

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

MAY DAY.

Courage yet! my brother or my sister!
Keep on! Liberty is to be subserved, whatever occurs;
That is nothing that is quelled by one or two failures, or any number of failures,
Or by the indifference or ingratitude of the people, or by any unfaithfulness,
Or by the show of the tushes of power, soldiers, cannon, penal statutes.
Revolt! and still Revolt! Revolt!

So sang Walt Whitman; and the thoughts therein expressed may well remind us, as May Day comes round once more, that, come what may, we have still to press forward with the good work we have in hand, certain that, whether results come fast or slow, our efforts will never be lost.

May Day is Labour Day—the workers have decided that. It is the one day in the year they have consecrated to themselves, and it will never be wrested from them. In spite of the capitalist and his domination hundreds and thousands of workers in all parts of the civilised world will claim one day out of the three hundred and sixty-five on which to assert their international solidarity.

Although many phases of Socialist thought will be represented in the demonstrations, all will declare for the solidarity of Labour. Social Democrat and Anarchist Communist are at least agreed on that point. While the government and the press are fanning the flame of international jealousies and hatred for the basest motives of greed and ambition it will be seen that the worker, who his exploiters pretend requires so much force to keep him in order, is the one whose interests and sympathies must inevitably make for peace between the nations. At the present moment the world can see that all the disorder is the work of governments. Yet there will be those who would place the destinies of labour in the hands of these enemies of the human race—who would bid the worker have faith in the powers organised specially to rob and to crush him! But every May Day will find fewer and fewer of the toiling masses that will place any hope in the promises of the politician, and that broken reed the ballot box. We are sometimes told the Anarchist propaganda accomplishes nothing practical. Well, it educates the people in the truth, and that surely is something. But what glad tidings have the parliamentarians to bring to the people this May Day as the result of their political activity? Search the mouldy heap of useless Acts, and show us the fruit of all the time and money wasted on practical politics. Far better to organise for the great strike of Labour against Capital, which must come sooner or later, and which will ensure as a natural consequence the economic emancipation of the worker. For this we Anarchist Communists will work, and we hope by next May Day there will be many Social Democrats who will conscientiously see the advantage of this propaganda over the futility of politics.

A MANIFESTO.

WORKINGMEN,

The market for candidates is once more opened; and you who from year's end to year's end starve and sweat for the profit of greedy masters, and are exposed to all kinds of vexations in your daily lives, you receive the hypocritical homage and listen to the lying promises of those people who rob you systematically of the products of your labor and despise you into the bargain.

We who are of the people, like you; who toil and suffer like you, and who put every hope, not in an elevation over the heads of others, but in the emancipation of all, we wish to say a candid word to you.

What do your masters and their agents want from you? what are their promises worth?

Too long already you have allowed yourselves to be deceived, and stupidly, meanly you lick the stick with which you are beaten. Think at last over your fate; raise your heads and be men.

You suffer because you have not the means to work and to produce, nor the freedom to live as you would and ought to live. The owners of the land, of the means and instruments of production, of the big cities; who hold the markets and regulate the distribution and the price of all merchandise, these force you to work for their profit how and when it suits them; and they appropriate the product of your labor, leaving to you a mere pittance that keeps you from starving. And government, ever hungry for taxes, diminishes even this little left by your masters—in whose interest, as we well know, the taxes will be spent.

To be free, you must conquer the right to enjoy the product of your labor and to organise and to live as befits the dignity of human beings.

These gentlemen who seek your votes may call themselves Conservatives or Progressives, Liberals or Democrats, Anarchists or Republicans, but they all desire that property should remain in the hands of those who do no work and that the workers should continue to fatten the others and to be led like feeble sheep to be shorn and slaughtered. They all live upon your labor, and would like this state of things to last for ever.

To-day they are divided among themselves and fight for power—goaded by their vanity for domination, and quarrelling over the division of the spoil wrung from you. But you will find them an united and compact body against you the day when you seriously resolve to emancipate yourselves; and to-day, even, you see them sink their political differences and unite against you every time you claim a slight improvement, every time they feel, in whatever degree, their money-bags are threatened.

Why should you vote for them? why should you take part in a struggle in which all the combatants are your enemies?

If you have the least consciousness of your misery, if you feel the least dignity of a man and a worker, if you have the slightest wish to be free you will refuse to sanction your servitude by your vote.

Let those who have a personal interest in it, or those who want to remain humble and down-trodden slaves go to the poll. You who are workers conscious of your rights, go into your associations and defend your interests there; struggle to better your conditions, prepare for the future.

The emancipation of the workers must be the result of the efforts of the workers themselves.

But to-day, besides the middle classes, who are your enemies and oppressors, though disguised for this occasion as your friends and protectors, others are demanding your votes who call themselves Socialists and are really, at least in great part, your sincere friends. They agree with us that the bourgeois are all enemies of the people, and that it would be stupid and unworthy of workers to help to elect them to power. But they argue that as the bourgeois use the power in favor of the bourgeoisie, so you need only elect workingmen who will use it in the interest of the working-classes. And in this way, just as you are gaining class-consciousness, just when you are beginning to see that you are slaves and are wishing to be free a political ambush is laid for you which throws you back into moral subjection, tears you away from the direct struggle for the conquest of your rights and indicating an easy and flowery path, induces you to leave the rough road of struggles and self-reliance which alone can lead you to happiness and freedom. Against this fraud, which, whilst it may be perpetrated in good faith, is all the same detrimental to your cause, we have come to warn you.

The parliamentarian Socialists only tell you one half of the truth. The government defends property, not only because it consists of property-owners, but also because it is the government. When you put men in a position which enables them to impose their own will upon others, they become by this fact a privileged class and must necessarily defend privilege. The worker who becomes a ruler ceases to belong to your class and to have the same interests as you have—in the same way as is the case with the worker who becomes an employer.

Do not of your own will create for yourselves new masters; you are already under the sway of too many. Do not establish by your votes a class which, to-morrow, would take the place of the governing classes of to-day, and which would oppress you to-morrow as you are oppressed to-day. The question is not whether we shall be governed by those who have been our fellow-workers, but why we should be governed at all. If free, we should be able to arrange things amongst ourselves in conformity with our ideas and our interests, and to provide for our needs as it seems best to us.

Why should we raise from our midst comrades to send them to learn how the people are governed and kept in subjection? For what purpose do governments serve, if not that of fleecing us and defending those who fleece us?—if not to impose upon all the ideas of a few and to force down to a dead level the infinite variety of temperaments, conditions and interests?

To organise the production and distribution of wealth, to provide for all public needs, to establish harmony between the interests and passions of one and all, to obtain the most fruitful result from the unity of the two supreme principles of individual liberty and social solidarity,—these are the things which a real society should strive for. Yet the present society is one in which a few "fortunate" ones bleed, oppress, crush the immense majority of mankind and, even then, they (the few) do not succeed in living contented and peaceful among themselves. But no government can provide for those wants which are essential to society. No government could do this, even were it composed of men of genius, wisdom and goodwill, and having at command a legion of geniuses.

The organisation of economic life can only spring from an agreement between the producers; the harmony of interest must be intended and promoted by those interested, themselves; and the sense of social solidarity must be rooted in the minds of men. A government cannot take the place of the people and can only divert the activity of the people in favor of a class or a party and take social solidarity as a pretext for oppression.

FELLOW WORKERS, DO NOT VOTE!

If you vote for the bourgeois, you back up those who starve you and thereby show yourselves worthy of the whip that lashes you.

If you vote for workingmen, you prepare yourselves new masters elected from your own ranks; and you think you are able to liberate yourselves from present oppression by forging new chains for yourselves.

Voting, besides preparing the masters of to-morrow, can only help to perpetuate the conditions and inertia of to-day. Those who tell you that it is a means of agitation and propaganda, that by it you might influence legislation and make it less hostile to you, that by it you may further your interests and the cause of Socialism, deceive themselves or deceive you.

If you want to agitate and to propagate the ideas of emancipation—and your own interests should impel you to do so—you must do it yourselves, each one with untiring and constant work. If you want to influence legislation, to defend and ameliorate your interests, you must unite, agitate, organise, formulate your demands and exact respect for them. If you want freedom, it rests with yourselves to win it.

The few liberties that exist, the small progress realised have been conquered by the people, by the fear with which they inspired their masters; and they are lost the moment the people cease to be their jealous guardians and trust their defence to their so-called representatives.

