there not enough of the powerful, the unscrupulous, and the interested to look after the capitalists' interests in safeguarding this England of theirs without the time of a Socialist Congress being wasted and—worse still—misdirected by such speeches as were indulged in by Hyndman and Quelch?

Again, looking at the work done by the I.L.P., as summarised at Birmingham in the address of the chairman, W. C. Anderson. While Antimilitarism and Internationalism have had some attention, we find that the party itself has internal trouble and dissatisfaction over the political action—or shall we say inaction?—of its elected Members. The chairman asserts that "the younger school of Unionists propose to fight Socialism with Social Reform." But what else do they expect from politics? And is not this exactly what the Labour Party is itself working for in Parliament? In any case, there has not been the slightest suspicion of anything revolutionary having been proposed by a Labour M.P. within living memory.

"But I want to ask whether there is not a danger that we may allow discussions on Parliamentary policy to absorb too much of our attention and time, to the exclusion of even more important things. . . . Parliament follows in the wake of effective public opinion. The soul of our movement is not in Parliament, but in the country." Thus spoke the chairman of the I.L.P., and when we add to this the significant protest of George Lansbury, there can be little doubt left that the tree of Parliamentary action is not bearing the fruit that was

expected of it. It is blighted by the very atmosphere that surrounds it.

If all this bears out the truth of the Anarchist forecast, it is surely not wise to disregard the lesson because of prejudice against Anarchist teachings. The world of suffering and injustice is still seething around us, and the blood of the workers still stains the face of the earth, while the follies and vices of the rich, for whom this blood is shed, still grow apace. Victims of the present system can still die of starvation in the streets of London while the fanatics of idleness and idolatry can pay five hundred guineas to watch the crime of the Coronation. And the "representatives" of Labour in Parliament do not protest!

May Day, 1911, has no message of hope for the worker unless he can learn from all that is happening that it is vain, futile, and hopeless to delegate to others the thinking and action that is vital to the future of his class.

ORDER REIGNS IN RUSSIA.

The Great Revolution and the successive revolutions in France, Italy, and Spain, and the struggle in England and Germany during the first half of last century, seemed not only to have abolished for ever the torture and atrocity of mediaeval times, to have subdued the high-handedness of Governments, but even to have established the rights of man and the inviolability of the person. But this illusion is daily destroyed by the news of cruelty and oppression pouring in from all sides. Slavery and atrocity in Mexico, slavery on St. Thomé and in Angola, and on the River Amazon, torture and executions in Spain and in Brazil, where quite recently amnestied sailors were suffocated in solitary cells—all these acts, worthy of the Dark Ages, are accomplished in our day in Constitutional Monarchies and Democratic Republics.

But these horrors are nevertheless fading beside the horrors committed by the blood-stained autocrat of Russia. News of the incredible suffering and privation is slowly filtering through from those parts of the Empire, mostly the frozen shores of the Arctic Ocean, where the politicals have been deported without any trial, simply by order of local police authorities. These "suspects" are scattered among the native villages; sometimes twenty-eight of them are sent to a tiny village of seven huts. And to this Arctic climate people are exiled from South Russia, Poland and mild Trans-Caucasia. Their only sustenance is the five shillings a month allowed by the Government, and even this pittance is often embezzled by some dishonest official. And let it not be thought that the cost of living is low in those places: ryebread costs 1s. 6d. the four pounds, so that these "politicals" have literally to starve if they cannot gather enough mushrooms and wild berries, or if the poor natives do not give them from their scant supply of fish. Even in such isolated places, under such conditions, they are not allowed to help each other. When Madame Breshkovskaya, well known in Europe and America as the "Granny" of the revolution, now an old lady of sixty-eight years, in exile in Eastern Siberia, was helped by some political exiles to make a fire in her hut, by gathering wood and doing some work for her, these friends were, as punishment, sent to yet worse places further north. If among the exiles there is a doctor, he is not permitted to help either his comrades or the natives; there were cases when doctors were punished for having practised among the population during an epidemic of small-pox and typhus; one exiled doctor was sent to such a dreadful place that it meant practically starvation, for having assisted a woman in child-birth. If among the deported there are people of university training, they are not allowed to teach any children, not even those of their comrades in exile.

