

Freedom

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RECENT STRIKES.

It is becoming more and more evident that strikes are useful and important, not only for what they may gain, or partially gain, for the workers, but even more for what they teach to the world in general and the workers in particular. It might be said, indeed, that each strike bears a moral of its own; and as the education of the workers advances, and as the fears of the capitalists increase, the conflicting interests of the opposing forces become more distinctly marked.

Going back so far as the days of the great Dock Strike, it can be remembered how in those eventful times the spontaneity and solidarity shown in the organisation of the strike, and in the immense work of supplying, as far as funds allowed, the necessities of the strikers, was an education in itself; but more than that, it had the effect of reviving trades-unionism to an extent not even foreseen by the unionists themselves, and certainly it broke down most effectually the stiff-neckedness of the "aristocracy of labor," who found themselves carried along and absorbed by the spirit of the New Unionism. These important and far-reaching results were the outcome of this great strike, but the strike itself was fought not primarily with a view to all this, but to win the "Docker's Tanner."

Again, the great coal strike of '94 was a struggle for the living wage, but Society had the fact of its dependence on the miners' ill-paid labor driven home to its very doors. All classes could see, without the study of abstract political economy, that the miner's labor was of the utmost importance for the general welfare of society, and many must have seen that we might possibly get on without lawyers and politicians, but the man who brought the coal to the earth's surface, at what risk and for what reward was made known to all, was indeed a useful member of society. From these facts a child could discern who were the *real* producers of wealth; and many a snug little middle-class household must have realised what their position might possibly become, if the workers were a little better organised, a little more conscious of their power in the economic struggle.

As to the educational effect of strikes in the United States, that is a matter that is simply incalculable. The great Railroad Strike left it clear to the world that if in the future such a strike became general, no government, no Pinkertons, no Militia could protect the property of the millionaires. The strikers would hold the position, and could, with the help of the other trades-unions, solve the labor problem for America.

The formation of the International Federation of Dock Labourers shows in which direction labor organisation is tending, and this development of the international spirit is a hopeful sign, possibly indicating an important actor in the growth of the idea of the Universal Strike. The Hamburg Strike, though a failure so far as its immediate object was concerned, will yet be fruitful in helping to consolidate the international organisation which Tom Mann and others are so energetically striving to make successful. In the *Weekly Times and Echo* for Feb. 21, Tom Mann gives the first of a series of articles on the conditions of the dockers and the work of their union, and also alludes to the shameful conditions still general in the life of seamen and firemen while at sea, and he truly remarks that there is a whole population whose services are absolutely indispensable for providing us with many of the necessities of life who are shamefully overworked, underfed, and from the moment of embarkation are subject to all the brutal and petty tyrannies that ill-tempered and dictatorial officials may often inflict. Legislation has failed miserably to ameliorate their condition, and all that can be done for them must be done by Trades Unionism. Let us hope we may soon hear of some energetic action being taken by these toilers of the sea whose sufferings are so effectually hidden from public gaze by the circumstances that cut them adrift from some of the advantages that land-workers possess.

Far otherwise is it in the case of the Welsh quarrymen. The Penrhyn Strike is an excellent example of the fact that strikes teach us more than is generally attributed to them, for here we have an instance of a landowner acting logically (from his own point of view) and doing exactly as he likes with what he considers his own. It brings before the community, in the broadest possible manner, the question of the private ownership of land, and what results can and do follow as an inevitable consequence. "Why should Lord Penrhyn keep thousands of human beings face to face with starvation unless help comes from outside sources?" is a question being asked by many who have hitherto regarded the rights of property as inviolable, and to find an answer they are compelled to look into the matter more deeply than they had been accustomed to. They even hear it asked, not only by Socialists and Anarchists, but by persons of position and repute: "*If the quarries belong to Lord Penrhyn, how came he by them?*" After this an idea will

be developed in many minds, viz., what an excellent thing it would be for the quarrymen to work the quarries for themselves. Then it will be seen that Lord Penrhyn stands in the way, and as a result the strike proves plainly enough to many besides the workers the necessity for expropriation. So education in the facts relating to the social problems that are crying for solution goes on by leaps and bounds during the weary weeks of a strike that may seem hopeless, and which some will assert does no good. But this is not true; for, however we may regret the hardship and suffering which strikes entail, which must and will be laid at the door of those less than human parasites who are responsible for so many evils besides strikes—for our whole rotten social system in fact—we are conscious nevertheless that the spirit of solidarity amongst the workers is kept alive; that feelings of revolt against social injustice are awakened and kept active; that the workers become more and more conscious of the fundamental causes of their economic enslavement; and last, but not least, that the idea of the General Strike will be seen to be the most powerful weapon wielded by the worker. When all this is fully recognised we shall be on the high road to social emancipation.

ANARCHISM: ITS PHILOSOPHY AND IDEAL

BY PETER KROPOTKIN.

(Concluded.)

We need not fear the dangers and "abuses" of liberty. It is only those who do nothing who make no mistakes. As to those who only know how to obey, they make just as many, and more, mistakes than those who strike out their own path in trying to act in the direction their intelligence and their social education suggest to them. The ideal of liberty of the individual—if it is incorrectly understood owing to surroundings where the notion of solidarity is insufficiently accentuated by institutions—can certainly lead isolated men to acts that are repugnant to the social sentiments of humanity. Let us admit that it does happen: is it, however, a reason for throwing the principle of liberty overboard? Is it a reason for accepting the teaching of those masters who, in order to prevent "digressions," re-establish the censure of an enfranchised press and guillotine advanced parties to maintain uniformity and discipline—that which, when all is said, was in 1793 the best means of insuring the triumph of reaction?

The only thing to be done when we see anti-social acts committed in the name of liberty of the individual, is to repudiate the principle of "each for himself and God for all," and to have the courage to say aloud in any one's presence what we think of such acts. This can perhaps bring about a conflict; but conflict is life itself. And from the conflict will arise an appreciation of those acts far more just than all those appreciations which could have been produced under the influence of old-established ideas.

When the moral level of a society descends to the point it has reached to-day we must expect beforehand that a revolt against such a society will sometimes assume forms that will make us shudder. No doubt, heads paraded on pikes disgust us; but the high and low gibbets of the old régime in France, and the iron cages Victor Hugo has told us told us of, were they not the origin of this bloody exhibition? Let us hope that the coldblooded massacre of thirty-five thousand Parisians in May, 1871, after the fall of the Commune, and the bombardment of Paris by Thiers will have passed over the French nation without leaving too great a fund of ferocity. Let us hope that. Let us also hope that the corruption of the swell mob, which is continually brought to light in recent trials, will not yet have ruined the heart of the nation. Let us hope it! Let us help that it be so! But if our hopes are not fulfilled—you, young Socialists, will you then turn your backs on the people in revolt, because the ferocity of the rulers of to-day will have left its furrow in the people's minds; because the mud from above has splashed far and wide?

It is evident that so profound a revolution producing itself in people's minds cannot be confined to the domain of ideas without expanding to the sphere of action. As was so well expressed by the sympathetic young philosopher, too early snatched by death from our midst, Mark Guyau,* in one of the most beautiful books published for thirty years, there is no abyss between thought and action, at least for those who are not used to modern sophistry. Conception is already a beginning of action.

* *La morale sans obligation ni sanction*, par M. Guyau.

Consequently, the new ideas have provoked a multitude of acts of revolt in all countries, under all possible conditions: first, individual revolt against Capital and State; then collective revolt—strikes and working-class insurrections—both preparing, in men's minds as in actions, a revolt of the masses, a revolution. In this, Socialism and Anarchism have only followed the course of evolution, which is always accomplished by *force-ideas* at the approach of great popular risings.

That is why it would be wrong to attribute the monopoly of acts of revolt to Anarchism. And, in fact, when we look back on the acts of revolt of the last quarter of a century, we see them proceeding from all parties.

In all Europe we see a multitude of risings of working masses and peasants. Strikes, which were once "a war of folded arms," to-day easily turning to revolt, and sometimes taking—in the United States, in Belgium, in Andalusia—the proportions of vast insurrections. In the new and old worlds it is by the dozen that we count the risings of strikers having turned to revolts.

On the other hand, the individual act of revolt takes all possible characters, and all advanced parties contribute to it. We pass before us the rebel young woman Vera Zassulitch shooting a satrap of Alexander II.; the Social Democrat Hædel and the Republican Nobiling shooting at the Emperor of Germany; the cooper Otero shooting at the King of Spain, and the religious Mazzinian, Passanante, striking at the King of Italy. We see agrarian murders in Ireland and explosions in London, organized by Irish Nationalists who have a horror of Socialism and Anarchism. We see a whole generation of young Russians—Socialists, Constitutionalists and Jacobins—declare war to the knife against Alexander II, and pay for that revolt against autocracy by thirty-five executions and swarms of exiles. Numerous acts of personal revenge take place among Belgian, English and American miners; and it is only at the end of this long series that we see the Anarchists appear with their acts of revolt in Spain and France.