Parliaments would never have conceded any reform if it had not become part of the public conscience and would have become a fact in spite of the law,—if Parliament had not hastened to legalise it to evade greater disaster. And if, by

accident, some law is made that could have been useful to the people, it remains a dead letter unless the people energetically demand that it should be enforced.

DO NOT VOTE. But your abstention must not be the effect of scepticism and indifference. If you abstain from voting from sheer apathy the elected will exploit your indifference without meeting any resistance, and you will be even more responsible for the wrong that will be done than those who have placed their faith in the ballot-box. We repeat: Unite, Organise, Agitate!

We are accused of being dreamers. It is said that we want too much, that the people do not understand us, that progress is made little by little.

Well, are you contented with little when you need so much? But let that pass. If you only begin to march, the wish take all will surely follow. Still, however little you demand, demand it in earnest and use the proper means to obtain it.

If, for example, you want freedom of association; form associations and, if the government dissolves them, associate yourselves all the same. If you want the Eight-Hour Day; organise and refuse to work more than eight hours. If you truly want it, if you are disposed to struggle and to suffer for your cause, you will obtain what you require.

But if you expect that the bourgeois make you concessions because you succeed in sending some workmen into Parliament, you will obtain nothing. And you will show yourselves scarcely more capable of conquering liberty and well-being if you vote for a Socialist than if you vote for a capitalist or a lord.

No Socialists in Parliament. He who wants to fight for the people, let him remain in their midst.

(The above is the text of a manifesto published by the *Agitazione*, of Ancona, on the occasion of the recent Italian elections. It is signed by numerous groups in Ancona, Ravenna, Siena, Rimini, Florence, Bologna, Parma, Imola, Lugo, Pesaro, Perugia, Genova, Spezia, Milan, Rome, &c.; in fact it is impossible to mention all the names of towns, groups, and comrades. Besides showing the way in which the Italian comrades use the elections for propaganda of Anarchism, its general adoption also shows that the recent evolution of Dr. Merlino towards parliamentarism is not affecting the Italian movement to any extent. It is generally considered as a purely personal act which is not borne up by any similar tendency whatever in the movement at large. This is not said for Anarchists—for we all admit that everyone is as free to leave our movement as he is to join it—but for electioneering Socialists, who seem anxious to see in this individual act a sign of the decay of Anarchism. To this the Italian comrades have replied by signing in masses the above manifesto, and this is one of the reasons why it was translated here.)

REBELS OR TRAITORS?

A very earnest, level-headed comrade—a member of the “Boot and Shoe Operatives’ Union”—now on strike with his fellows at Norwich—writes that the comrades are discussing the action of an avowed anarchist who has “ratted” on his fellow-workers and gone in to work at a price under that for which the strikers are contending. Some are inclined to think he is justified, and say it will bring about the breakdown of the present industrial system all the quicker if others do the same. It is with regret one has to admit that those who contend thus are for the most part outside the Union. For myself, I am altogether against such stupid and traitorous action at any time, but when it is committed in the middle of a struggle on the part of a big mass of the workpeople against their exploiters it is worse than madness. I have long since ceased to put any faith in names, and would rather be associated with the most simple-minded worker who instinctively stands with his fellows in any struggle against his rulers and exploiters than with one who, however vehement may be his professions of a desire to abolish all mastership, betrays the trust he has openly avowed in the first little skirmish.

For what is the position? Some of those engaged in the boot and shoe trade at Norwich are trying to establish a minimum wage. This being refused by the employers, several thousand other operatives engaged in other departments struck work in sympathy. Neither side would give way, though the Union was willing to submit the dispute to arbitration, which the masters refused. A very ordinary and commonplace labor dispute some will say!

But what is the attitude that Anarchists should at once assume in such circumstances? To me it is quite clear! All those who are engaged in the industry where the dispute occurs, whether members of the Union or not—would to goodness every Anarchist who is a wage-earner had the wit to join a Union of his trade where one exists, or to form one if it does not, so that to speak of an Anarchist was also to imply a Trade Unionist—should call a meeting of their own and take the matter into consideration. There are so many things that can be done then that cannot be done at any other time. If they consider the demand of the Union too little (and it should logically always be too little for an Anarchist), let them decide to try to make it more when the meetings of the workpeople are held. While not trying to embarrass the Union, let them make themselves heard, and if they have anything like a spokesman among them some splendid propaganda can be done. Let them volunteer for picket duty and be willing to take the dangerous and difficult posts, thus justifying in action the bold position they take up in theory.

The only time there should be even a suggestion of going in to work should be if some poor ignorant slaves have gone in, and someone is wanted to go amongst them to induce them to abandon the wretched work of fighting their own best interests and playing the exploiters’ game against their fellows.

Or it is understandable if the Union wishes to teach the masters a lesson, but dare not run the risk of openly advising their punishment by the abrogation of some of the plunder they have previously wrung from the labour of their workpeople. “Going in” to fight the exploiters has been successfully carried through by Anarchists before now, but to fight their fellows—never!

The cry of “pay no rent” could be raised, as it was here in London during the Dock Strike, and most successfully too. Then the struggle becomes a double-edged one—against two forms of robbery—and it is surprising how anxious the “authorities” become for the termination of such a contest.

In fact, there are innumerable ways that Anarchists could act during industrial conflicts, every one of which would help the spread of the ideas—gain the confidence of their fellow-workers, and really hasten the end of the present political and economic slavery.

But it seems that just a contrary policy has suggested itself to some at Norwich—a policy as it seems to me of treachery and cowardice. They pretend to think, and say this policy will hasten the downfall of capitalism, though I am without a shred of argument to sustain the statement. Do they seriously maintain that the giving of a larger portion of the result of their labour to their masters will weaken the employers’ position? Does the surrender of plunder help to overthrow the thief? As well maintain that supplying the enemy with ammunition and helping it in the fight will lead to its destruction! Such idiocy is beyond contempt! It is time such perfidious conduct masquerading under the name of Anarchism was repudiated once and for all.

Far be it from me as an Anarchist to defend all the actions of Trade Unionists, either leaders or rank and file. They are so paltry—so mean—sometimes so contemptible as to deserve the execration of those who fight for the emancipation of labour, but there is no excuse in trying to emulate this example.

On the contrary, let us show our superiority upon every possible occasion, and sooner or later the mass of the workpeople will repudiate a policy they have learnt to despise—in favour of one which will lead them to victory.

Again, will the one who has “blacklegged” on his fellows be willing to give up the difference in his wage that he is getting now—should the minimum wage be established, say, to the Anarchist propaganda—or will he pocket the increase others have obtained for him in spite of his disloyalty to his fellows. Is it in fact any question of principle at all, or is it merely a matter of personal feebleness in face of some hardship, and an attempt to hide it by talking of breaking down the present system. Suppose a breakdown did occur, the hardships that would confront those who tried to take advantage of it would be enormous. Would those who give way in a dispute like this at Norwich be likely to “stand out” in face of such a conflict that would ensue? I at any rate would place no confidence in such a one who apparently does not understand the meaning of solidarity.

And the big mass of the workers—how will they judge it? They will condemn it—and rightly! If in a small struggle such as this—they will say—he deserts us and capitulates to the capitalists, what would happen if the struggle took a more serious form?

And are they not right in their conclusions? I think so!

In fact, I am altogether unable to find any reasonable excuse for such conduct. “Blacklegging” by ignorant men driven by stress of circumstances to snatch at a job left vacant by others, as a protest against conditions they feel intolerable, I can understand. I can even pity them in the same way I feel for the judge, the soldier, or the policeman, and the whole crowd of mercenary supporters of the present plundering, social and industrial system. I do not look to these people however to break down existing conditions but to maintain them. To do otherwise is to deceive ourselves!

Every worker who in a strike goes back on his fellows helps to fasten the fetters that hold him and his class still tighter and to damp out the spark of revolt that is finding expression.

Every conscious Anarchist who is in a strike will try to lead his fellows on still further—to make them more bold—to fan the spark of revolt into a flame of revolution.

To do otherwise is to show either that he is not worthy or does not understand the principles he has espoused.

True, we as Anarchists strike at the very institutions of domination and robbery, and are not much concerned with their agents, but if in our efforts to overthrow these establishments their factors stand between us in the conflict, they must expect to get some of the blows intended for the principals.