Persecuted, deprived of the means of existence, humiliated in all moral feelings, the exiles suffer from all kinds of illnesses resulting from privation and even starvation; often an epidemic of suicide breaks out among them; the greater part of those energetic enough to attempt an escape, perish in their endeavour to tramp through the thousands of miles of wilderness, relying for food on what they may catch in forest and streams.

Such are the conditions in which Nicholas keeps the best and most enlightened elements of the Russian people; the number of these victims is not a few hundreds, not a few thousands; 34,000 were officially recognised last February, but the general figure of those deported in the last six years is 80,000.

If such are the conditions of the "suspects," it may be imagined what martyrdom Stolypin has prepared for those who were found guilty by his tools, the military tribunals. The number of those condemned to hard labour is 8,640. It is known that Stolypin, with the Tsar's sanction, in November, 1906, sent out a secret circular to the governors of all hard-labour prisons, ordering them to treat political prisoners as severely as possible; to address them always with the contemptuous

"thou"; to feed them on bread, water and porridge; at the slightest sign of impatience or insubordination to beat, to flog, and even to knout them; in case of repeated insubordination, to torture and even shoot the prisoners. Generally, the prison authorities were made to understand that their promotion would depend on a severe régime being maintained in their jails.

That these recommendations were not neglected by the prison officials is only too evident from the heartrending accounts which have come to hand from time to time. In the North of Russia, in the Vologda prison, 200 unfortunate, mostly young, people were systematically ill-treated and flogged till they were driven to attempt collective suicide by refusing food. In the South, in Astrakan, Sebastopol and Kharkoff the authorities of the penal establishments exercised their brutal wits in inventing new forms and instruments of torture on their helpless victims.

In the remote parts of Eastern Siberia, the general way of treating political prisoners has become so brutal and inhuman that in many places these unhappy people finished by suicide. In Sarentin this was attempted by many prisoners, amongst whom was Sasonoff, the man who liberated Russia from Plehve.

Quite recently, under the indignation of public opinion, Stolypin was obliged to give to the Courts the administrators of one of those prisons, the Nikolaevsky Prison. Stolypin was very indignant that these administrators were not able to keep their doings secret; but they know that even if they are condemned, they will soon be pardoned by the Tsar, as was the case of so many Black Gang murderers. Thirteen prison officials, including the Governor, were brought before the Jekaterineburg tribunal. Among the forty-seven witnesses, thirty were political prisoners. They were all chained, exhausted, disfigured, and lamed by ill-treatment, having been beaten with cowhide whips with nails at the end, and with knouts. They were beaten till they died or lost consciousness. This was done for no particular cause but only in accordance with Stolypin's circular. The more distinguished the social condition of the prisoner, the worse he fared. Kabakoff, Member of the second Duma, whom Stolypin had condemned from personal hatred, from the first day in prison was beaten till he lost consciousness. When he asked later the reason why he was thus treated, they changed the ordinary beating into the infinite worse knouting. According to the doctor's evidence, his collar bone was broken.

Another political, Kobakhof, on the very first day, was also beaten till he lost consciousness; when the jailers saw that he had come to his senses, they started again; he is deaf in consequence of this beating.

A third victim, Belkoff, stated that when he was taken to prison his profession was asked. When he said that he was a chemist's assistant these executioners of Stolypin shouted: "Here's a chemist; let us give it to him!" They thrashed him till he was unconscious, upon which they threw him, dressed only in a shirt, into a dark, cold cell. After a few hours they asked if he was cold. Of course he said "Yes." They promised him a blanket, entered the cell and again beat him on the head, body, and legs till he was unconscious.

Unhappily, these cases are not exceptions. Of the former Duma deputies ten others are in chains in hard labour; and hundreds and thousands of political prisoners, especially enlightened young people, are at the mercy of brutal jailers, and the no less brutal Stolypin and other high officials.

When will the day of the deliverance come? Cannot men and women be found in Russia and in Europe who will call "Enough!" to the Tsar, and insist in the name of humanity that these victims be set free?

"The Agitator."

This semi-monthly Anarchist journal, only recently started at Lakebay, Washington, U.S.A., will be welcomed by all comrades as helping to fill the gap so long existing by the cessation of *Free Society*. The *Agitator* is devoted to the propaganda of the Modern School, Industrial Unionism, and Individual Freedom—a broad programme that ought to appeal to a large circle of supporters. It contains some excellent articles by Jay Fox and Wm. C. Owen, and already with but a few months of life gives promise of full success.