And, during this same period, massacres, wholesale and retail, organised by governments, follow their regular course. To the applause of the European bourgeoisie, the Versailles Assembly causes thirty-five thousand Parisian workmen to be butchered—for the most part prisoners of the vanquished Commune. "Pinkerton thugs"—that private army of the rich American capitalists—massacre strikers according to the rules of that art. Priests incite an idiot to shoot at Louise Michel, who—as a true Anarchist—snatches her would-be murderer from his judges by pleading for him. Outside Europe the Indians of Canada are massacred and Riel is strangled, the Matabele are exterminated, Alexandria is bombarded, without saying more of the butcheries in Madagascar, in Tonkin, in Turkoman's land and everywhere, to which is given the name of war. And, finally, each year hundreds and even thousands of years of imprisonment are distributed among the rebellious workers of the two continents, and the wives and children, who are thus condemned to expiate the so-called crimes of their fathers, are doomed to the darkest misery.—The rebels are transported to Siberia, to Biribi, to Nouméa and to Guiana; and in those places of exile the convicts are shot down like dogs for the least act of insubordination. What a terrible indictment the balance-sheet of the sufferings endured by workers and their friends, during this last quarter of a century, would be! What a multitude of horrible details that are unknown to the public at large and that would haunt you like a nightmare if I ventured to tell you them to-night! What a fit of passion each page would provoke if the martyrology of the modern forerunners of the great Social Revolution were written!—Well, then, we have lived through such a history, and each one of us has read whole pages from that book of blood and misery.

And, in the face of those sufferings, those executions, those Guianas, Siberias, Nouméas and Biribis, they have the insolence to reproach the rebel worker with want of respect for human life!!!

But the whole of our present life extinguishes the respect for human life! The judge who sentences to death, and his lieutenant, the executioner, who garrots in broad daylight in Madrid, or guillotines in the mists of Paris amid the jeers of the degraded members of high and low society; the general who massacres at Bac-leh, and the newspaper correspondent who strives to cover the assassins with glory; the employer who poisons his workmen with white lead, because—he answers, "it would cost so much more to substitute oxide of zinc for it;" the so-called English geographer who kills an old woman lest she should awake a hostile village by her sobs, and the German geographer who causes the girl he had taken as a mistress to be hanged with her lover, the court-martial that is content with fifteen days arrest for the Biribi gaoler convicted of murder . . . all, all, all in the present society teaches absolute contempt for human life—for that flesh that costs so little in the market! And those who garrot, assassinate, who kill depreciated human merchandise, they who have made a religion of the maxim that for the safety of the public you must garrot, shoot and kill, they complain that human life is not sufficiently respected!!!

No, citizens, as long as society accepts the law of retaliation, as long as religion and law, the barrack and the law-courts, the prison and industrial penal servitude, the press and the school continue to teach supreme contempt for the life of the individual,—do not ask the rebels against that society to respect it. It would be exacting a degree of gentleness and magnanimity from them, infinitely superior to that of the whole of society.

If you wish, like us, that the entire liberty of the individual and, consequently, his life be respected, you are necessarily brought to repudiate the government of man by man, whatever shape it assumes; you are forced to accept the principles of Anarchy: that you have spurned so long. You must then search with us the forms of society that can best realise that ideal and put an end to all the violence that rouses your indignation.

From Australia.

I am not publishing at present, owing to lack of means, in fact, I am living on the hospitality of a friend while preparing a new literary venture. If any returns arise I hope to start *Reason* again somewhere early in 1897. I enclose reply to Quinn re organisation. It appears to me that the idea of Anarchy in England is very vague, and hardly developed beyond the notion of getting rid of the common forms of authority—the theory needs elaboration, especially on the constructive side.

I would suggest the advisability of putting forward the following for discussion at group meetings, and as space admits in the press:—

The number of Anarchists having increased to the point at which it appears that without running away to form separate experimental communities, we can proceed to connect ourselves together and associate on Anarchist lines for most of our every-day purposes—a sufficiency of resources being possessed among those who have accepted the ideas. What would be the general nature of the arrangements for thus organising society within the movement? That is to say, given the numerical strength to be in contact with each other for all practical purposes, throughout a country or district, how proceed to the practical socialisation of the resources possessed among us, these being equal to the average resources possessed among an equal averaged number of persons? Suppose, for instance, that owners of land have joined the movement in the same acreage proportion to the number of Anarchists as all land-owners bear to all inhabitants, and so on throughout.

Also, to consider that these arrangements should be capable of indefinite extension and be an influence towards their own extension among the rest of the population.

This discussion would probably do much for the elucidation of the theory and would also have a utility of its own in hastening on the practical work.

Too much importance is attached to the old idea of forcible expropriation. The actual producers and their families are certainly not the mass of the population—eliminating the socially useless producers, such as composers, machinists, engineers, paper-makers, etc., whose work is solely absorbed in competitive advertisements, and who really rank with canvassers, collectors, and bailiffs, the producers will generally be found somewhat in a minority. Of the rest a very large proportion consists of small capitalists, or persons who combine their own productive labour with the exploitation of the labour of others, and neither the pure nor the mixed small capitalists enjoy the amount of one man's production. There are very few small contractors, workshop-owners, shop-keepers, or business men of any kind who get as much as £2 a day, clear personal income, yet this represents approximately the ordinary product of one social producer. As a matter of fact quite half of them will never get so much as the trades-union workman in a favorable position. It must be recognised that the immediate interest of these people would lead them to participate as readily in any spontaneous social transformation which they could see to be beneficial, as to venture upon a change of business, etc. A practical movement would attract some at once and quickly act upon the others. Commercial depressions, etc., would supply the incentive to take the decisive step, and the greater the development the less need would there be of any such incentive as the results achieved would be a power in themselves to modify old ideas and usages, by force of environment as well as by their obvious benefit. Therefore, so far as nine-tenths of the people are concerned the question is not of "expropriation," but of practical measures for superseding existing arrangements as mechanism of supply, etc., which if practical will lead to the voluntary socialisation of at least the greater part of the wealth.

If the revolution cannot be completed without a violent struggle, it is certainly desirable that this struggle should be reduced to the minimum, and especially that the issue depending on it should be, not the upsetting of old institutions in order to devise new, but simply the wiping away of the remnants of old institutions which hamper the new already in operation. I think that if practical reconstruction of social relations among the people, and, in respect of such possession as they have, were carried out, the prospects of completing a thoroughly pacific revolution would be much greater than commonly supposed. At all events, the power of the other side to struggle violently would be much reduced, and I think their desire also.

For these reasons I should like to see the question discussed thoroughly. I purpose shortly working up some articles on the subject, which I hope will independently receive the best attention of Anarchist thinkers.

As a preliminary means on the small scale of facilitating the resort to communistic practice and bringing same into habitual vogue, I think that something on the lines suggested in the following extract from *The Triumph of Freedom*, an Anarchist novel which I have in hand, would be useful and capable of great development:

"At some convenient rendezvous the comrades were accustomed to keep two lists: on one, whoever had it in mind to undertake some particular propagandist work, made an entry of the help he needed for the purpose—for instance, speakers to take part in a projected meeting, or perhaps some odds and ends of materials, or help in copying or printing—whilst on the other, anyone who possessed something for which he had no particular use, and which he thought might be serviceable to some other comrade, or who had time or ability to devote without having yet found the occasion for it, made an entry of the fact. The comrades who were on the spot could thus see at a glance what help any of them wanted or was wanting to give: and as this organisation extended, distant comrades wrote to the rendezvous, and frequenters there would make the entries for them. When there was no response to inquiries for help, or to offers, posted at one rendezvous, the items were copied and sent to other group centres. Those Anarchist periodicals which were intended for Anarchists and friends of the movement, not simply to reach outsiders and teach them the theories, published lists sent in to them, and thus greatly increased the usefulness of the plan. This way of mutual help without buying or selling, wages or prices, grew gradually into the everyday life of the Anarchists, besides being used as at first in connection with their propagandist efforts. And to some extent people who were not Anarchists had joined in, or copied the plan for themselves."

Locally I have to report that there is a movement on foot in Melbourne to form a Socialist organisation from which politicians are to be excluded as a danger. Any member can be a politician privately, but the organisation will stand aloof from politics, and it is not intended to invite any politicians to participate. On the platform of the organisation they will have to do without their politics. The object of the organisation will be to discuss the problems of Socialism, and criticise the existing institutions, on lines of theory, and also to hold propagandist meetings at which the addresses given at the indoor gatherings of the organisation will be repeated. Anything to

which two-thirds of the members take objection will be omitted should the address be re-delivered from the propagandist platforms of the organisation, and also anything which two-thirds of the members think necessary to add will be added, provided the speaker is not vitally opposed to the alteration; if he is it will rest with a two-third majority to determine whether he shall be permitted to deliver the address unaltered in connection with the organisation. If less than two-thirds are in favour of an alteration it will be wholly at the discretion of the lecturer.

Generally speaking, the tendency of local democratic feeling is to require a two-thirds majority in order to decide anything important or go authoritatively against the minority. Small majorities are not worshipped or sanctified, and their privilege of decision is not on the safest ground.

Interest in politics is at a low ebb. A man went round the other day to ask from house to house if the inmates had taken out their electors' rights, and only 72 out of some 300 had done so. Most of them inquired if, as their doing so interested him or the organisation behind him, he would supply the necessary postage stamps for the purpose, not poverty but indifference being the cause of this.

There is considerable activity just now in organising "co-operative" shops and industries—a boot factory, a bakery, and a butchery having lately been started. The proprietor of the *Age* the great morning daily with a circulation of 100,000 or more, having decided to introduce the Linotype, there is a move to establish a co-operative paper to employ the displaced printers. Probably it will come out about three months from now. I understand enough support is already pledged to ensure its paying from the commencement.

The *Age* advocates a sort of half-way respectable State-Socialism. The *Argus*, the old style Conservative organ, being free-trade, has had to boom Max Hirsch, the local Single Tax prophet, by opposing at the same time protection and the semi-socialism. With the rising generation it is almost entirely a question between Single Tax, Spencerism and State Socialism; but the weight of respectability is with the latter, Tom Brassey, the son of Lord Brassey, the Governor) having lately lectured in its favour, much to the horror of the *Argus*.