And so while we would always rather see the workpeople make an attack directly upon their exploiters we are never surprised when they turn upon those of their own class who have become the tools of their of their masters and stand between them in the struggle. They know it is these who prevent them getting what they want! A great deal more could be said on this matter, and I may return to it again in the future. For the present I have spoken plainly, and in a personal sense in case other members of “Freedom” Group may not agree with me in every detail. I think it is a subject every Anarchist should consider very carefully. If I am mistaken then I am wrong in what I have up till now honestly believed Anarchism meant.

JOHN TURNER.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

The atrocities of the Spanish government are not unrivalled in other countries. Recently in Russia a medical student, Miss Mary Vetrov, arrested for some slight participation in the labor movement, was driven to burn herself in prison by means of a paraffin lamp. Many points concerning the cause and circumstances of the suicide are withheld from the public, but the thousands of students of St. Petersburg and other universities knew what to think of it and celebrated her memory by attending in their thou-

sands at a demonstration held in a church—the only possible place in Russia where people are allowed to meet without violating the law! Later on many were arrested.

In France the fate of a young Anarchist, Lorion Girier, whose history—that of a martyr, if anything—is before the public again. Without dwelling on his previous history we will remember that after the so-called revolt of the political prisoners at Cayenne in 1894, he was, in July 1895, sentenced to death, which was commuted to five years' solitary confinement in February 1896. All those eight months he expected every morning to be led to the guillotine. "Every morning," he wrote, "I listen with strained attention to try whether among the sounds I hear I can distinguish some announcing that the guillotine is being erected, that they will come to fetch me.... When the usual hour is passed, I say to myself: 'Twenty-four hours more!' and the next morning I begin again. It is atrocious not to know when this will end; I am not afraid to die, but this incertitude, this continuous excitement is killing me; it seems to me that I was sentenced to death, but not to agony, to an agony with full consciousness and so long that nature would blush to make the lowest being undergo." And it is further told how during all those months no hope was held out to him, how the prison officials and warders amused themselves by making him believe that the boat had arrived with the executioner, how they entered his room at the dreaded hour in a mock procession to enjoy his mental agony, etc. Since these letters found their way to France nothing further has been heard of Lorion; and the Minister now, replying to a question in the press, asserts that he is mad. This statement, however, contains contradictions or lies which have which have been pointed out and the last word is yet to be said on this new victim's fate.

In Germany, in the penitentiary of Halle—the hell where John Neve was driven mad,—comrade Camin has just died; having been imprisoned for five and a half years (since 1892), and very ill for several years. Another victim takes his place, Koschemann, sentenced at Berlin to ten years' penal servitude.

Turning from these subjects, we may welcome a general revival of the movement in Italy. The large number of groups signing the abstentionist manifesto shows how deeply Anarchism is rooted there, and that all the worst reaction can achieve is to stifle for a few months its public utterances in the press and on platforms. This has been tried again to some extent with the *Agitazione*, of Ancona, two numbers out of six having been seized; a second edition was published of No. 4, omitting the prohibited articles, —out of 16 pages 8½ were blank with the words "Seized" printed across.

In Spain an economic crisis seems near. The northern provinces are depopulated by emigration to America; in the South there is no work to do, the factories closed, the workers and peasants in Catalonia and Andalusia starving. Often the local custom-houses (where almost everything introduced into a village or town is taxed) are stormed and burned by the unemployed, or starving wives and children raid the bakers' shops, others attack corn mills. Clericalism is triumphant. Cuba, the Philippines, the Anarchist prisoners and every advocate of freethought are at the mercy of military despotism inspired by Jesuits.

As to the Clericals and their 'god,' by the way, they dropped in for an amusing hoax recently in France. In the early eighties a man from Marseilles, Leo Taxil, carried on a large freethought agitation, more noisy and superficial than it might have been, but certainly to some good. Since that he had to all appearance gone over to the Clericals and was made much of by them as a converted freethinker. He published utterly absurd revelations on Freemasonry and, latterly, on Satanism or Palladism, as he called it, a special devil's worship revealed by Miss Diana Vaughan, etc. Even an authentic signature of the devil was published in facsimile, and underneath the rock of Gibraltar there was one of the entrances to hell. All this was swallowed with perfect credulity by the priests and their dupes; or, if they did not believe it, they were silenced by the others, by the pope himself, and last year in Austrian Tyrol a real Anti-Masonic Congress was held which united the Catholic notabilities of Europe, was greeted by the Governor of the province, etc.,—chiefly to discuss these revelations and to propose to all governments measures against freethought. On Easter Monday, however, Leo Taxil, at a lecture in Paris, explained that he was always a practical joker and had all along for these twelve years made dupes of these clerical fools or frauds, inventing everything and testing the utmost limits of their gullibility.

This might appear a trivial affair and not connected with the Anarchist movement; I think, however, that it shows the hold which superstition still has on the people and the merciless use the priests of every description make of it to keep down progress. Anarchism is not a doctrine of working a little less and getting a little more in reward for it—a shadowy, discontented formula to which we see Socialism reduced sometimes now,—but it means the realisation of freedom in every conceivable direction, and to try to do this men must be, above all, free from every form of superstition, be it the "belief" of pope and priests in inventions *a la Taxil*, or any of the more refined but equal and more dangerous forms of religious belief.

Of new publications we welcome *Freedom*, published by Ivar Mortenson at Litlevolden (Norway), the first sign of a revived movement since *Fedraheimen* in 1891 ceased publication. At that time comrade Dylbest (since dead) sometimes sent to *Freedom*; perhaps another comrade there will now tell us the reasons of their long silence.

Comrade Tcherkesov's *Pages of Socialist History*, published in French and Dutch, and in English in *Freedom*, were published in a pamphlet at La Coruña Spain. This town in the north-west is the only place in Spain where Anarchist publications of a more historic character still appear; Bellegarrigue's *Anarchy is Order* (of 1850) was reprinted there.

An Italian comrade purposes to publish a volume of the writings of Carlo Cafiero, the Italian Anarchist who, from 1871 to 1880, was the soul of the movement.

In Tunis, Africa, civilisation is being introduced by France, demanding that newspapers should deposit a caution—a thing which has been long since abolished in France and which was always one of the planks in Republican programs before they came into power! Owing to this *La Protesta Umara*, Dr. Conventi's Anarchist review will be transferred to Macerata, Sicily.

In Bohemia an Individualist Anarchist group is now active and has begun to translate Max Stirner's famous book, also to bring out a paper, *Anarchist*, at Zhzhkov—the first Austrian paper ever published under a similar name, which ten years ago could not have been thought of. *Freedom* is never given, but taken; even this small fact proves it.

* * Reports of Christchurch Hall Lectures &c. are unavoidably held over for next number, owing to want of space.

CORRESPONDENCE.

RE THE CONFERENCE.

DEAR COMRADE,—The "suggested Conference," that should have taken place at Easter, fell through owing to certain unanticipated personal circumstances arising that totally disabled me from giving it the necessary attention for organising, etc.

There being no comrade at the time forthcoming who was prepared to do the work it ended where I left it.

I may say, the response from the provinces was very unfavourable generally, respecting representation.

Nevertheless, in view of the still apparent need and desire of the Conference, I suggest arrangements be made for its meeting during the Whitsun Holidays, to which I should happily render any possible assistance. Those comrades favorable thereto kindly communicate with me for purposes of arrangement.

I think the above explanation is due to those who were interested in the matter.

Fraternally yours,
JOSEPH PERRY.

7 Millman Street, W.C.

P.S.—I would especially draw the attention of provincial groups, whose attendance at any such Conference is extremely important.

With regard to Mr. Bernstein's remarks on John Most in his letter to *Freedom* (see March number) we refer the reader to the *Freiheit* of March 20, where Most published a reply, concluding that he does not think it worth while to bother the English press with these affairs—with which we agree.—* *

The Spanish Martyrs.

The "Spanish Atrocities Committee" has been actively at work during the past three weeks.

The delegates are Henry S. Salt, Humanitarian League; Herbert Burrows, Society of Friends of Russian Freedom; J. F. Green, Fabian Society; F. Shillaker, Independent Labour Party; W. J. Barwick, Social Democratic Federation; Joseph Perry, Freedom Group.