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COMMUNIST PRODUCTION v. HIGH FINANCE.

IV.

In previous articles I have shown the impotence of so-called political power to change the economic basis of society, because the influence of high finance in modern social life is superior to that of any Government. I have shown how orthodox and Socialist Parliamentarians have admitted the gravity of the situation, and that this inability of the modern States to make effectual headway against the tyranny of the great interests is the explanation of the widespread revulsion against political action, now making itself felt throughout Europe. Never before probably were the forces of reaction so well organised—nationally and internationally. Clearly, emancipation can only come from a great movement of the mass of the people, outside of party politics. Meanwhile, what can be done to lead up to such a movement? If modern political institutions are part and parcel of the existing economic conditions, and are to pass away with them, what forces in the world-Labour movement are likely to be the rallying centres of the new society? Two movements to-day are striking directly at the roots of the existing economic system—Syndicalism and the Socialistic Co-operative organisations. These, I contend, will be the nucleus of the new order. Syndicalism and defensive Co-operation enforce and complete each other. Syndicalism at present is mainly effective in gaining material concessions, and in putting some limit to the arrogance of the capitalists, but above all it is calling forth and realising that solidarity of Labour which alone can make the social revolution possible. However, in some instances the conquests of Syndicalism have been cancelled by the manipulations of high finance, notably in France and Argentina; higher wages have been conceded, but the prices of the first necessities of life have also been raised. To check this it is necessary to organise the economic resources of the workers; this is the aim of defensive Co-operation.

The details of the Syndicalist movement are well known, so in this concluding article I shall only state the case for Co-operation and home colonisation. It is surprising what a very secondary place this movement takes in Socialistic propaganda. Socialists have spent an immense amount of energy and money in political agitation with little result beyond broken promises; countless frothy articles and speeches (very harmless) have been written and delivered denouncing the capitalist system, but no big attempt has been made to organise Labour to produce wealth for the producers; Socialists have mostly been content to go on producing wealth for the capitalists. Even the small savings of Labour are chiefly invested in capitalist concerns! If Socialists a generation ago had concentrated upon organising a Socialist Co-operative movement, the results would have been greater than anything gained by party politics. Defensive Co-operation is no new idea. Proudhon advocated it in France, Herzka and Flurscheim in Germany and Austria, Van Eeder in Holland, and Owen and Holyoake in England, to mention only the best known names. Ruskin and Dr. Russel Wallace also advocated home colonisation upon a production-for-use basis, only they expected the State would be induced to provide the means! Neither can it be contended that Socialist Co-operation is a venture of which a successful issue is doubtful. Various undertakings, such as the German Social Democratic Press and Labour Clubs, should convince the most sceptical of the great possibilities of such a movement.

Let us examine the situation in detail. Two things must force themselves for consideration upon the student of modern social life; first, the enormous increase in productive power, and the practicability of assuring well-being for all, with a minimum of labour, provided society were organised upon a rational basis; secondly, the appalling waste and misdirection of material and energy which obtains under the existing system. If the production of wealth in this country were scientifically carried on, we should find that we had far more land, tools, and machinery than is necessary to supply the needs of our present population. If the workers could control one-tenth of the national wealth, and commenced to organise production on a rational and Communistic basis, the ultimate Socialisation of the whole national wealth would be assured, and the doom of Capitalism inevitable. As J. Bruce Wallace, M.A., contends in "How a Minority Could Establish a New Social Order," issued by the Co-operative Brotherhood Trust:—

"Long before one-tenth of the means of production came to be used in the interests . . . of the workers . . . the landlords and capitalists would be almost on their knees imploring them to save them from utter destitution . . . for what use to them would broad fertile acres and the most improved machinery be without workers? Spurious capital would thus have completely lost its value. The rate of interest on genuine capital would have fallen to zero. All land and all capital would have been virtually socialised.

"Most machinery is worked ordinarily about nine or ten hours a day, and there are occasionally dull spells when workers are put on half-time and half-pay. If workers well organised for mutual service, under competent and disinterested guidance, had effective possession of some machinery wherewith to produce goods for their own use and consumption, they could easily put two shifts on, to work eight hours each, and could thus nearly double the output of such machinery. Thus, about half of the machinery that would be necessary under

* See "Unto This Last" and "The Remedy for Unemployment." Dr. R. Wallace in the latter gives an excellent criticism of the feeble "Right to Work Bill" brought forward by the Labour Party.

ordinary methods of working would suffice to meet their present consumption.