David A. Andrade, who was one of the original founders of the Melbourne Anarchist Club eleven years ago, is now settled at Sassafras, some twenty miles out, where he has a small farm and general store. He still professes the so-called Individualist-Anarchism, of which most of the exponents have become either Single Taxers or State Socialists of the regulation kind, and has hopes of shortly introducing the "labour note" and mutual banking in that locality.

J. A. ANDREWS.

CORRESPONDENCE.

JOHN NEVE AND THE "SOZIAL-DEMOKRAT."

The following letter was received by our Comrade J. Turner:—

Dear Mr. Turner,—Someone sends me a copy of the February number of *Freedom*, evidently because of the reports there given on the prison atrocities in Spain. The Social-Democratic papers in Germany have already published full reports of these horrors, and added their energetic protests.

What induces me to write to you is a paragraph contained in the same number of *Freedom* where the *Sozial-Demokrat* of Zürich is accused of having been in 1883 "careless or reckless enough" to publish an information against the then arrested John Neve.

Having been at the time editor of the *Sozial-Demokrat*, I must emphatically contradict that statement. True, the *Sozial-Demokrat* mentioned the arrest of John Neve. But it is a mere gratuitous assumption that we knew or could know that Neve was denying his identity. We saw the news of the arrest in the daily press, and took it down as you would take down, say, the news of the arrest of any known Socialist, if reported by the daily press. We were neither aware of what went on in the prison at Vienna nor of what the editor of the *Freiheit* had in mind to write on the subject.

That our paragraph in question was not dictated by any bad intention is clearly shown by its wording. Here is a translation of it:

"AUSTRIA. From the land of corruption and baseness there are, of course, in the first instance reports only of arrests and condemnations. In Brünn the Socialists Schallinger, Brestian, and Roza are sentenced, behind closed doors, to 18, 3, and 4 months hard labor, in Vienna the Anarchist Neve, formerly expeditor of the *Freiheit*, has been arrested. Germany is said to have put in a demand for his extradition. The government has withdrawn the licence for street sale of two liberal rubbish-papers because of their playing at opposition. Thereupon great indignation amongst the liberals, who, when they were in power, did brutalise in the same way the press of their opponents."

This paragraph. If it was apt to be used as an information against Neve, there is one thing quite inexplicable: why did not the Austrian Government use it as such? It was published at the beginning of February, 1883, and for months the Austrian police did not succeed to convince their judge—then bent on sentencing any Socialist or Anarchist, be he ever so innocent—of Neve's identity. Whether it is true at all that later on the German Government tried to use the paragraph as a means of identifying Neve, I cannot ascertain, but I doubt it. At any rate, the paragraph cannot have formed "one of the chief arguments." A newspaper paragraph which at first sight proves to be only the repetition of a general report will never do as a means of identifying an individual. That the German Government knew before our paragraph appeared that the arrested man was Neve is shown by its demand of extradition.

I leave it to you to withdraw or modify the imputation expressed in your paper. I know it is no invention of yours; it was, if I remember rightly, first given out by Mr. Peukert. To him or to Mr. Most is also due the imputation, not less wilful, that we informed against Reinsdorf. But against these people we did not defend ourselves. It was too ridiculous to make us responsible for not knowing what devices were at any given time concocted amongst people who attacked us more bitterly than the most reactionary governments. It was Mr. Most who, in December 1886, deliberately and without any provocation printed in the *Freiheit* the full name of the man whom he described as the editor of the *Sozial-Demokrat* although he well knew—the man was, as I, in former years one of his intimate friends—that by naming him he damaged him most materially.

I can excuse honest fanaticism, but such acts not.—Yours very sincerely,
ED. BERNSTEIN.

London, Feb. 22, 1897.

OUR CONTRIBUTOR'S REPLY.

It seems a pity that over the fresh grave of our comrade Neve another controversy should be raised. Still, if Mr. Bernstein considers it necessary to defend his paper against a charge of wilfully betraying Neve, he is welcome to this denial of an assertion which was never implied in what I wrote—else I should have

stated it in plain language. The words "careless or reckless" mean that facts concerning Neve and Reinsdorf were published without, unconsciously or consciously, using proper care to examine whether they would not imperil the safety of these men; and as to this, I have nothing to withdraw nor to modify, but will prove it—though the old papers containing the original statements are not, at this moment, accessible to me, still extracts I made from them years ago are at hand.

In October, 1880, August Reinsdorf had been arrested at Berlin, and on Nov. 21 the *Sozial-Demokrat* gave a detailed account of how Reinsdorf was alleged to have obtained possession of money to be used for a revolutionary act (*Attentat*) in Germany. This is a denunciation in any case; for it would mean for the man concerned by it—even he was safe at that moment—to exile himself permanently or to run a greater than usual risk of arrest the next time he re-entered Germany. When the *Freiheit* stigmatised this as a denunciation, the *Sozial-Demokrat* did not consider it "too ridiculous" and not worth "to defend ourselves" against it—as Mr. Bernstein says now—but on Dec. 12, 1880, the paper published a lengthy though unsatisfactory explanation, admitting that only from the *Freiheit* of Nov. 22 and 29 they had learned the arrest of Reinsdorf at Berlin. This shows that, before making such a grave statement, they did not even trouble to ascertain whether Reinsdorf was at that moment safe, and this is what I call *careless*.

Again, on April 24, 1881, the *Sozial-Demokrat* pointed out as the probable author of letters from Berlin published in the *Freiheit* Reinsdorf "who is said (*soll*) to be again at liberty": yet on June 29 they had to state that only on June 6 was Reinsdorf liberated. This shows that whilst conscious that they did not know for certain that Reinsdorf was free again and out of Germany, they, nevertheless, published this allegation. This *conscious* disregard is what I call *reckless*.

As to Neve, I cannot lay my hand upon the Vienna daily papers of that time, but I am strongly of opinion that they did not report simply "Neve is arrested," but have probably said that a man calling himself Stevens is arrested, and that the police believe him to be Neve, or something similar. In any case, the *Zukunft*, the chief Austrian Socialist organ, of January 25, 1883, speaks of the arrest of Stevens (I cannot verify at this moment whether the name of Neve is mentioned at all there or not), and this hint the *Sozial-Demokrat* ought to have taken before publishing a fortnight afterwards (on Feb. 8) that Neve was arrested. This again I call *careless*.

The argument that after all the two comrades arrested were set free again is wide of the mark. If I assert that you shot at a man, the fact that he escapes unhurt is no conclusive disproval of my assertion. This fact simply shows that the ruse and pluck of Reinsdorf and Neve was superior to that of the police; that their task was not an easy one is shown by the fact that Reinsdorf was in prison for eight months (Oct.—June), and that Neve was in prison for over thirteen months, before being tried.

This ends the reply proper; but I will add that I sincerely wonder that Mr. Bernstein cares to draw attention to the attitude of the *Sozial-Demokrat* towards the Anarchists, which will always remain a dark spot in the history of his party. Or did not, on March 20, 1884, the *Sozial-Demokrat* publish a letter from Nuernberg in which it said: "Their (the local Anarchists') audacity is the more to be admired as they well know that there are men in our party to whom it would cost only one stroke of the pen to send the whole band to penal servitude (*ins Zuchthaus*)"? In my opinion, between the imagining, writing and publishing of such a statement and the acting upon it, there is very little, indeed, there is no moral difference. Or I may invite Mr. Bernstein to lay before English Socialists literal translations of what the *Sozial-Demokrat* wrote (in letters from Leipzig &c.) about Reinsdorf after the sentence of death as well as after the execution (*Sozial-Demokrat* of Dec. 25, 1884, Jan. 1, and of Feb. 19, 1885; see also Sept. 13, 1881, and of April 3, July 10, Sept. 3, 1884).

But we need not even go so far as that. Most and Peukert had nothing to do with the publication of the remark made in *Freedom*, yet we see with what bitter hatred Mr. Bernstein attacks them, unprovoked, in his above letter—after the lapse of 16 and 14 years. As to the charge he makes against Most, the latter is quite capable to take care of himself, and will no doubt give his version of this matter. Mr. Bernstein himself, in fact, shows the extreme danger of indiscretions at that time, and hence it would have been the absolute duty of the editor of the *Sozial-Demokrat* himself to make proper investigations before publishing damaging information against Anarchists. Mr. Bernstein has, in my opinion, only contributed to corroborate this point.—*

ERRATA.—In the article on Neve, in the Feb. number of *Freedom*, page 10, column 1, line 74, the words: "and *Rebell*," should be omitted.

TOLSTOY AND ANARCHISM.

To the Editor of FREEDOM.

Sir,—Referring to your remarks in *Freedom* on the evils and dangers of non-resistance, it appears to me that much misunderstanding arises from the practice of dissociating this doctrine from the rest of the teaching of Tolstoy and Jesus; of Buddha also, and the other great preachers of non-resistance.

These men all inculcated, and in a greater or less degree lived, lives conformable to reason and love. Violence is incompatible with their philosophy of life. It must therefore be relinquished.

Now the attitude of non-resistance gives a man's enemies "entire freedom to do as they please with him"—that is, with his body; but it gives them no power to control his will.

Jesus submitted to the will of his enemies, even to death; but he never for a moment (so far as we know) became the slave of their will. His conduct was not therefore "a direct encouragement of tyranny and infamy."

It is the slave that makes the tyrant; but then who are the real slaves? Not such men as Jesus or Socrates—men who practised non-resistance—but those who are ever ready to resort to violence in self-defence or from motives of self-interest, and who, being thus already slaves to their own animal nature, can be dominated and used by any strong will that chooses to tyrannise over them.