The Committee have invited the London Trades Council to send a delegate to take part in their deliberations, and in all probability the Committee will be augmented by Edward Carpenter, Walter Crane, Cunningham Grahame, Mrs. Mallet, and the Rev. Stewart Headlam, who were members of the deputation to the Spanish Ambassador. The following appeal has been issued:—

The following constitutes the Committee's decisions:—

1. That each Society be invited to contribute £1 towards expenses.
2. That subscription lists be widely distributed.
3. To publish at once 10,000 leaflets, containing Sebastian Sunyer's appeal and a request for financial aid.
4. That 10,000 pamphlets be printed containing all the alleged facts, for which one penny shall be charged.
5. That a Mass Meeting be called in Trafalgar Square, to draw attention to these crimes, the date to be fixed at next Committee sitting. (See handbills, posters, and press notices.)

The following resolution was unanimously carried at the May Day Celebration delegate meeting, on Sunday, April 25th:—

"This meeting of delegates, representing various large and important industries and various schools of social and political thought in Great Britain, hereby places on record its emphatic protest against the practice of tortures now being inflicted on Anarchist prisoners, Barcelona, Spain, with the purpose of obtaining confessions of crime and accusations of complicity against innocent men. We are convinced the revival of the inquisition in Spain is again alive to-day with all the concomitant horrors that accompanied its origin in the fifteenth century, and in view of the uncontradicted and undeniable allegations, we feel compelled to regard the British Authorities or any other European power that maintains diplomatic relations with that country while closing its eyes to these charges, as being accomplices in the revival of this barbaric custom."

The I.L.P. Conference, at Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, passed the following resolution on Tuesday, April 27th, 1897:—

"That this meeting of delegates of the I.L.P. of Great Britain records its horror of the tortures to which the alleged Anarchist prisoners have been subject in Barcelona, in order to compel them to acknowledge themselves guilty, and also to accuse their friends, and protests with utmost indignation against the revival of inquisitorial torments in a country that claims respect and autonomy as a civilised power."

In view of the confirmation of the death sentence, we have little hope of being able to save the lives of our unfortunate comrades, but we shall at least be able to draw public attention to the truths of the case, and thereby make it evident that these men are victims to the blind rage of the bourgeoisie because of their opinions.

It is a repetition of the Chicago tragedy, but made more horrible by the tortures, it will, when placed on historic record, blacken the leaf on which it will appear as one of the ugliest and most damnable indictments against the morality of so-called Christian, civilized Europe. The whole press—with the exception of *Reynolds* and the *Weekly Times and Echo*—have completely boycotted all we have done to call attention to the matter, the *Daily Chronicle* being conspicuous for its silence.

The publicity of this matter therefore relies wholly with the Committee and comrades, who should render them every possible support in any action they may take, and not to fail to circulate the facts wherever the opportunity presents itself.

We therefore trust the response from our readers and groups will be prompt and favourable. The Committee have appointed Joseph Perry, 7 Millman Street, Street, W.C., Secretary, to whom all subscriptions and communications should be sent. Herbert Burrows, treasurer.

Those desirous for further information, leaflets for distribution, pamphlets for sale at 1s. 4d. a quire, or 1d. each, address the Secretary.

We adopt this course to ensure a discriminate distribution of the above-mentioned literature.

NOTICES.

East-London Social Problem Lecture Society, Christchurch Hall, Hanbury St., Spitalfields, E.—Monday, May 3, Touzeau Parris will deliver the last lecture of the season, on "Michael Bakounin's Nihilist Philosophy." On Monday, May 10, a CONCERT AND DANCE will take place, to clear the deficit incurred by the first course of lectures and to raise a Lecture Fund. The following have promised to assist:—H. G. Alldis, Miss Hanwell, Professor Staub, C. Morton, Sigmund Sabelinsky, Mrs. Abbott, Ed. Fox, Mrs. Primmer, M. Waxman, Mrs. Tohatti, Lew Baker (M.P., L.C.C.), who will address a few "remarks" to the free and independent electors on "Women's Sufferings," and others. Admission by ticket, sixpence. Doors open at 7.30; Concert at 8; Dance at 10.

Freedom

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

St. John.—Your spirited and interesting reply came to hand too late for insertion in this number. Will appear in our next.
W. DUFF.—We are sorry we had no means of producing the leaflet you suggested for May-day. However, the idea is excellent and might be utilised for any other occasion.

NOTES.

THE WORK OF THE MIGHTY.

The suicide of Miss Mary Vetrov, in the cell of a Russian prison, reminds us once more of the frightful things that are happening in European countries to those who are guilty of the crime of desiring a better state of things for humanity. A young girl student, who, unlike the creatures of the Court and the ruling classes, has a heart in her breast and is impelled by her sympathies to aid the oppressed, is thrown into prison and is insulted and treated so brutally that she destroys herself in a manner involving most terrible suffering. Look at the treatment of our Spanish comrades, and for what? For trying to educate their fellow-men to the conception of a better state of society than that which surrounds them to-day. And the lesson of it all is that the power of man over man—that government, in a word, has always been, and is to this very day, responsible for the most awful crimes against humanity. It may be said that these things only happen under despotisms. But what did the American capitalists do in Chicago? And what have English capitalists been doing in South Africa? Government is always the same beast, disguise him as you will.

WAR: WHAT THEN?

So war has broken out, in spite of the big bullies. One wonders if they will be able to keep it within bounds, as they were not able to prevent it starting. And the poor Cretans, what will become of them by the time it is all ended? Will they be expected to pay any of the bill? Is it going to be an European scrimmage after all? If so, what are the workpeople of the different countries going to do about it. We have had a lot of talk—wise and otherwise, at congresses local, national, and international—are they ready to act?

WHERE ARE THEY?

By the way, where are those militant disciples of the meek and lowly one now—those who led their congregations to Hyde Park to shout for the annihilation of the Turk. Are they ready to act. Even the volunteers for Greece seem to have suddenly remembered other duties now that war has actually started. Perhaps there has been time to receive a letter or two from those who went in their early enthusiasm. Yes, we should think they were for once honest though mistaken, if we saw a nonconformist and other parsons leading their young men to Charing Cross station on the way to Greece. And if they did not return—well, "they never would be missed," except it were that there would be a few less for us to fight should it ever come to fighting here.

NOTING! TALKING!! ACTING!!!

And that reminds one. It has often occurred to us that that part of the Social Democratic program, where "the people are to decide on peace or war" required a little addition—that those who were in favour of war do the fighting. If this was added, the "dear" people would probably for the first time in history think before they voted, and wars would be scarce. If those who a little while since were screaming for some one else to drive the Turk out of Europe had known that the penalty of talking thus was that they themselves must act, they would probably have made an effort in the direction of thinking for the first time in their lives. But then there would not have been much talking.

OH, WHAT A DIFFERENCE!

How different with Cipriani. This old warhorse no sooner smells powder than he rushes in to action at once, and has a considerable hand in precipitating matters. We excuse and admire him both for his energy and his pluck. But we would remind those who are anxious to emulate his conduct—and precipitate matters at the risk of their lives—that it is quite unnecessary to undertake the fatigue of an ocean trip, a long railway ride, short commons, and exposure on the mountains before getting into action. Why go so far south-east? Is it not possible to begin right here—and for a nobler and better cause?

OUR MARRIAGE LAWS.

A respectably-dressed woman applied to Mr. Lane for advice, at the West London Police Court, the other day. She had married her deceased sister's husband, by whom she had a family of children, whom the husband now refused to support. The magistrate coolly informed her that the English law regarded the children as illegitimate, and advised her to apply to the relieving officer. Poor woman! If she could be economically independent of this fellow she would be well rid of him, and, unlike the legally married victim, could regain her liberty. As to the illegitimacy of the children, they will probably be as well off as most children, considering the fate that awaits many poor little souls born with the blessings of wedlock.

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

We are pleased to be able to state that our comrade Voltaire de Cleyre will in all probability be with us before the end of the month. She hopes to stay with us some little time, during which she will lecture in London and the provinces. All comrades and friends desiring to arrange for lectures should communicate at once with J. Turner, 7 Lamb's Conduit Street, London, W.C.

A SPLENDID WORK.

Comrade Netlow's *Bibliographie de L'Anarchie* is now published, and forms a splendid work of historical reference for the Anarchist movement. The labour involved must have been immense, and the success is unqualified. There is a preface by Elisée Reclus, who points out how the work has been helped on by Anarchist comrades who have helped to collect the necessary materials without any "orders" from Councils or chiefs. We hope soon to see an English translation. Particulars of publication will be found on our advertisement page.

THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

(A lecture which should have been delivered in Paris, on March 7, 1896, in the Mille Colonnes Hall.)

I.