"By intensive cultivation of the soil, a very much larger number of agricultural and horticultural labourers could find scope upon a given area;—more than double the number.... Possibly, even, the organisation might include the pick and flower of our lads and lasses leaving school, who would find in it a wholesomer, freer, and happier environment than in the service of the old order, and the certainty of steady employment and honourable livelihood.

"Such a nucleus would tend to grow. And the standard of comfort in it would practically fix a minimum wage for all workers. None would be content to serve any master who did not make them as well off as they would be in the organisation of production for the workers' own use. The exchange value of means of production as investments, as instruments also of exploitation, would thus decline; and their absorption would consequently become easier and easier.

"If interest at four or even five per cent. were paid upon the capital of such a nucleus, the burden would be light compared to the tribute that workers are now staggering under; and it would not have to be paid long, for the new growing organisation would hasten economic changes which would soon create abundance of new genuine capital and of old capital available on extremely favourable terms.... Though a fuller knowledge of the situation might considerably modify the fractions I have figured out, the main point of my contention will still be amply justified; to wit, that a minority, and not a very large or very rich minority either, could enact a very revolutionary and very beneficent chapter in the economic social history of their country."

However, the great mass of the people are credited with about £450,000,000, one-twentieth of the national wealth, by Chiozza Money. Most of this credit is invested, not in the Co-operative movement such as it is, but in Friendly Societies, the Post Office Savings Bank, and other capitalistic concerns. There is nothing to prevent the existing Co-operative movement, in spite of its shortcomings, being developed upon the lines suggested, if it had the full and loyal support of the masses. One may gauge the possibilities of such a movement by the extent of its present operations. The latest report shows increasing prosperity; with total assets of only £60,000,000, it has a turnover of £112,414,308. Its activities are various and impressive in their magnitude; they include manufactures, printing, ship-building and shipping, farming, dairying, foreign plantations, corn-milling, fishing, and direct trading with Continental Co-operators. Well might Lord Rosebery declare that the Co-operative movement "constitutes nothing less than a State within a State." But it is not a State in the political sense. Excessive centralisation, jealousy, and suppression of local independence, so characteristic of modern Governments, are scarcely known in the Co-operative movements, here or elsewhere. Their basis is federal and autonomous. They are not the product of officials, but the outcome of simple practical experiments undertaken by working men guided by their common sense, united by the principle of union of interests, and linked together internationally by the Co-operative Alliance. Surely with six or seven times as much capital, the unstinted support of all genuine Socialists, and a higher and more comprehensive aim, the world's Co-operative movements could bring about momentous achievements.

How would such a Co-operative movement deal with the currency? How would it evade the dominance of gold and strike the death-blow of interest? To achieve this, it would set to work to organise the people's credit, and to provide facilities to increase the purchasing power of the masses. A barter currency would be issued, and the increasing use of barter notes amongst the people would ultimately do away with all interest. Usury, as Kitson has pointed out, is really nothing more than the price of a legally created monopoly, viz., the monopoly of currency. Flurscheim (who by the way was a banker before he turned Socialist) thus lays down the attributes of a perfect paper currency:—"(1) *The quantity must not exceed the necessities of the market.* (2) *It must be accessible at any time to the owner of any marketable commodity.*" This last qualification is specially important, because one of the great drawbacks of our present monetary system is that it restricts production.

In furtherance of these aims the Co-operators would establish at their stores labour exchanges or exchange banks, offering to take commodities from producers and to pay for the same in some form of barter note upon themselves. Producers could be organised into groups by the Co-operators and Trade Unionists, who would send their products to the stores; these goods would be paid for largely by barter notes on the stores, which would enable the producer to buy any of the stores' commodities to the value of the notes. Such notes would circulate as freely as do Scottish and Irish £1 notes (which are not "legal tender") in the districts where the issuing banks have offices. In this way the use for coin would be immensely reduced. Thus an alternative to working for the capitalist will have been created, and the great whip of the capitalist system—unemployment—would be rendered useless, the competition for work would be enormously lessened, and wages would tend to rise. Thousands of workless men and women would no longer have to wearily trudge the streets of our great cities day after day in a vain search for work. The means would be at hand by which they could support each other, working at their respective industries in self-governing workshops and villages.