Men whose lives are directed by reason and conscience, and who have renounced the use of violence, cannot commit acts of injustice, violence, or unlove at the bidding of another, and so are useless as slaves and instruments of tyranny.

The tyrant may persecute and kill such men—that is, if he can find advocates of violence to do his behests and slay their fellows—but such attempts at coercion, failing to terrify their victims into obedience, will soon be relinquished as fruitless and futile.

Let men refuse to do that which is contrary to love and reason—passively resist, if you will—and the tyrant will be disarmed, helpless.

It appears to me that tyranny—the triumph of might over right—will continue just so long as we believe in it and worship it; and that it will die a natural death as soon as we have sufficient faith in Love and Truth to place all our reliance on them, casting aside every other weapon.—Yours truly,

FLORENCE HOLAH.

Waddon, Croydon.

We are requested to announce that Mr. Flursheim is now in England, and willing to lecture free on the subject of "Co-operation and the advantages of the Exchange Bank Note." For particulars apply to Mr. A. Brittlebank, 40, Hound's Gate, Nottingham.

Freedom

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The Editors are not necessarily in agreement with signed articles.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A. W.—We are sorry you should write in such a spirit. There is no argument in abuse in any case, but why all your abuse should be poured out on the workers we cannot understand. Undoubtedly they have their faults as we all have, but remember, their wrongs and their sufferings and you will not wonder that they are far from being what we could wish. No, please write us something that will be educational, and we shall be most happy to insert it.

W. CAMERON—The crime of which we are guilty shall be expiated—that is to say, we will make the correction. A thousand apologies for having disturbed the equanimity of your placid existence. You will be glad to hear however that so far no lives have been lost on account of our error. Do write again and tell us of something else.

T. REECE—Thanks for verses; shall appear in our next issue.

NOTES.

Famine & Plague. "WITH how little wisdom is the world ruled," may well be the thought of those loyal subjects of the "Empress of India" who are now dying by thousands from famine and plague just, for all the world, as if there was no paternal government to look after them. Would they indeed be so much worse off without government at all? The price they pay for it in life and treasure is enormous. And what is their return?

Really one might say that all the ills that flesh is heir to follow as a natural result of governmental exploitation and red tape. For it must not be forgotten that the poor Indian Ryot is a most helpless victim of the usurer, and has no more chance of providing against famine than the starving Russian peasant. It is the old, old story: besides freedom from English rule, he needs just as much his economic freedom.

Crete & the Powers. THAT modern warfare is simply a vile struggle in the interests of the moneybags was never better exemplified than in the case of the Cretans and the "Powers." The Turk is a fanatic, probably, though he shares this failing with some Christians; the Sultan and his hangers-on are undoubtedly a gang of incorrigible cut-throats; but how, in the name of humanity, shall we describe the "European Concert"? These hirelings of the bankers and bondholders are an embodiment of the evil genius of the ruling classes gone mad over wealth and power, and using the most terrible forces of destruction against every principle of justice and humanity. It will be a lesson for the world to remember that the preachers of civilisation in European governments mean, after all, nothing better than the perpetual domination of the wealthy classes, whether sailing under the flag of monarchy or republic.

* * * Owing to pressure on space, we are again obliged to hold over Notes, Reviews, &c.

The ANARCHISTS OF BARCELONA.

Scarcely any fresh news reaches us from the tortured comrades in the fortress of Montjuich. The authorities at Madrid take good care to prolong their suspense as to their fate; it is ten weeks since the death-sentences were passed. In most civilised countries the news of the tortures was published and discussed and an inquiry into the facts demanded; the silence opposed by the Spanish Government to all this is only equalled in its callous brutality by the silence of the great capitalist press and other mouthpieces of so-called public opinion.

The names of all the prisoners have now been published; Tomas Ascheri, Antonio Nogués, José Molas, Jaime Villela, José Vilas, José Pons, Luis Mas and Sebastian Suner were sentenced to be shot; four were sentenced to twenty years of penal servitude, fourteen to nineteen years, one month and eleven days (*sic*), thirteen to nine years and four months, thirty-six to eight years, eight months and one day; twelve were acquitted—but not liberated.

It is not necessary to gather new details of the tortures, as not one word of what was previously stated here has been contradicted. *El Pais*, a Republican paper of Madrid wrote:

"Respectable citizens of Barcelona—doctors, lawyers, civil engineers, merchants—write to us exhorting us to prevent a great iniquity being perpetrated upon the prisoners of the Montjuich fortress.

"These letters all bear the imprint of revolt and terror. If their writers were not worthy of unlimited confidence, we should hesitate to believe the enormities they tell us of.

"What the foreign press has published with regard to the Anarchists' trial is but pale, a dim outline in comparison with what we have heard personally."

Instances of this could be multiplied. What could we state more impressive than the fact that one of the nails torn from the feet of one

of the tortured found its way to Madrid, and is circulating there as an *ad oculos* demonstration of the existence of torture.

Besides those who were tried (83) and those who were acquitted but not set free (12), about 170 have been in prison for seven months, without being tried or even interrogated; the American *Friedenker* (Freethinker), of Milwaukee, has a letter from one of its collaborators who is among the untried prisoners.

Our Spanish comrades published a long manifesto, *The Inquisition at Barcelona*, setting forth in vigorous language all these horrors; it is being secretly circulated in Spain in large quantities.

Even a Spanish reactionary paper, the *Heraldo*, of Madrid, now admits that unspeakable cruelties have been committed and that up till now it has been silent upon the mysteries of the Barcelona dungeons—from *patriotism* (*sic*). It asserts that a judicial inquiry has been opened?

In Berlin the comrades of the *Sozialist* invited several well-known men (including Bebel, M. von Egidy, Bruno Wille and even a judge, M. Krecke) to discuss the subject, and their first act was the publication of an appeal to the German press to investigate the allegations of torture and, if verified, raise a general protest. This met with considerable attention, yet we have to record that a Bismarckian organ of Berlin was found to sneer at these men and to consider the use of torture against Anarchists "not only comprehensible and excusable but quite the right thing" (*sic*), this was reprinted by the semi-official organ of the government (*Norddeutsche Allg. Zeitung*) and part of the reptile press. Friedrich Spielhagen, the first living German author of the older generation, who is a member of the small committee, replied by a very dignified letter to a Vienna paper, "*Thou shalt not torture*," beginning with the remark that this was not included in the ten commandments, obviously for the reason that they were intended only for men, and tortures are not applied by human beings with sound reason and human feelings. It is the first time—if we exclude M. von Egidy, who has long seemed inclined to a kind of ethical Anarchism—that a non-Anarchist, indeed, a man who keeps aloof from politics altogether, has raised his voice for Anarchist prisoners in that dark country. If they had only done this a little earlier to try to save poor Neve!

The *Frankfurter Zeitung*, of Frankfurt, the leading provincial paper, instructed a correspondent to investigate the matter in Barcelona, and on Feb. 13 he reported that he had spoken with former Anarchist prisoners, lawyers employed in these cases, members of the court-martial, friends and relatives of the prisoners, high officials, etc.; that he received a written communication from seventy-four prisoners (which he sent to the *Frankfurter Zeitung*), etc. Based upon all these materials, he says: "I am sorry to have to confess that I have acquired the strongest conviction that the published details of the Barcelona horrors are quite correctly reported—perhaps, even, they understate what has happened." The seventy-four prisoners say in this letter that since the trial they have, as before, been deprived of all communication with their friends; and why?—"That our appearance may not betray the work of the inquisitors!!!"

Before the court-martial our comrades Francisco Callis, José Molas, Antonio Nogués, Sebastian Sunyer, even Luis Mas—though he has gone mad by excessive pains—declared that all their confessions were false, that they were made under the sway of hunger, thirst, exhaustion, sleeplessness, after endless beating, after their genital parts had been crushed, after the gag [the mordaza] had been applied for days, as well as manacles and screws, lacerating the flesh by their iron spikes, after their bodies being burned all over with red-hot irons. "Look at our tortured bodies, and it will be seen that all that we say is true."

The correspondent spoke with several military officers who were present at the court-martial, and they assured him that the aspect of the accused was fearful. Deadly pale, with dull, sunken eyes, reduced to skeletons, their hands, feet, and mouths showed traces of cruel ill-treatment, etc.

And all this for having attended at public meetings organised by a legally constituted society, (the Carmen's Club)! and the fact of having contributed at these meetings a few pence for a collection for a sick fellow-worker! This the accusation calls secret meetings and collections for buying explosives, etc.

All this was obtained by a newspaper correspondent who has no sympathy whatever with Anarchism: if the English press seemed not to be callous and indifferent to all which is not business, political or otherwise, it would have instituted a similar inquiry long since.

One thing the Spanish government has achieved: since the Chicago trial and the acts of French, Italian and Spanish Anarchists, in 1892-'94, such attention has never been drawn to Anarchism than by the reports of these savage tortures. Unfortunately, at this moment, the Turkish government rivals with the Spanish for the palm in atrocities, and since so-called public attention is carefully drawn by its managers upon the less advanced events, all is done by the allied forces of Capitalism and the press to make Spain forgotten.

The rising in Cuba and the Philippines is a rising for local independence, whilst that in Crete is one for union with another State. Strengthened Greece would be a stronger bulwark of capitalism in the East than decaying Turkey; hence the Cretan and Hellenic sympathies of all parties, whilst the Cretes at the door of every nation, Ireland, Alsace, Sicily, Poland, Egypt, India, Cuba—must not stir! What greater mockery can be imagined than the recent demonstrations of the students of Barcelona in favor of Crete and Greece? In the shadow of the Montjuich fortress, the home of torture and untold sufferings, they serenade the Greek consul, who, at a dinner, drinks to the triumph

of the Spanish Turks in Cuba and the Phillippines! (see *Daily Chronicle*, Feb. 24th.). National and religious fanaticism are being revived in the East, and the united powers carefully nurse these hotbeds of ignorance and prejudice that were always detrimental to freedom and progress, hoping to play them out, as a last card, against the coming revolution.