IN taking as subject for this lecture the State and the part it played in history I thought it would respond to a need which is greatly felt at this moment: that of thoroughly examining the very idea of the State, of studying its essence, its rôle in the past, and the part it may be called upon to play in the future.

It is especially on the "State" question that Socialists are divided. Amidst the number of fractions existing among us and corresponding to different temperaments, to different ways of thinking, and especially to the degree of confidence in the coming Revolution, two main currents can be traced.

On the one hand, there are those who hope to accomplish the Social Revolution by means of the State: by upholding most of its functions, by even extending them and making use of them for the Revolution. And there are those who, like us, see in the State, not only in its actual form and in all forms that it might assume, but in its very essence, an obstacle to the Social Revolution: the most serious possible hindrance to the budding of a society based on equality and liberty; the historic form elaborated to impede this budding—and who consequently work to abolish the State, and not to reform it.

The division, as you see, is deep. It corresponds to two divergent currents that clash in all philosophy, literature, and action of our times. And if the prevalent notions about the State remain as obscure as they are today, it will be, without doubt, on this question that the most obstinate struggles will be entered upon, when—as I hope soon—Communist ideas will seek for their practical realisation in the life of societies.

It is therefore of consequence, after having so often criticised the present State, to seek the cause of its appearance, to investigate the part played by it in the past, to compare it to the institutions which it superseded.

Let us first agree as to what we mean by the word State.

There is, as you know, the German school that likes to confuse the State with Society. This confusion is to be met with even among the best German thinkers and many French ones, who cannot conceive society without State concentration; and thence arises the habitual reproach cast on Anarchists of wanting to "destroy society" and of "preaching the return of perpetual war of each against all."

Yet to reason thus is to entirely ignore the progress made in the domain of history during the last thirty years; it is to ignore that men have lived in societies during thousands of years before having known the State; it is to forget that for European nations the State is of recent origin—that it hardly dates from the sixteenth century; it is to fail to recognise that the most glorious epochs in humanity were those in which the liberties and local life were not yet destroyed by the State, and when masses of men lived in communes and free federations.

The State is but one of the forms taken by society in the course of history. How can one be confused with the other?

On the other hand, the State has also been confused with government. As there can be no State without government, it has been sometimes

said that it is the absence of government, and not the abolition of the State, that should be the aim.

It seems to me, however, that State and government represent two ideas of a different kind. The State idea implies quite another idea to that of government. It not only includes the existence of a power placed above society, but also an *historical concentration* and a *concentration of many functions of the life of society in the hands of a few or even of all*. It implies new relations among the members of society.

This characteristic distinction, which perhaps escapes notice at first sight, appears clearly when the origin of the State is studied.

To really understand the State, there is, in fact, but one way: it is to study it in its historical development, and that is what I am going to endeavour to do.

The Roman Empire was a State in the true sense of the word. Up till now it is the ideal of the students of law.

Its organs covered a vast domain with a close network. Everything flowed towards Rome: economic life, military life, judicial relations, riches, education, even religion. From Rome came laws, magistrates, legions to defend their territory, governors to rule the provinces, gods. The whole life of the Empire could be traced back to the Senate; later on to the Cæsar, the omnipotent, omniscient, the god of the Empire. Every province, every district had its miniature Capitol, its little share of Roman sovereignty to direct its whole life. One law, the law imposed by Rome, governed the Empire; and that Empire did not represent a confederation of citizens: it was only a flock of *subjects*.

Even at present, the students of law and the authoritarians altogether admire the unity of that Empire, the spirit of unity of those laws, the beauty—they say—the harmony of that organisation.

But the internal decomposition furthered by barbarian invasion—the death of local life, henceforth unable to resist attacks from without and the gangrene spreading from the centre—pulled that empire to pieces, and on its ruins was established and developed a new civilisation, which is ours to-day.

And if, putting aside antique empires, we study the origin and development of that young barbarian civilisation till the time when it gave birth to our modern States, we shall be able to grasp the essence of the State. We shall do it better than we should have done, if we had launched ourselves in the study of the Roman Empire, or the empire of Alexander, or else of despotic Eastern monarchies.

In taking these powerful barbarian destroyers of the Roman Empire as a starting point, we can retrace the evolution of all civilisation from its origin till it reaches the stage of the State.

II.

Most of the philosophers of the last century had conceived very elementary notions about the origin of societies.

At the beginning, they said, men lived in small, isolated families, and perpetual war among these families represented the normal condition of existence. But one fine day, perceiving the drawbacks of these endless struggles, they decided to form a society. A social contract was agreed upon among scattered families, who willingly submitted to an authority, which authority—need I tell you?—became the starting point and the initiative of all progress. Must I add, as you have already been told in school, that our present governments have up till now impersonated the noble part of salt of the earth, of pacifiers and civilisers of humanity?

This conception, which was born at a time when little was known about the origin of man, prevailed in the last century; and we must say that in the hands of the encyclopedists and of Rousseau, the idea of a "social contract" became a powerful weapon with which to fight royalty and divine right. Nevertheless, in spite of services it may have rendered in the past, that theory must now be recognised as false.

The fact is that all animals, save some beasts and birds of prey, and a few species that are in course of extinction, live in societies. In the struggle for existence it is the sociable species that get the better of those who are not. In every class of animals they occupy the top of the ladder, and there cannot be the least doubt that the first beings of human aspect already lived in societies. Man did not create society; society is anterior to man.

We also know today—anthropology has clearly demonstrated it—that the starting point of humanity was not the family, but the clan, the tribe. The paternal family such as we have it, or such as is depicted in Hebrew tradition, appeared only very much later. Men lived tens of thousands of years in the stage of clan or tribe, and during that first stage—let us call it primitive or savage tribe, if you will—man already developed a whole series of institutions, habits, and customs, far anterior to the paternal family institutions.

In those tribes, the separate family existed no more than it exists among so many other sociable mammalia. Divisions in the midst of the tribe itself were formed by generations; and since the earliest periods of tribal life limitations were established to hinder marriage relations between divers generations, while they were freely practised between members of the same generation. Traces of that period are still extant in certain contemporary tribes, and we find them again in the language, the customs, the superstitions of nations who were far more advanced in civilisation.

The whole tribe hunted and harvested in common, and when they were satisfied they gave themselves up with passion to their dramatic dances. Nowadays we still find tribes, very near to this primitive phase,

driven back to the outskirts of the large continents, or in Alpine regions, the least accessible of our globe.

The accumulation of private property could not take place, because each thing that had been the personal property of a member of the tribe was destroyed or burned on the spot where his corpse was buried. This is even still done by gipsies in England, and the funeral rites of the "civilised" still bear its traces: the Chinese burn paper models of what the dead possessed; and we lead the military chief's horse, and carry his sword and decorations as far as the grave. The meaning of the institution is lost: only the form survives.

Far from professing contempt for human life, these primitive individuals had a horror of blood and murder. Shedding blood was considered a deed of such gravity that each drop of blood shed—not only the blood of men, but also that of certain animals—required that the aggressor should lose an equal quantity of blood.

In fact, a murder within the tribe itself was a deed *absolutely unknown*; you may see it till now, among the Inuits or Esquimaux—those survivors of the stone age that inhabit the Arctic regions. But when tribes of different origin, colour, or tongue met during their migrations, war was often the result. It is true that then already men tried to mitigate the effect of these shocks. Already then, as has so well been demonstrated by Maine, Post, Nys, the tribes agreed upon and respected certain rules and limitations of war which contained the germs of what was to become international law later on. For example, a village was not to be attacked without giving warning to the inhabitants. Never would anyone have dared to kill on a path trodden by women going to the well. And, to come to terms, the balance of the men killed on both sides had to be paid. From that time forward, a general law overruled all others:—"Your people have killed or wounded one of ours, therefore we have the right to kill one of yours, or to inflict an absolutely similar wound on one of yours"—never mind which, as it is always the tribe that is responsible for every act of its members. The well-known biblical verses, "Blood for blood, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a wound for a wound, a life for a life,"—but no more!—thence derive their origin, as was so well remarked by Koenigswarter. It was their conception of justice, and we have not much reason to boast; as the principle of "a life for a life" that prevails in our codes is but one of its numerous survivals.

As you see, a whole series of institutions, and many others which I must pass over in silence—a whole code of tribal morals was already elaborated during this primitive stage. And to maintain this kernel of social customs in force, habit, custom, tradition sufficed. There was no authority to impose it.