Before passing on, let me give a few instances of defensive Co-operation as an ally of Syndicalism, and as a weapon against the monopolist. It was effectually used in Holland in 1904 to find

employment for the victims of the great Railway Strike. I refer to the De Eendracht Association. Odon Pors gives a striking account of the Italian glass-blowers' struggle with the capitalists; it is a remarkable instance of what can be done (*Wilshire's Magazine*, New York). A prolonged strike was in progress, and the men, despairing of settlement, started, after conquering huge difficulties, first one and afterwards four other Co-operative factories, which were successful. The Trust, with its blackleg labour and the support of the strongest bank in Italy, resolved to make still more desperate efforts to get control of the Italian bottle market. It cut prices 30 per cent. under cost price, losing a couple of million lire. But the men's federation still held out, and finally the technical superiority of the Co-operative factories earned a decisive victory over the unlimited capital at the disposal of the Trust. A significant article appeared recently in the *Canadian Province*, the recognised organ of the most powerful corporation in Canada, anent the communes of Russian sectarians in Canada, asking that no more shall be allowed to settle in the country. The writer admitted that they were non-aggressive and industrious, but "they have proved disappointing to the interests in that they are impervious to exploitation. Hence this howl from the mouthpiece of the "interests." The Doukhobors make their living by tilling the soil; they sell their surplus for what it will fetch, and buy what they themselves cannot produce. They are making money fast out of their industry.... With the money they earn they buy more land and start new colonies, along the same Co-operative lines" (*Brotherhood*, Dec., 1910). The prosperous Russian community is a striking contrast to the great non-Co-operative community. Amongst the latter feverish speculation in land values is everywhere rife, and industry is made to foot the bill.

In conclusion, the promising commencement already made by Socialistic Co-operation in Belgium, in France, in Denmark, and elsewhere justifies our contention that defensive Co-operation is an effective weapon against Capitalism, and deserves the wholehearted support of Labour. As Kitson, one of the clearest-sighted economists of the day, has pointed out, "voluntary Co-operation," upon the lines I have suggested above, "is a sound principle upon which permanent advance can be made. In the place of the artificial hothouse system of State-aided industries, voluntary Co-operation presents a natural system which ensures wealth and true success." Under State Capitalism, inasmuch as the ultimate control of industry would rest in the hands of the financier, production for profit and not for use would continue. This tendency is very evident in the State Socialist undertakings on the Continent and elsewhere. Before everything, they must be made to pay *commercially*, and the consumer is always considered first at the expense of the producer.

S. CARLYLE POTTER.

[THE END.]

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Austria.

The Austrian and Italian Revolutionary Labour Press is bitterly complaining of the interference of Socialist politicians in the seamen's strike at Trieste. When on March 19 a strike suddenly broke out, the directing Socialistic Committee of the Trade Unions, without being invited to do so by any one, proclaimed a strike of seamen, and put itself at the head of the movement, which consisted in entering into negotiations with the employers and the Government. Simultaneously the Committee took measures to prevent the spreading of the movement. At Fiumè the Social Democratic seamen continued to work and acted as strike-breakers, according to the opinion of the revolutionary elements at Trieste. The railway men—also members of the Social Democratic Union—transported by rail the goods left behind by the strikers. At the head of this political anti-strike movement was the Social Democratic Vienna daily *Arbeiter Zeitung* (Workers' Paper). When the negotiations between the Centralist political leader, Dr. Pulcher, and the Social Democratic Deputies, Pittoni, Forstner, etc., on the one side, and the employers on the other side (the Governor, Prince Hohenlohe, was the chairman of the conference), were far enough advanced, the *Arbeiter Zeitung* of March 27 suddenly published an article entitled "The Seamen's Strike Ended," which pretended that many misunderstandings between the two parties had been cleared up, and further published the non-obligatory agreement which had been reached. The article further appealed to the seamen to start work immediately pending the execution of the employers' promises. All those who might be inclined to protest were called "Anarchist and Mazzinian fellows." After this *coup d'état* the seamen held a stormy meeting, when the politicians were bitterly reproached for their manoeuvres—but the strike was broken, and the results were nought.

New Zealand.

The New Zealand Federation of Labour stands for a new development and a new tactic. It marks boldly a departure from old ways of thought and action. It is the outward and visible herald of the coming revolution in New Zealand—the breakaway from "Labour legislation" and its pitfalls.