It is more than ever incumbent upon us to show, by the example of the Barcelona tortures and any amount of other arguments to be found nearer at home, the inherent evil of every government. Governments, large or small, are solidary in their crimes, and who upholds the apparently best of them, upholds at the same time the very worst. The Turkish government, be it ever so cynically corrupt, will never be destroyed without something very similar being put in its place; for every real blow at authority in Turkey would be an indirect blow at authority at home, and this suicidal step no government can be expected to take. Hence all these questions of politics are hopelessly entangled in a circle from which they can never evolve; only outside of all these outgrowths of authority there is freedom and life. This conscience, the daily spectacle of the ridiculous impotence of politics, ought to strengthen within us, and at this moment—when, after all, the better element of the public is, to some extent, aware of the crimes of governments inflicted upon Armenians, Cretans, Cubans, etc.—there is no better work to do than to join the international agitation to give the widest possible publicity to the tortures inflicted upon the Anarchist prisoners of Barcelona. They are silent, and may be killed, but their silence is of the kind of which A. Spies spoke when, on the scaffold, he said: "Our silence will be more powerful than the voices you are strangling now." It is for us to realise this promise.

* *

PLENTY.

Where the reaper greets the morn,
And the fields of wheat and corn
Flourish golden in the sun;
Where the sweeping rivers run,
Watering the scented mead,
On whose grass the cattle feed;
Where the berries, rich in hue,
On the bushes gleam with dew;
Where the fruit-trees, fair and great,
Wave with their delicious weight,
And the full, luxuriant vine
Round the verdant hill doth twine;
Where the finny brood doth swim
In the waters deep and dim,
And the crystals, gems, and ores
Lie in unexhausted stores;
Where the nimble-footed deer
Roam in sport or flee in fear,
And the aged forests rise,
Tall and grand, against the skies;
Where this planet moves in space,—
There is aye my dwelling place.
I descend within the rain,
Ripening the growing grain;
With the streams I rush and bound,
Moistening the thirsty ground;
With the human mind I grow,
Brightening man's lot below.
Full of gladness is the head
Over which my light I shed;
Clear and sparkling is the eye
That doth ever see me nigh;
Fresh and beautiful till death
Are the cheeks that feel my breath;
And the bosom is at ease
Whose deep anguish I appease.
Sorrow, sadness, care, and fear
In my presence disappear;
Health and hope, content and mirth,
Are engendered with my birth;
Song and dance and revelry,
Love and friendship, follow me;
Thought sublime and fancies bright
Spring, like blossoms, at my sight.
When mankind shall wax more wise,
And no more believe in lies;
When the weakling shall be strong
To avenge each galling wrong,
And the slave shall tear in twain
The degrading, loathsome chain;
When the mighty shall be just,
And the hateful sword shall rust;
When the workman and the sage
Shall as equals serve their age;
When the false shall be despised
And the truth of nature prized,—
Then the needy and forlorn
I will gladden with my horn,
And their woes I will efface,
Blessing all the human race.

(Reprinted from the *New York LIBERTY*, No. 343.) BASIL DAHL.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

There is little to tell this month concerning the Anarchist movement; and so much the better, as it means uninterrupted propaganda, whilst news are usually those of persecutions. In France some new features will be adopted by the Anarchist press. The *Père Peinard*, whilst continuing to prepare the issue of a daily paper, will publish monthly placards, beginning with one about the Commune of Paris; placards are cheap and can be distributed in the same way as the paper is; if written in stirring language they would attract numbers of people who never see our papers; the idea is worth taking up elsewhere. The *Libertaire* also publishes placards, the most recent one being directed against the rising tide of clericalism and priestcraft. The *Temps Nouveaux*, again, have in view the publication of a halfpenny supplement in very popular language, following the example of the Berlin *Sozialist*, to which another paper in a popular style, *Der Arme Conrad*, is regularly appended. Provincial papers also reappear: besides the *Juiness Nouvelle*, a review of Lyons, the *Agitateur* began to be published at Marseille. Other literature is being edited in all forms and sizes: besides the new pamphlets or reprints of Paris (some with very striking illustrated covers), the songs, of Marseille, there are the big volumes of the *Bibliothèque Sociologique* (Paris), Hamon's book on the London Congress, Malato's description of French Anarchists' life in London, G. Darien's famous novel *Biribi* (the description of life and tortures in the French discipline companies in Algiers, the horrors of the *crapaudine* and other fascinations of military life!). There is even—at which we wonder in freethought France—a new book by Ernest Gegout, *Jesus*, on the subject "if Christ came to Paris." It seems that in this book Christ is also brought into with Jules Guesde, the Marxist deputy of Roubaix (since his election, the sacred town of the French Marxists): but Christ is said to fail to recognise his own self in Guesde.

Last month we mentioned the dissensions that have arisen in the Co-operative Glass-bottle Works of Albi. The four discharged workers ought to have been reinstated according to a vote of the shareholders—that is, the societies and groups who contributed to erect the works. But the local bottle-workers' union—against the protest of about 30 (who may also have to go some day)—refused to abide by this decision. This body is completely under the control of the Marxists, and so matters are at a deadlock.

French methods of administering "justice" were recently exposed at Paris at a murder trial, when it was shown how a man and his wife had been morally tortured to secure a confession whilst they were innocent. Solitary confinement, the influence of drink, threats and promises were alternately used for weeks and months by the examining magistrate; even a retired chief of police—Goron—admitted to the press that "the greatest fault of secret examinations is that it is a continuation of ancient modes of torture."

Crimes of "justice and prisons" are international if anything, and facts have been published by V. Buhr, editor of the *New York Painter*, which throw some light on the end of John Neve. Two convicts were tried for resistance against their warders, and sentenced to many years of penal servitude; one of them was allowed to say a few words, and he described the horrible system of flogging in the German penitentiaries. A convict whom he had known at Halle "and who was an Anarchist" was so continuously ill-treated that he became completely insane. The further description he gave agreed with that of Neve. Would this, then, have been the end of our comrade?

In Macarata, Italy, a single issue of a paper will be published in commemoration of Argente Salucci, an Anarchist killed a year before among the *coatti* [transported] at Tremiti.

In Patras, Greece, an Anarchist, Matsalis, a shoemaker, killed the richest banker of the district on the public promenade; he kept the police at bay, and though he could not or did not want to escape, walked by himself, unaided, to the prison. Here he addressed the other prisoners and won their sympathy, till at last he was placed in an isolated cell. Here he lighted a cigar containing dynamite, and blew his brains out, as L. Lingg did at Chicago nine years ago. Since that time the Anarchist paper of Patras *Epi ta Proso* (Forward!) was seized, and J. Manganaras and four others have just been tried and sentenced to a year, and to shorter terms of imprisonment for offending the government by articles in their paper. This shows that all governments are alike, even the Greek one, under the sway of which the Cretans are said to be so anxious to be brought.

At Parma, *Il Nuovo Verbo* (The New Word) is now published; some numbers of this paper were found by the police at Fiume (Hungary) on fifteen Italian workers, and all these were forthwith expelled from hospitable Hungary.

In Portugal, in spite of all exceptional laws, Anarchist publications quietly resume their work; *O Trabalhador* (The Worker) and several pamphlets are published at Porto. Even from Spain new pamphlets arrive (published at La Coruña) though after the suppression of *El Productor* of that town no paper can be published in Spain.

We have received *Volne Listy*, a new paper of Prague (Bohemia), replacing *Volny Duch*; also two German reviews of a more general, not Anarchist character: *Sozialistische Monatshefte* and *Neuland*, both replacing the *Soc. Akademiker*, a students review, the special work of which is now done by a smaller paper, *Sozialistische Student*. They seem to a limited degree open to Anarchist and independent articles (by Hamon, Paul Kampffmeyer, etc.), but we are sorry to see *Neuland* disfigured by a scurrilous squib, the *Socialistischer Kraken*, a play in which we fail to discover either truth, or satire, or wit. The Paris students' group seems broader minded, and continues the issue of Anarchist pamphlets: *Reform or Revolution*, *The Individual and Communism*, have just been issued.

No striking events, but steady growth of propaganda—this, besides the universal movement of solidarity with the tortured Anarchists of Barcelona is all we can record this month.

Jesus, Anarchism, & Christianity.

The Editor of *Freedom* wants to know "exactly how the matter stands" with us Croydon Anarchists. Kenworthy is gallivanting about the country, or building in Essex, and I expect none of the others will take on the job, so I suppose the unfortunate secretary will have to somehow make time to try to explain matters. Of course, I can only speak for myself. When Kenworthy talks of Christianity he means the teaching of Jesus. I don't. I look upon the two as opposite and irreconcilable. Christianity, in my use of the word, is a form of ecclesiasticism which upholds external authority and ceremony. This is what Jesus was against, just as Anarchism is against it. Anarchism and ecclesiasticism are at war, in my view. As Anarchism grows it will kill ecclesiasticism. When I say this, do you understand me to wish to see Anarchism as some valiant hero with a sword or spear, and ecclesiasticism as a horned beast with claws and a long tail? I suppose not. Yet that seems to be the way in which our dear Editor reads the Bible. He seems to me to be still under the spell of Christianity, and to think of angels as shining creatures with white robes, and wings sticking out of their shoulder blades, just as you see them in Christian window paintings and children's books. But if we drop this nursery and Sunday-school notion and

take "angels" to be an oriental expression for forces of nature we begin to recognise that such "angels" constantly have been, are, and will be at work evering the fit from the unfit, and burning up all that is evil or unsocial in nature's furnace of natural consequences, thus doing slowly but thoroughly what statesmen and parliamentarians are so anxious to try their hands at doing quickly and perfunctorily.