(To be continued.)

The ANARCHISTS OF BARCELONA.

We are near the end of this tragedy. Since April 20, the Supreme Court of Military Appeal of Madrid is re-examining the sentences passed in December by the Court-martial in the fortress of Montjuich. The Public Prosecutor of Madrid is a worthy colleague of the Prosecutor of Barcelona who demanded that the eyes of the Court should be closed to reason! Instead of nine he demands *ten* death sentences, and 20 years' penal servitude for five, 19 years 1 month 1 day for eight, 18 years 9 months 1 day for thirty-three prisoners, whilst thirty should go free.

The correspondent of the *Standard* (April 22) who telegraphs these details from Madrid says: "Indeed, the principal testimony obtained for the prosecution was derived from the confessions of Ascheri and two other chief offenders." (?) Since it is established beyond a doubt that these "confessions" were obtained by *unimaginable tortures*, it becomes evident on what ground the whole fabric of an imaginary conspiracy (the inner circle of the *Carmen's Club*, etc.) rests.

Fresh letters are continually being received. FRANCISCO GANA, a Republican prisoner writes (see *Temps Nouveaux*, Paris, April 3) that on August 4 (the day of St. Domingo de Guzman, the founder of the Inquisition in Europe) he and other prisoners were placed in separate cells and, after being handcuffed, he was told to march quick from one end of the cell to the other, being watched from the outside. "After 24 hours I felt intolerable pains in my arms and hands. I asked them to take the handcuffs off for a little while; they whipped me. I asked for water; they gave me dry codfish. When I asked again for water, they replied by lashing me with whips all over the body and said: if I would declare I had thrown the bomb, I should have bread and wine and would be allowed to sleep. I replied that I was not and never had been an Anarchist, because I abhorred these proceedings [probably he means violence], and that I was a Republican. They said that I was sure to tell them the truth for this was only the first part of the torture."

He passed in this way four days and nights until delirium overtook him. "On the morning of August 9, the officials entered and demanded the name of the bomb-thrower. I said I did not know of what they talked. Upon this one of them tied up my genital parts and compressed them. This was, as they told me, the second part [of the torture]. I lost consciousness, and when I came to, the nails of my feet gave me pain; I do not know what they had done with me. What a horrible night! what pitiful cries I heard coming from the other cells! These are tortures which it is impossible to resist."

Finally, after he had tried suicide, Portas (the chief torturer) told him, "You see, Gana, I had been told that you were one of the chief actors, but to-day I know better; this is a false declaration. I know that you are not an Anarchist, only a Republican, etc.; all this is a joke....." Then they took off the handcuffs, gave him water and soup and left him to sleep—on the bare floor wet with his own blood.—"I could not sleep, so horrible were the cries which I heard."

Another letter from JOSE MOLAS (sentenced to death) describes in a similar way how the tortures commenced on August 6, by 36 hours marching round the cell. Being unable to continue he was beaten and whipped, finally thrown down, gagged and knocked about the head. All this continued until August 15 (nine days and nights). Then he was led before Portas, who said, "If you want your sufferings to cease and to get something to eat, you will sign this

declaration." He signed it, but when brought before the judge he declared that it was all wrong. Portas then ordered him to be tortured again; this time fire was used.

One of his torturers was the warder Magans; he and Estorqui (another warder) are decorated—owing to their merits in torturing, in 1894, the Anarchist prisoners arrested in connection with the Liceo explosion; this decoration gives them a monthly extra income of 20 francs; for this miserable sum their colleagues probably envy them and try to come up to their standard of bestiality!

Of other documents I mention *Some facts on the infamies of Montjuich*, dated March 10, written by a prisoner; a summary of all the events, distributed as a manifesto all over Spain; a French translation is published in the *Père Peinard* of April 18. Also a declaration signed by all the condemned and sent to the Ateneo Barcelonense, the Catalanian scientific society; after being photographed it was laid before the judicial authorities.

A special number of Dr. Creaghe's *Oprimido*, entitled *La Inquisicion en Espana* (Buenos Ayres) is also given to this subject:

Seldom indeed, if we except the conspiracy of silence of the English daily press, has a subject of such revolting character been so widely made known, and yet it is feared all is of no avail, and the next fortnight may bring news that the worst has happened.

The Spanish comrades, who know the ferocity of their government, seem to forestall such an issue, and have published a manifesto in four languages, of which we reproduce here the English text:

"TO ANARCHISTS."

"The press has reported the wrongs of Barcelona Anarchists."

"You will know what happened in that town after the explosion of a bomb hurled against the authorities who took part in the procession of Santa Maria del Mar."

"The explosion took place last year at the beginning of June, and under the plea of searching for the author, who up till now has remained unknown, the police arrested more than 400 comrades and suppressed several newspapers. After this a trial was instituted of which the authors themselves were ashamed. A trial that has been considered infamous by the French press. Brought before a military tribunal, the Anarchists, who had been cruelly tortured, proclaimed their innocence and divulged the methods made use of by the military judge and his agents."

"It has thus been made public that with a cruelty unknown even during the ancient inquisition, the prisoners were refused food and sleep, or else they received nothing but salt cod, and were refused water; that their flesh was burnt with hot irons; that their testicles were twisted; that their nails were torn off, and that they were left hanging by the wrists to the ceiling of their cells."

"Two comrades died from their tortures. Mas went mad from the effects of his atrocious sufferings, and those who had the stoical force to resist torture and not confess themselves guilty of a crime they had not committed, did not appear at the trial."

"Everywhere people have protested against this horrible crime of the bourgeoisie, and the public prosecutor himself not being able to deny the innocence of the accused, said he closed his eyes to reason and asked for vengeance, not justice."

"Vengeance, yes! because this is an opportunity of stifling a generous ideal in the blood of Anarchists."

"Cowardly vengeance, to want to shoot nine men who have committed no crime, and to transport and imprison 119 comrades against whom the accuser had nothing to say."

"We Anarchists must not ask for justice from men who consider justice an empty word."

"What we shall do is to protest in EVERY POSSIBLE WAY against the crimes of authority, and to hold ourselves in readiness for the day when the condemned men of Montjuich will be shot. It is necessary for the people to know that they must expect nothing from their implacable foe."

"For this reason we turn to comrades of all countries and appeal to all workers to make an UNANIMOUS PROTEST ON THAT DAY."

"Death to the inquisitors, and remember the Martyrs of Montjuich!"

"Long live the Social Revolution. Long live Anarchy."

"Barcelona, April, 1897."

This proposition will, we hope, be followed by the holding of a large meeting of protest in London, it were desirable for every local group in London and the provinces to hold similar meetings, and wherever possible to endeavour to lay the facts before as large an outside public as possible. The curse of civilised, Christian governments, and of governments in general cannot be more forcibly brought home than by their recent crimes against the prisoners of Montjuich.

THE LABOR QUESTION VERSUS ANARCHISM.

By DR. L. SMIRNOW.

(Being an address delivered before a mass meeting called by the International Workingmen's Educational Club of Waterbury, Conn., U.S.A., revised and enlarged.)

SOCIETY AS IT IS.

For the reasons previously stated we must consider society, its customs and institutions, as they now are, before we go to form conceptions of better systems. But this can not very well be done, because we ourselves live in this society and we have become accustomed to its ways and means—we have adapted ourselves to the surroundings,—unless we adopt a scientific method of research. We must act as an impartial and unbribed judge; we must not be influenced by anything or anybody; we must not favor one side or another; and more, we must consider ourselves as entirely out of this society, as though we are no part of it, so that all custom and prejudice would be removed and judgement would come clear and untainted. It is very desirable that this method be employed when considering the substance of this lecture, otherwise justice can not be done to it.