This Federation represents a protest against the relatively conservative Trades and Labour Councils of New Zealand, which were endeavouring to fasten upon the workers the outworn ideas and ideals of Tory Unionism. It has a revolutionary "preamble," declares for "the world's wealth for the world's workers," and is pledged to Revolutionary Socialism and Industrial Unionism. In its "objects" it asks for the complete abolition of the wage system.

Last July the Federation held a successful conference, and decided to take steps to establish a weekly paper. While taking these steps, the Shearers' Union launched a monthly called the *Maoriland Worker*. Negotiations between the Federation and the Shearers' Union led to the Union deciding to take a ballot as to whether it would become part and parcel of the Federation, in the event of doing so the *Worker* to be taken over by the Federation. The ballot was favourable—and then R. S. Ross, until now editor of the Melbourne *Socialist*, was cabled to by a conference, and offered the editorship of the *Maoriland Worker*. Ross is to meet the Federation in conference, the idea being to buy a printing plant and bring out the paper as a weekly, presumably at Christchurch or Wellington.

Spain.

In Huelva the President of the Labour Federation of that town was arrested, handcuffed, and marched to prison. This was done at the instigation of certain agents of some mining companies, who feared—and probably with reason—that their exploitation of the workers might be checked if the workers' unions were allowed to increase and strengthen. Immediately after the arrest the workers went in masses to the civil authorities to demand the cause of this arrest. The Governor, as only answer, ordered the whole committee of the Labour Federation to be arrested as being responsible for the demonstration. Consequently the members of the committee were led to prison under a great show of force. We hope our Huelva comrades will not take this lying down.

Though the clergy and military in Spain had hoped to have done with Ferrer when they had succeeded in executing him, this illusion must have been rudely disturbed by the constant agitation in Spain itself and in other countries for a revision of his trial, culminating in stormy scenes in the Cortes when the subject was brought up for discussion. Societies and groups of France, England and other countries had sent addresses to the Cortes asking for a revision of Ferrer's trial. As we know from the daily press, the "radical" Premier Canalejas defended the action of his predecessor Maura, and later even had to make his excuses to the military clique, which together with the clergy is the real ruler of Spain, for having allowed the Republican delegates in the Cortes to speak disrespectfully of military honour! Of course it is impossible for the Spanish Government to allow a revision of that judicial murder: it would be a frightful exposure of the dark powers who keep the Spanish people in ignorance and oppression.

The Ferrer trial directed the eyes of the world on that unhappy country for a short time, but revolting instances of the cruel vindictiveness of the ruling powers are unhappily numerous. Our comrade

Sagrasta, for having published three pictures in honour of Ferrer, has been sentenced to *twelve years'* imprisonment! Let all those who protested against Ferrer's fate use all means to save this comrade from a living death at the hands of the allied Jesuits and military.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

PLYMOUTH.

Since forwarding the previous report, the Plymouth Group has considerably augmented its numbers and followers. Our meetings have been very successful, although undoubtedly premier honours must be given to Sunday, March 5, at Manor Street, when our comrade Hobday delivered a lecture to an audience of 400. In his most convincing manner, our comrade pointed out the position of Anarchism towards existing society, and proved incontrovertibly that the remedy for social ills and grievances lies only in the acceptance of Anarchism; and he completely annihilated the fallacy of ever thinking that our emancipation could emanate from the talking-shop at St. Stephen's, claiming that political tricksters seek, not the emancipation of the human race, but personal aggrandisement. Altogether, our comrade gave one of his most edifying and interesting oratorical efforts. Given other such meetings as these, Anarchism in Plymouth will become a living force. Once the illusion of the concomitance of Anarchism and the bomb is dispelled from the general mind, Anarchism will spread and reap fruitfulness wherever it sows.

Just now the Anti-Socialists have inaugurated a campaign and are preaching the doctrine of submission, their efforts being mainly directed against the various Socialist parties. Their arguments, however, chiefly consist of quotations from Sidney Webb, G. B. S., Hyndman, and some of the smaller fry; but, generally speaking, they talk platitudes, and their ingenuousness exceeds their ingenuousness. They fail, however, to attack the movement that repudiates all government, but continually reiterate the trite old truism: "Democracy rule would be as tyrannical as ever anything were possible to be," and our comrades have not been slow to point this out, at the same time demonstrating, for the edification of the gathering, the wide gulf between Freedom and Democracy. Really nothing could be more appropriate, from our point of view, than an Anti-Socialist agitation.