As I have no pretensions to religion, have given up going to church long ago, and am an avowed opponent of Christianity (in its external superstructure), it may seem strange that I should bother my head about Jesus or the Bible. Nor do I greatly. But I recognise the fact that we are not independent of the past, and that we may as well make the best use we can of it. We cannot do this as long as any of the best and wisest men are misrepresented. Suppose the capitalists and rulers of to-day (or to-morrow) were to take it into their heads to make a hero of Proudhon, and, writing up on their stock exchanges and parliament houses the text "Property is Theft," continue their thefts under another name. Would not all Anarchists exert themselves to expose the fraud and insist on the right application of Proudhon's teaching? Now this is what has been done in the case of Jesus. The teaching of Jesus was just the nastiest knock that the gang of rulers and priests of the Roman world ever had. The forces of oppression had only one trick to play to postpone their defeat, and it was played. It was apotheosis, setting aside as god. Jesus was turned into a god, and was thus set aside and his human usefulness hindered and postponed. Is it not the duty of Anarchists to expose the fraud? We are not concerned to glorify a name or a man, but to restore the truth which he taught and lived. I maintain that the truth which is in his teaching and life is pure and unadulterated Anarchism, with its logical corollaries; or perhaps I should more accurately describe it as a philosophy of life, a part or corollary of which is Anarchism. And I deny the inconsistencies which are so apparent to a superficial view when the "gospels" are read with a Christian gloss on them. Take the teachings of Jesus, translate them into modern western language, and treat them as you would those of Plato, Kropotkin or Edward Carpenter, that is, accept only what you can understand and agree with (and be careful, before finally rejecting anything, that you do understand it). Do this without forgetting that the best way (perhaps the only way) to get to understand a practical philosophy is to practise it. This is all we ask for the teaching of Jesus, that he should be treated as any other philosopher, not that his words should be accepted because they are his, any more than we accept the proposition "Property is Theft" because Proudhon wrote it. We accept it because it finds agreement in our minds. I know that there is doubt and difficulty as to what Jesus really said or did not say. But that does not matter. If you prove to me that Jesus never existed even, that does not matter. The human thoughts and ideas are still there, and we can use them. Now, then, let us, in this spirit, look at some of the reported sayings of Jesus.

Firstly, how he dealt with religion—"The hour cometh, when neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father"; "God is a spirit: and they that worship him must worship in spirit and actual conduct" (*Gletheig*). That is to say, "men shall not go to this church or that chapel, but show their principles in practice," or, "what is important is not a matter of religion but of treating your fellows properly," and this is what any common simple man can tell you any day, and what common people are in part saying now by staying away from churches and chapels. Again—"The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath." In these passages Jesus strikes at the two sacred institutions of his country's religion, showing that he considered religion in itself as something separate from life to be nonsense, and that human usefulness is the true test of worth. So Jesus, like a good Anarchist, was opposed to religion as expounded by priests and parsons.

Let us look at another passage: "Ye have heard that it was said, 'an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth'; but I say unto you, resist not the aggressor." How does this advice compare with human experience? When a man does another an injury, the cause lies either in ignorance or ill-will. Now ignorance and ill-will can only finally be got rid of by knowledge and goodwill, that is, by the exercise of reason and benevolent feelings. I suppose that anyone can see that violence tends to banish reason and good feeling, therefore in using violence to a man actuated by ignorance or ill-will we are taking measures calculated to increase the ignorance or ill-will, that is, to make matters worse instead of better. I suppose we all see the truth of the saying: "a soft answer turneth away wrath," and we see that a rough answer tends to do the other thing. If we can see this in the matter of violent words, what is it that prevents our seeing the same truth in relation to violent deeds. I think I can perhaps partly explain it. The race has learned, through long teaching of nature, to regard courage as one of the first factors of progress. But we have been accustomed to associate courage with physical action, with violence as the withstanding of violence. The association is however not necessary. With the growth of understanding, courage will, I think, become more and more divorced from violence. Why have the "long-suffering people" suffered so long? Because of their lack of knowledge and courage. Because they have allowed other people to do their thinking for them, and have been too lazy, too cowardly, and too ignorant or foolish to insist on using their own reason and exerting their own wills. What they want then is courage and intelligence.

We are not without admiration for all the heroes of history who have resisted oppression in whatever way. But what is it that we specially admire in them? Their violence, their strength of muscle, or skill in shooting? No; we admire their intelligence, which led them to see the wrongness of oppression, and their courage which led them to oppose it according to their lights.

But when the lesson of courage is well learned, so that the heart has become stout, and the development of reason is well advanced, then comes the time for learning the next lesson, that violence is a bad weapon for a stout heart and mature reason. The course of progress is the course of the development of intelligence and goodwill. Violence is no fitting instrument of either, it hinders them. Therefore, common sense calls on those whose courage, intelligence and goodwill are sufficiently developed to leave violence to men of ill-will or ignorance. So long as violence is met with violence so long will violence continue, just as wrath will continue so long as it is met with a rough answer. If aggression is met by violent resistance it may overcome it, or turn its course, like a diverted stream, in another direction, or one way or another, violence continues. But when it is met by courage, intelligence and goodwill, oppression must fail, for oppression subsists on cowardice, ignorance and ill-will.

So aggression, like all evil, must be got rid of in accordance with the law of liberty, namely, by replacing restraint from wrong-doing by motive for

right doing, the life (save the mark!) by fear for the life, by principle. The work, then, of those who wish to forward the better time is not so much to resist aggression as to insist on free exercise of reason and goodwill, and to set this forth before all men. Now this is the teaching of Jesus, I think, and I maintain that it is Anarchism. Is it "a downright encouragement of all the tyrannies and infamies that mankind has suffered through the long ages?" I challenge anyone to maintain that.

I will not follow the editor into speculation as to what "we" might be enduring to-day if this teaching had controlled the long-suffering people." But I may mention two examples. Have there been any more successful rebels (as far as they went) than the Quakers? I would also ask if anyone thinks the Doukhobors would have achieved any greater success if they had resorted to arms or any other violence. Also, how much tyranny do you think would be left in Europe if the working-classes of all nations were to follow the example of the Doukhobors?

Mind you, this is no counsel of weakness. This method is only for the stout-hearted. It is the highest self-assertion—the taking of one's liberty into one's own hands, trusting to nothing but reason and goodwill.

If the Editor is kind and can give me space, I should like to follow this up by offering the readers of *Freedom* a paraphrase of some of the philosophy of Jesus, a sort of Sermon on the Mount up to date.

ARTHUR ST. JOHN.

PERSONAL IMPRESSIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.

(Being extracts from three Lectures delivered by John Turner at Christchurch Hall, Spitalfields, E., on January 25, February 1 and 8, 1897.)

I.—The social and industrial conditions in America.

America is rather a big subject, the lecturer began; he had therefore divided it into three parts (the lectures following comprising the Labor and Revlutoinary movements in America). At first he would just give a word-picture of the ordinary impressions received from a workman's point of view. He went there steerage, and returned on a cattle-boat. For six months he had lived there among the American working men, making his way over a country as large as Europe.

THE VOYAGE.

Steerage faring at the time he went out—in March, 1896—was not very pleasant; the food being rather coarse, the weather rough, and when he had just began to get used to this life, New York was already in sight, the weather being as fine as with us in May. Past the beautiful residences of the rich on the Hudson river, the ship arrived in the "home of liberty," when, at the very first moment, the tyranny of social inequality over political freedom became manifest.

Whilst the first and second class passengers at once left the steamer unmolested, the steerage passengers were driven like sheep before a doctor, and those who were not vaccinated had to undergo this operation there and then—performed in a most superficial and reckless manner. As the ship had arrived after 4 p.m., no one was allowed to land. The next morning, on landing, they received cards with their initial letters, A, B, C, and so on, and all the A's, B's, C's, etc., were fenced in with ropes, and had to wait for the examination of their luggage. The emigrants were bullied, kicked about like cattle. When he came before the officials, one of them shouted to him: "Take your hat off"; but he being loth to comply with this order, it was taken from him. Another official, however, seeing he was decently dressed, treated him respectfully, and he went quickly through all the formalities—questions about name, business, means, &c.—whilst the foreign immigrants were worried to no end, having to show their money, &c. In fact, this examination is an absolute farce, for anybody who is decently dressed and gives prompt replies can pass in as he likes, whilst the poor immigrants are terrorised and messed about for no good purpose.

When he passed, he met a friend; they had never set eyes upon one another, yet at once recognised each other, and off they went on the ferry-boat to New York.

NEW YORK.

The first impression is, a certain difference in the appearance of people, and a certain smartness in appearances, yet it was a slum district where they landed. If William Morris had ever come to New York and seen the elevated railway, &c., he would have probably turned back to the steamer for good; such a hideous sight is the elevated railway.

Generally, the social conditions are undoubtedly somewhat better than here in England. A working man who is in constant employment earns a good deal more than here, and lives up to a higher standard. This is true, but there is the black side of American life, which is so often denied by Americans themselves.

Take, for instance, the slums of the East-side of New York; not the tumble-down little shanties as hereabout, but tenement houses, which, as to overcrowding and sanitation, surpass the London slums. Another kind of slums exists in the more western States, as for instance the old rotten frame houses in Cleveland (Ohio), overrun with vermin, and soaked by every rain, worse even than New York tenement houses.