Imagine, therefore, that you come from some far-off land; say from Mars, our next neighbour in the solar system. You come from there

entirely unconscious of what occurs on Earth; you know not what is found upon it; you know nothing of the nature of the inhabitants, their mode of living, their means of subsistence, their ethics, their morality, etc. All these things you want to find out. With the eagerness of an explorer you thus set out to satisfy your curiosity, and, first of all things, you observe Nature herself. The sun here shines much brighter and warmer than on Mars. The atmosphere is so light and pleasant; The sky clear and beautiful. The earth itself is so fertile: fruit of all descriptions, plants, vegetables, maize, wheat, cotton, rice, spices, etc., etc., grow in great abundance. Nature seems to have provided most abundantly and in the best possible manner. You next behold great mansions and spacious country seats along the shores and in the forests. These large buildings are only occupied by single families, occasionally by two or three people. Although lonely, either on a hill in the midst of the thick meadows or in front of a wide expanse of water, these buildings afford great comfort to the inmates; while the luxury within them is immense. The polished floors, mirrors, plate-glass and crystalline chandeliers dazzle the eye; while the rich upholstery, drapings, carpets, etc., are astonishing. And you exclaim, "How happy these people on Earth must be! Walking through the fields your eye meets many pleasing sights. Occasionally you come upon a group of people harvesting, gathering wheat, maize and other produce. There some people dig up vegetables; here others are picking fruit. All are content, there is apparently no scrambling and the earth seems to yield everything required of her. Later you come into a valley with a few scattered houses, all very small and poorly-looking, some very old and nearly broken down; but these, you suppose, are just temporary residences for the harvesters. As you walk on you come to a narrow but deep river, just below the small group of houses, to the pretty azure color of which the green grass along its sides adds its hue. So serenely flows the water, the gentle breeze alone disturbing the velvety smoothness of the otherwise unruffled surface; no sound, no noise, no disturbance breaks your peace. And as you lie beneath the cool shade of a thicket tree, gazing upon the beautiful landscape around you, the little birds sing happy songs and the leaves seem to talk among themselves in a language unknown; you are moved by the harmony of nature and inspired with love for the beauty it affords. You go on still further, for many miles, and meet with but little change. Here and there wagons are passing by loaded with goods, chiefly vegetables and produce. On inquiry from passers-by you learn that there is a large city, i.e. a great aggregation of houses and people, near by, and you walk towards it.

Early morning, the daylight just dawning and the air still fresh with watery vapour as the red glow from the sun, which is just emerging from beneath the horizon, illumines the lofty peaks and towers that extend well-nigh to the clouds. You enter the streets of this great city, which, for convenience, we will call New York. Perfect quietude prevails, all people are yet immersed in deep slumber. Here and there you see a baker's or milkman's wagon rush by, and occasionally you meet some pedestrian, dressed in a blue frock coat with gilt buttons, with a heavy stick in his hand, walking lazily through the street. But shortly after, yet at a very early hour, you begin to notice some commotion; people begin to walk back and forth, many wagons, loaded and unloaded, roll through the streets, and in a few minutes as you reach the interior of the city you behold tremendous excitement and great tumult. What strike you forcibly are the massive walls, on either side of the street, of the lofty, magnificent buildings that stand massed together in countless numbers. And you see thousands of people rush in and out of those buildings as though it were for the life of them; still others run in other directions, some into the side streets disappearing there through some door or other; others up or down the street. The throng is so crowded that locomotion becomes almost impossible; each elbows his way through, pushing the others away. All rush breathlessly on for some purpose or other, but you know not what. Meanwhile heavy wagons roll noisily on and cars filled with people, pulled or pushed by some mysterious and hidden force, move slowly along the street, which has become almost blockaded by innumerable vehicles, all of which are extremely anxious to move along with the greatest rapidity possible. Overhead, trains filled with people run up and down the road with great rapidity; the noise they produce is almost deafening. All around you the excitement is intense: bells are ringing, whistles blowing, and various noises pierce your ears. Boys run around and shout, "Extra Sun!" "Extra World!" "New York Times!" etc., the meaning of which you cannot understand, and you ask yourself, "What is all this about?" You are bewildered; you know not what to do nor where to go. You ascend a lofty tower that happens to be near by, so as to better view the entire city. Far beyond, the great sea is spread out in full glory, its struggling waves beat towards the shore; and on its surface float numerous vessels, of various shapes and sizes, each seemingly propelled by a force of its own, some coming into port, others going out, some being loaded with bales, barrels or cases, others unloaded. On the other side of the city you see trains of cars propelled by steam also coming and going, each bringing or taking away people or cattle, or bales and barrels of goods. As you look down on the streets again you see countless numbers of people in all parts of the city, but more thickly in the centre, who, like insignificant little ants, crawl around and fumble about at their cumbersome work. Some are constructing buildings, some lift weights and carry timber, bricks or other portables from place to place, some run wagons, trucks or cars, and others busy themselves about the houses and dwellings already constructed. In short, you see a busy world that is apparently in constant motion and activity; and you feel a great desire to learn some particulars about it.

You descend the tower and procure a guide to lead you through the great city and instruct you in the things you observe. The guide first brings you to the great stores and warehouses of grain and produce. You see vast quantities of grain—flour, wheat, maize—and other produce in infinite variety, also great quantities of various kinds of fruit. Your guide informs you of just the quantity of grain and produce found in the markets of the whole world, and that the number of inhabitants on the Earth is 1,487,000,000. You make a hasty calculation and find that there is grain and produce in the markets of the world sufficient not only to feed the inhabitants of the Earth for the coming year, but also all the inhabitants of Mars; and you exclaim, "How lucky these people are!" You are further shown warehouses filled with gold and silver articles of every description, warehouses of silk and woollens, materials oriental and fancy, foreign and domestic. In short, you see an abundant supply of articles of wear and other articles of every description, a stock more than enough to supply the wants of every individual living in that great city. Later you see several car-loads of fish and many car-loads of rotten fruit thrown into the river; then, again, several wagon-loads of stale bread, a big load of rancid butter and a few other things are dumped into the river. Well, you think, this demonstrates beyond all doubt that there is a superabundance of nutritious material, since so much of it is thrown away.

Your guide next brings you to the aristocratic streets, which again arouse your admiration. The streets are so clean, the air pure and the buildings at convenient distances apart. Outside these buildings, or rather, *palaces*, are magnificent, and inside they are roomy and comfortable. The rich furniture and upholstery is very attractive, and the gold and silver ornamental display seems almost extravagance. These houses and streets are lighted with electricity (again, something mysterious and incomprehensible), and telephones and other convenient modern contrivances are attached to each house; in short, it is luxury all through. You next go through the big retail stores of dry goods, furniture, clothing, jewellery, etc., and you observe all the wealth and riches therein. Surely, you will say, the people here ought to be happy and content now that they have such great wealth, natural and artificial, at their command. You are now contemplating writing to your friends up in Mars to come down and live on this happy and fortunate Earth, and to share in the luxury and comfort.

The next day your guide shows you the other side of the fence. He brings you down town, and there you behold sights of misery and degradation that you have never thought or dreamed of before. The brilliant sunlight is almost excluded by the tall tenement houses, and the narrow streets are dark in the midst of day. Filth and dirt abound in terrible excess, the atmosphere is heavy and unwholesome. A disease-breeding condition supervenes; here lies the carcass of some animal which fills the air with putrid odours; there lies a quantity of rotten fruit strewn around on the walk. In front of every house there is a barrel full of waste material—bones, stale bread, rotten eggs, foul meat, etc., the decomposition of which fills the air with poisonous gases; yet, to your horror, you behold an old woman and, further on, an old man picking their food out of these waste-barrels and devouring it on the spot.

(To be Continued.)

PERSONAL IMPRESSIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.

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

I.—The Labor Movement in America.

The American Labour Movement is at present a thorough mosaic, and very mixed. America is "a big country," and there are many labour movements. The largest organisation at present is the American Federation of labour.

The history of these movements presents a very chequered career. Before the Civil War labour organisations were almost unknown, they had little reason for existing. Even in the bulk of the labour organisations taken as a mass, there is no distinct class-feeling as here, the consciousness of an exploiting and an exploited class. There everybody is by instinct and training a business man. No political party speaks of the working *classes*. The bulk of the workers imbued with business and commercial ideas, great possibilities seem still to be open to many, and the hope is not given up to become employers themselves.

After the war, when the armies were discharged, a terrible period of depression followed. In Powderly's "Fifty Years of American Labour," (1839 to 1889) it is told how a Philadelphia Union, with the characteristic impulsiveness and spontaneity of the Americans, joined the Army, one and all resolving, as they said in their resolution, "to enlist with Uncle Sam until the Union is safe or we are whipped. The Union was adjourned till after the war.* Whilst the workers were fighting their battles the capitalists created their monopolies and the plutocrats got hold of Congress. About 1866 the National Labour Union began to be formed and was fairly successful until 1872. There is always some amount of political business connected with the labour movements there, and so this Union brought forward a political program, and in 1872 nominated a presidential candidate; this led to its decay, and in 1873-4 it went pretty well to pieces. Other essays at organisation followed, the "Brotherhood of Labour," later on the "Knights of Labour."