On March 30 the National Service League held a demonstration at the Corn Exchange here, when one Tom Proctor, a local Socialist (?), acted as chairman, and Henry Phillips, a Labour leader, propounded the reasons why, from a Labour point of view, National Service is needed. This was an excellent opportunity for the distribution of "Our Great Empire" leaflets, and of course it was acted upon.

The sale of literature, FREEDOM, etc., is satisfactory, considering the general apathy and indifference of the worker towards study; but that, of course, will improve, as Anarchism is yet young in Plymouth. We will endeavour in future to keep comrades better informed of our progress.

EN AVANT.

MIDDLETON (LANCS.).

I am again pleased to be able to report the outlook bright in this district. There are many inquiries about Anarchist Communism, and a steady demand for literature and FREEDOM. During the winter months we have addressed the local I.L.P., also the Socialist Party, and a recently formed branch of the Industrial League. The seed sown at these meetings is now beginning to germinate, and we are expecting much from it. We have also attended numerous political demonstrations with our literature and leaflets, the Houndsditch leaflet providing excellent propaganda. We are also doing good work inside the Trade Unions. During the coming summer we anticipate a vigorous open-air propaganda in this district, trusting the comrades in other parts to do the same. Our motto every time is "Push the literature." the "Anarchist" food for Thought, Freedom, and Life.

A. HEYS.

EAST LONDON.

Our group is going strong in Victoria Park, and there is every sign of it becoming a strong one. Comrade Ponder is taking a prominent part in speaking, and he deserves great praise for braving the inclement weather in the month of March, which was very trying to a speaker. On the 16th inst. we had a splendid meeting. It commenced at 11.30 and lasted till 3 o'clock. Comrade Bilmers, from Manor Park, opened the meeting, Ponder followed, and then Baron spoke upon Anarchism *versus* Social Democracy. There is one important feature—the crowd is with us. Many questions were asked, and answered to general satisfaction. I would earnestly appeal to our East End comrades to rally round our comrades Ponder, Baron, and Bilmers, so that the work will not fall upon their shoulders entirely. There is one drawback to our meetings in Victoria Park—no literature can be sold or collections made unless we first go up in hand to the Council and ask permission. Our comrades told the crowd that they would not humble themselves to do this, and the crowd applauded. Perhaps we can overcome this obstacle by announcing that our literature can be obtained outside the Park gates.

F. GOULDING.

GLASGOW.

A year ago come Labour Day our group was formed. Since then we have put in a good amount of propaganda work, and we feel confident of still further enlarging our sphere of activity and of keeping the Red Flag flying.

On Sunday, March 19, we had a successful lecture from our friend W. Gallagher; subject, "Anarchism and Religion." He gave a vivid account of the crimes religion and priestcraft had been responsible for, at the same time tracing their evolution from idol worship to the ritualism of to-day. Although the lecturer was interesting, he did not go deeply into Anarchism, and confessed he had still more to learn about it.

On Sunday, April 2, J. McDougall, from Pollokshaws, gave us a lecture on "What Socialists Want." He gave a good idea of the Socialisation of the means of production; but his views resulted in many questions being put.

Many difficulties were cleared away by our comrade McAra explaining the Anarchist position.

On Sunday afternoon, May 7, we are to have a platform in the demonstration; and in the evening we hope to get Anarchists from all parts to meet at the Clarion Rooms for tea, etc.

McAra holds meetings on Glasgow Green every Sunday at 2.30. Our comrade Barret speaks on Gaol Square every Sunday evening at 6.30.

Don't forget, comrades, it's the sale of literature that tells.

Group meetings are held every Tuesday at the Clarion Scouts' Rooms, 26 Elmbank Crescent, at 8 p.m. A. BARR.

LIVERPOOL.

It was feared that the distance to our new abode, Alexandra Hall, would be too far for our young comrades to travel. It is now only too apparent. The attendances have fallen considerably, and we have decided to once more suspend the School until we find suitable rooms within reasonable distance. It is certainly disappointing to us, as we know the children are willing to rally round immediately we are settled in nearer quarters.

We have decided to hold our annual outing on August 12, to Halewood, and should be glad to receive any donations to cover expenses.

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