The weather changed rapidly; the May-day weather of Saturday changed into rain on Sunday; frost and snow followed.

He began at once to mix with the people and noticed the absence of many old English customs. There is no deference in American social life. The American working-man was trained from the beginning that he is the equal of every man—in the saloon, in the street. In the shop it may be different, but in public everyone acts, and apparently feels, that he is the equal of every other man. This must not be misunderstood: the rich form absolutely exclusive cliques, measured strictly by the wealth and income one possesses, be he as ignorant as the pigs he

killed to make his money from. But the same people, if meeting a workingman in a saloon would pretend to be his equals.

The judges, being elected by the people, have to hobnob with everybody, to be very chummy with the workmen. It struck him as curious, in the beginning, when he would walk with a workingman and met a judge, the other one would say: "This is my friend Judge — and this is Mr. T. on an Anarchist lecturing tour," and the judge would very politely exchange civilities with them. These judges have their own little offices where the police hurl prisoners in without any formalities; we Englishmen would at first be inclined to refuse to be dealt with in these trumpery little courts! The Americans are very vain and say: "Why should the judge be our superior?"

THE AMERICAN POLICE.

It is a fact however: the only people they consider as superior to them, are the police. In democratic America a thoughtful American told him that the worst police-ridden countries are America and Russia.

They are bigger men than our own policemen. When the unemployed met in Trafalgar Square, some one proposed that the strongest should be selected to watch over the rest of them. This man was behind his time: this was already being done.

The Americans have their police taken from the natives of the particular districts of the town: Nigger, Italian, Jewish, Irish police, in the respective quarters of the big cities, and these are bullied over by the biggest men from their own ranks. They go about with their truncheons, 31 inches long, in their hands, sometimes hitting telegraph poles to kill time and always ready to hit at people's heads. English policemen are perfect gentlemen in comparison with American. There they strike a man over the head the first thing before they arrest him, and numbers of people are killed in this way. Aliens are found battered to death, and everybody knows that they were murdered by the police.

The biggest are the police of Chicago, some weighing 15 to 20 stone. The capitalists are extremely afraid of riots there, and they selected the biggest men for the police force, giving them liberal salaries, and a free hand against labor demonstrations; the weekly wages of the Chicago police vary between 20 and 30\$, those of the New York police between 18 and 25\$.

Besides, there is their enormous income from blackmailing everybody, prostitutes and publicans before all. Open vice is conspicuous in a way that would not be tolerated in England. It came under his notice how a Denver policeman, patrolling certain streets, became within two years a rich owner of house property; his successor, by whom the story is told, was astonished at the amount of money showering upon him from unfortunates the moment he began his rounds; from 3 to 400\$ had been extorted weekly from the women of one street only.

Judges do the same thing. A notorious judge of Chicago, who was always re-elected because he had the political pull, was a profligate, and whenever he was in need of money, he sent out the police to bring before him prostitutes by the score; bail had to be given to liberate them, and nothing more was heard of the money nor of the case! Such things cannot happen here in England. In general, judges get a percentage off the fines they impose. Judges are bought, and justice is impossible to be obtained.

To return for a moment to the police—Irishmen are the prominent English-speaking element of the New York police, and in spite of existing laws get enrolled in the police—by the political influence, whilst otherwise, police commissions are dearly bought—as soon as they ever land. Their ignorance is proverbial, also the reply of the Irish emigrant when asked what he was going to do in America: "I have not yet made up my mind whether I shall become a policeman or an alderman."

The New York Sunday closing of public-houses—a source of blackmail for the police before all—was only a dodge by which the republican politicians made use of the parsons to fight Tammany Hall; a vengeance against the brewers because they refused to give money to the republican party.

In Chicago the gamblers ran for five years the local government and the police itself. And this same clique of gamblers employed a parson to head a party crusade against another set of gamblers. Parsons are willing hands at this kind of work; a parson in low water gets up a sensation and works it up, aided by a set of politicians. Nobody is above this sort of thing: from the politicians to the millionaires everybody always is in a number of combinations, "pulls" as they are called, for purely personal aims.

Further west the police are not so much in evidence, and towards the Indian territory there is only a sheriff for perhaps a hundred square miles. Criminals also are scarce there, for wherever the policeman goes, the thieves follow. These sheriffs are sometimes outlaws themselves. No decent man would undertake the job. People there like the cowboys when they come to the towns to play bad men, to go for days drinking and revelling,—when they meet the sheriff—are quick to pull out their guns, and it is a question who is the quicker. And yet the loss of property and life is not so great there as in the big towns with their hordes of policemen.

SOCIAL DISTINCTIONS.

The only distinction in America is that of *wealth*. Morris pointed out how commercialism tended to mediocrity. America has very few great men, except in the domains of engineering and mechanics. But in the domain of culture and education very few are prominent, and then they only get some social standing if they sell their talents to the rich as journalists, professionals, etc., not by giving independence to themselves. They are irresistibly absorbed by the rich, and lose in those spheres the little spark of genius which they may have had.

What stares you always in the face, disgusts you at every step, is the whole of political life being a continuous little game, continuous small

elections. Thousands of men do nothing but work these different little combinations. Political honesty is unknown, is no more understood even—save by a few who stand outside these movements and look at them with perfect disgust.

Democratic institutions—carried as far as ever they might be—horrrify you. One thinks that political honesty is an impossibility in such a democratic country.

And yet their social life is better. They work hard but they are better off; wages are, on an average, in the Northern States, almost twice those paid in London, and in London the best wages are paid in England. The increase is between 50 and 100 per cent.

It is not uncommon for locomotive engineers to get from 120 to 150\$ per month, and drivers on express trains receive as much as 180\$ per month (£9 per week).

THE LABOR STRUGGLE.

The labor struggle in America is in reality a fight of resistance against dragging down the conditions of labor to the European level.

Commodities have become much cheaper, and, with equal wages, life has become more comfortable. But he who loses his employment, is done for; he has no chance left now: this is the difference from former days.

He saw engine-drivers, blacklisted since the great railway strike of 1895, and still out of work.

A workingman over there may become a doctor or a lawyer easily, by frequenting evening classes with small fees; still, there are such a number of doctors and lawyers that many continue to work at their trade, because they would earn nothing as professionals.

On the other side, many engine-drivers are sons of well-to-do people, and these are the most conservative. Their president, Arthur, lives in the rich quarter of Cleveland, and drives about in a carriage with a footman. During the great railway strike he telegraphed to the capitalists an offer of supplying any amount of engine-drivers—members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers—to blackleg, should any strike arise in response to the call of the American Railway Union.

There is no class feeling as it is here; still it begins, because labor is being brought down to the European level. He saw sweated workers of New York being driven harder to work than in London. An American worker gets a smaller amount of his product paid to him in wages than anywhere else, though wages are the highest; his labor is that which is most profitable to the capitalist. This gives an idea of the immense productive power of America.

They have labor laws galore—books full of them—but they are not put into practice, and are not worth the paper on which they are printed. He instanced this by an example from Cleveland where the politicians had carried the legal Saturday half-holiday, and the workmen had now to go out on strike to get it actually. On that occasion he was taken to see a comrade who was just at work: the foreman brutally insulted this man and the visitors, and the man submitted. He sent a message afterwards that he was ashamed to come to see him after this, but that if he had not submitted it would have meant ruin and starvation for him and his family. Such a thing would not have been possible a few years ago; then the whole shop would have risen and kicked the foreman out; now the dangers of want of employment are so immense that such things happen. Native Americans are generally against the principle of labor organisation, being always told of individual initiative, but these sinking conditions are bound to wield them into organisation.

Farther west, away from civilisation, the position of the worker improves. He described the mining camps of the western parts of Colorado. There, women are very scarce; they have votes, are very independent and robust, but also "wear the trousers" and have their guns ready to hand.

He gave instances of the prices of various commodities; machine-made shoes, cotton goods are cheap; clothes made to order are very dear, on account of the high wages of tailors; but ready-made (sweated) clothes are nearly as cheap as here.

House rent is dear. Nearly every American workingman expects to have a house of his own. Philadelphia was called the city of workmen's homes—to-day, two-thirds of the houses belong to land companies (building societies) in the hands of a few capitalists who have got hold of the mortgaged workmen's dwellings. Rents are exorbitant, and this explains, to some extent, the Single Tax movement.

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

The capitalists are so greedy, that in a six-months period of prosperity, so much is produced that the market is glutted, and three or four years of bad trade follow. In all the big towns the number of unemployed is enormous, and the question of the unemployed is the biggest question now in America. Work is uncertain, and nobody has any consideration for his neighbour. No workhouses, no outdoor relief. This creates tramps. Train-jumping is a common thing, but the brakemen and guards on fast trains often take a pleasure in battering their hands with bits of coal and throwing them off the train; many get killed in this way; recently a comrade was murdered thus.

The continuous torment for those who are in work is to lose it. Class feeling begins after all, and during the last three years its awakening is something marvellous. He had lectured 23 times during 18 days, as an Anarchist, before trade-unionist audiences in Chicago; he was assured by many, that if he had spoken in this way four years ago, he would have been run out of the city. Then the workers believed they had obtained everything—to-day they begin to see that they are at the mercy of the capitalists.

Once they begin this study of their real situation, with their inborn hastiness they will soon know how to alter it. Their quickness, impulsive-

ness,—before all in the West—is striking. America may not be the next country that rises, but if they move, they will move nowhere quicker than in America.

The lecturer dwelt on several other questions which would require a separate treatment. So the free silver question—a struggle between the mine-owners of the Western States and the Wall-street millionaires of New York.

The banking crisis—in reality the result of over-production in the East, the products of which the Western States, which had been artificially boomed, could not absorb. Bankers there go in to a great extent for speculative production, and when the West did not buy to the extent it was expected, they withdrew their credit. Since then, committees of capitalists were sent to Europe, to Southern America, etc., to find markets for the wares which the crisis in the West leaves unsaleable.

He mentioned the enormous power of Roman Catholicism; they have a tremendous hold over the immigrants, before all, over the Irishmen and in this way, influence the democratic party, which is otherwise considered the liberal party!

Children are not corrected there as they are here; they are allowed more freedom, and do nearly all they want. But real love between parents and children is as strong, if not stronger, than in this country.

To sum up: the social life of America is still, no doubt, better than England: the political, openly corrupt: the industrial, more tyrannical. The outcome must be one of two things, since the social and political is always the result of the industrial. Either the American worker must control the economic developments of the last century for the benefit of his class, or he must make up his mind to sink to the level of those countries with whom his masters compete in the world's market.

THE SOCIALIST LABOR LEAGUE.

TO THE WORKERS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW WAGE-SLAVES!—I have often been asked to give an account of my secession from the S.D.F. and what reason or reasons led me to form the Socialist Labor League, seeing that there were two Socialist bodies already in existence the aims of which are practically the same. While on the General Council of the S.D.F. one of the delegates moved, that no branch on any account allow Anarchist speakers to lecture for them; although I at the time concurred, my mind has since undergone a swift process of evolution, I no longer hug those delusions. Many a fellow-worker has been lost to the Cause through the narrow sectarianism preached and practised by the S.D.F. Should a good Socialist fail to reason according to pope Marx, they at once class him or her as a fraud. They also claim to be the only genuine organisation of Socialists in existence; which I from personal knowledge of them assert to be pure bosh. In fact, outside of any Socialist or Trade Unionist movement are men and women who live the life to the best of their ability; ever ready with voice or pen, in the workshop, behind the desk or counter, propagating the only thing that will rid the workers of all evils—Communism. The S.D.F. say, "Capture Parliament!" wilfully blind to the fact that the political institutions are merely a reflex of economic conditions. Nothing short of an economic change can improve the social life of the people. All forms of government are coercive and mean nothing less than invasion of individual right, and will endure until the workers cast away this myth, born of ignorance on the one hand and cunning legal robbery on the other. Poverty or riches can never be abolished so long as government authority is made the basis of conduct between man and man. The workers, who have suffered so long under this iniquitous legal robbery by parson, landlord and profit-monger, should unite under the banner of Communism for their common good.

The basis of the Socialist Labor League is Equality. The only object: To ever keep in front of the workers this truth, that no change will ever be brought about except by their own efforts. We concede the right of perfect local autonomy, having no central power to interfere with the branches, leaving them to do that which would commend itself to the intelligence of its members for the furtherance of the aims of the future co-operative commonwealth. Our policy with reference to present Trade Unions will be to encourage self-reliance and confidence in their own ability to settle the differences that arise and not trust so much in so-called leaders; in fact, to show them they have the power (when they know how to use it) to turn their branches into true co-operative organisations.

In conclusion, dear comrade, I may say that we are prepared to answer any reader who cares to pay postage and who will offer to help to bring out a manifesto for the carrying out of the idea.

Yours fraternally

JOHN LOUIS PAGE,
HENRY TAYLOR.

75 Hammersmith Road, W.

THE PROPAGANDA.

[Will comrades in the London and provincial Groups make a point of furnishing us with reports of their meetings and progress by not later than the 20th of each month.—Ed.]

REPORTS.

LONDON.

Propaganda in East London.—The meetings in Canning Town, Stratford, Victoria Park and Mile-end Waste have been well attended, in fact, are larger than ever, with very feeble opposition indeed; Leggatt speaking at three meetings every Sunday, Mile-end 12 till 2.30; Victoria Park 3.30 till 5.30; and Stratford Grove 7.30 till 10 o'clock, which I think is a fair record for one comrade alone. Goulding and a comrade from Canning Town sometimes assist in selling *Freedom* etc. Any help from comrades will be gladly welcomed at either place, as the platform has to be carried to each place and is rather heavy; meetings are announced in the *Weekly Times* and *Echo*, *Reynold's* and *Lloyd's*.—E. L.

Christchurch Hall, Hanbury-street, Spitalfields.—On Monday, Feb. 5th, Comrade Herbert Stockton delivered a lecture on "Anarchism v. Commercialism." In the latter the lecturer included also Social Democracy and Individualist Anarchism, both theories of which he explained are, at bottom, like our modern Capitalism, based on the idea of making people work and good by material reward—Anarchist-Communism alone striving for a system of society where man would act well to his fellows for the pleasure he would derive by it, and where he would work through his being interested in it. Some questions and discussion followed, and the collection amounted to 5s. 11d.—On Monday, 22nd, Feb., Comrade J. C. Kenworthy delivered a very thoughtful and interesting lecture on "Tolstoy and Anarchism." The audience, who numbered about four hundred people listened to the lecture with marked attention. After defining

Socialism as the elimination of force among men, and of Anarchism as the most advanced school of Socialism, our comrade dealt historically with the long struggle between the possessed and dispossessed, and pointed out that there will always be war until Society adopts for its basis a system of common property and general welfare. For this, a conscious knowledge on the part of the masses is unavoidable; a knowledge of the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity being the only weapon of the masses that may save society. He then went over point by point the message of Tolstoy, conveying, the lecturer showed, the teachings of life based on Anarchy—no authority, on labor and equality. What chiefly singles out Tolstoy is—not that he is less an Anarchist—his teaching of non-resistance; because, he says, that the power of the priest and politician is organised bias, which can only be got rid of by man becoming self-respecting, and by ceasing to be content merely with understanding equality, but practising it. Tolstoy took his life in his hands the very day he declared in Russia against the State. If there be any greatness in mankind, the lecturer concluded, it is in Tolstoy. After numbers of questions were disposed of, a very brisk discussion, almost solely upon the question of non-resistance, followed; several comrades arguing that under certain conditions of society, non-resistance to evil may be considered synonymous as complicity with evil, and that it may even become sometimes a worse element of reaction than the direct violence and oppression perpetrated on the people. The collection realised 9s. 11½d.—Monday, March 1, we held no meeting for want of lecturer, but on the 8th, we had a crowded audience who had come to hear Kropotkin lecture on "The State: its Historical Role and Development." Unfortunately our comrade telegraphed that owing to a bad cold he contracted after his lecture in Glasgow it was impossible for him to come. The disappointment and regret of the audience were great, but happily Comrade Turner consented, at the last moment, to take the platform, and treated the meeting to a capital lecture on "Modern Tendencies." Our comrade pointed to the tendencies in the industrial world, where federation and internationalism are spreading more and more; also in our present family relations the principle of equality growing with every day; in our behavior to, and education of children, as well as in our treatment of criminals—where in all instances the human view takes the place of the old and rotten ideas of brutality and coercion. In the sphere of literature, in science, no less than in art, the old notions of authority disappear, and make way to the assertion of individuality and independence. Several questions were replied to by the lecturer, after which a lively discussion followed. The collection amounted to 18s. 6d. Before and after the lecture Mrs. Gabriel played on the piano, while Mrs. Abbott rendered two solos, both helping to humor the audience, and were much appreciated. Brisk sale of literature. During the evening another communication from comrade Kropotkin, saying that he hoped to be able to give his lecture on Monday, 15th March, was read out to the meeting amidst great applause.

The following subscriptions have been received for the two weeks of Feb. 22 and March 8, towards guaranteeing the expenses of these lectures:—W. W., 1s.; B. R., 1s.; Gunfon, 1s.; Kingston, 1s.; Rabinovitz, 6d.; T. Primmer, 6d.; H. Graham, 6d.; B. Matthews, 6d.; Webb, 6d.; Fieldhouse, 6d.; Lewis, 3d.; Graham, junr., 3d.; B. Cohen, 6d.; Jaffry, 9d.; Stenk, 9d.; C. Morton, 6d.; Muller, 6d.; M. Sher, 3d.—W. W.

PROVINCIALS.

Manchester.—If we have not hitherto sent a report, it has been because we have been too busy to do so. Although the weather has prevented out-door meetings, we have been far from idle. Lectures have been given at a number of clubs and debating societies, and have been as successful as one could wish, both as regards numbers attending, discussion, interest in the subject, and sale of literature. Comrade Barton has also lectured at Bolton (Labor Church) and Oldham, and was both surprised and delighted at the interest taken, and the favorable reception of Anarchist ideas. He has another invitation to Bolton for a recent date. Altogether propaganda has gone very well in this district; new members have joined us, and we have every prospect of a fine campaign during the next season. We are now making arrangements to get a printing press for purposes of local propaganda.—A. B.

NOTICES.

All those comrades coming to the Conference in London, during Easter, are kindly requested to communicate at once with J. Perry, 7, Lamb's Conduit Street, W.C.

Those comrades and groups who have any unsold copies of the February issue of *Freedom* are kindly requested to return them to 7, Lamb's Conduit Street, as speedily as possible. We are greatly in need of them.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Sales of FREEDOM.—MacQueen, 2s. 8d.; Canning Town Group, 3s. 4d.; Percy, 2s.; H. Taylor, 1s.; W. Wess, 4s.; T. Cantwell, 2s.; Office, 5d.
Sales of Pamphlets.—Office, 3s. 1d.; W. Wess, 4s.
Subscriptions.—J. Grevez-Fisher, 1s. 6d.; G. O. Warren, 1s. 6d.
Donations to FREEDOM Publication Fund.—J. Finn (South Africa), 2s. 6d.

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