The origin of the "Knights of Labour," he was told, was connected with secret societies of Irish miners in Pennsylvania. In America there is great love for secrecy: friendly societies with all possible sort of mummary. He saw at Cleveland, one of their conventions, where impossible, curious costumes were worn that must have been very expensive, etc. These Irish miners committed several murders in the interests of their societies, until a detective was sent among them, and finally they were broken up, and many executed and imprisoned. Some of these had something to do with the origin of the Knights of Labour. The "Knights" also were a secret society, to which however at one time nearly all the workers of some great towns belonged; they accepted everybody as a member, also members of other Trade-Unions, and for some time wielded a tremendous power, spreading also to England, Belgium and France.

But they became almost a political body; their officials had power to decide on questions coming up in a great number of trades, of the technicalities of which they could not possibly understand anything, and so their decisions were unsatisfactory. American union officials are far more arbitrary and have greater power to order on and off strike than here. An enormous amount of "boodle" was going on; so whilst at one time they numbered between two and three millions, disruption set in, the cigar-makers first demanded autonomy for the settling of their own affairs; the "Knights" refused it and demanded subordination. The result was the cigar-makers seceded, other trades followed, and the formation of the "American Federation of Labour," which guarantees the autonomy of trade-unions, who federated for mutual support. Since that time the "Knights" are dwindling away as rapidly as they once were on the increase. One of their best achievements was the training of quite a number of men in social subjects by the lectures and discussions at their meetings. They admitted also middle-class men, many of whom only joined for political reasons and used this movement for their political promotion. At one time the Grand Master Workman of New York, could call within three days 60,000 members to a midnight open-air meeting, to-day it doubtful of 600 could be got together.

The Federation of Labour is for Trade-Unionism pure and simple; it is a conservative body and some of the Unions such as the Machinists directly emphasise this in the preambles of their statutes.

They do not allow party politics, but favour discussions on economic subjects, but no resolutions must be voted.

The American Unions are mainly built upon the principles of what is called here the *new unionism*: small contributions, a fighting policy, no benefits. But now they are being to adopt the opposite policy: larger contributions, permanent benefits. So the tendency of development is quite the opposite to England.

The lecturer described a strike which he witnessed, and took part in by addressing the strikers, at Cleveland, Ohio. Here strikers are very little excited, and go about with melancholy faces. But there they all seem to be on pins and needles, the excitement is enormous, the most violent speeches are made, also the foreign workers feel more free and act more energetically. The nervousness of the capitalists is easy to understand. That small strike in Cleveland originated by the dismissal of two unionists because they would not accept non-union wages, was at one time about to become a general strike in Cleveland.

Strike are more bitterly fought than here because they mostly are strikes of resistance against the lowering of the accustomed standard of comfort, whilst Europeans mostly fight for better conditions of work or higher wages.

Of the Socialist Labour Party there is little to say. Without being narrow-minded he still must say that as far as the American workers are concerned, it is a negligible quantity, it absolutely does not count. It is largely confined to New York (chiefly the Jews) where the European Social-Democrats usually land and join an organisation that nearest corresponds to their ideas of Berlin, Hamburg or Dresden. They ignore American traditions and feelings, and call the Americans ignorant, whilst they are often much over-cultivated and a smarter man in every respect. Even Johann Most does not understand the Americans; it is doubtful if he ever went further West than Omaha, and has not yet caught the American spirit. The foreign immigrants before all learn to abuse and to swear; whilst being large in numbers, yet they are a disappearing factor, for immigration decreases, and the second generation wants to be American. Sons of old refugees of '48, born in America, have only interest in baseball and affect not to know the German language, because it is tabooed by the ordinary Americans. It is only question of time before the foreign languages will disappear almost altogether.

The votes given for Socialist Labour Party candidates are insignificant. He read the programme of one of their chief candidates when standing for local office at Patterson, N.J., which is chiefly the old radical municipal program, almost realized in Birmingham, Glasgow, etc. Their presidential vote in 1892 was 21,157; in 1896, 36,563, of which 17,731 in York, and 3,985 in New Jersey. The figures were taken from *The People*, January 3, 1897.

The American Socialistic Party is the Populist Party. They are not Socialists at all in the sense in which Socialism is understood in Europe, but are at bottom thoroughly individualistic. Their Socialism ends with the demand for State-ownership of monopolies; they would bitterly resist land nationalisation. The other American Socialistic labour movement was the Knights of Labour, now practically extinct.

The American does not take to Socialism as the Europeans do. He never understood the Individualist Anarchist standpoint before going to America. Now he sees that the standpoint of Tucker, etc. corresponds to the economic conditions of certain parts of America—

* "It having been resolved to enlist with Uncle Sam for the war, this union stands adjourned until either the union is safe or we are whipped."

not the large cities, but the agricultural conditions of some of the Western States.

The Labour Movement was nearly always mixed up with politics. The trade-unions were called a foreign importation. True, the English movement was instituted, and many of the prominent unionists are Britishers, innumerable Irishmen, and many English. Trade-unionism is increasing in spite of all prejudices, it is a necessary complement of the industrial system. A proletariat is rapidly created. Even workingmen who own their houses are brought down from their position; they may evade a strike in order not to lose their home, but by this their conditions are lowered and finally they lose house and everything.

One of the best known men is Eugene V. Debs, the leader of the big railway strike of 1895. Quite recently he declared himself a Socialist, having had in prison an opportunity for closer economic studies. His idea had been, when editor of the *Fireman's Journal*, to form one sole union of all railway workers, much on the principle of the Knights of Labour, accepting everybody whether he belonged already to a union or not. This organisation was seven or eight weeks old when the great strike began. This shows the impetuosity of their members. The strike was really lost by divisions in the ranks of labourers. If Gompers (of the Federation of Labour) had declared for a general strike of the Federation, the strike would have had a good chance of winning, and would have been the greatest victory ever won, but it would have resulted also in extinction of some of the old unions and Debs overshadowing all other labour leaders. So they rather let this strike be lost than the habitual balance of power be altered.

Debs will play an important part yet if he keeps straight. He will Americanise the Socialist movement, give it an American flavour, a task in which nobody has succeeded.

Another consolidation will take place before long; the Federation of Labour is too conservative and corresponds not enough to the growing movement. They did not re-elect A. Macreath, an Individualist Anarchist, as their secretary at their last convention; this shows their conservative spirit. The eight-hour day has been for years a plank in their platform, but only a few unions tried to obtain it, with only partial success. This question is being shelved year by year, the leaders being afraid that if an attempt were made and be unsuccessful, the organisation might go by the board. So timid they are.

The economic truth of Socialism, however, is slowly but surely permeating even the American workpeople, and they are sure to find expression in their Trades-Unions. The Socialist Labour Party would long since have been a power among the workpeople in the cities, had it not stultified itself by its stupidity. It has tried to dominate both the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labour, but has failed in each case. It now pursues a "sour grapes" policy imputing nothing but baseness to everything and everybody not within its ranks. It has all the vices and none of the virtues of the political Socialists here. Its organ, *The People*, of New York, declared that the lecturer was imported by the A.F.L. to attack S.L.P. and was paid by it for this work. While constantly declaring Trade-Unionism "bosh," it wrongfully stated that some bills in Yiddish announcing some lectures by him in Philadelphia were printed in a "rat house," and though both of these untruthful statements were refuted in letters to this paper not a word of rectification ever appeared; but it was repeated a week or two later. This narrow bigotry has kept many honest labor men convinced of the truths of Socialism from joining its ranks, but the ideas will yet find rest inside the Federation of Labour, and when they do they are likely to be minus politics. Under these circumstances he is quite confident that others like Debs will be bolder and step forward.

The progress of capitalism is irresistible; they make use of the divisions of labor and buy the leaders. Powderly, when no longer re-elected Grand Master of the K.L. became a lawyer, and sold out to McKinley & Co., whilst before he was a democrat.

A clear Socialist programme would unite the workers as never before; but they are saturated with politics, and for many years politics will not be taken out of the movement. An American who understands the revolutionary traditions of America only can inaugurate such a movement; all elements for success exist: opportunity, impulsiveness, bitter hatred (which he did not love but which the capitalists feared), all these are the guarantees of a coming movement.

The lecturer had also dwelt on the free speech question, as to open-air meetings, etc. Local ordinances mostly over-ride this inalienable right, a permission must be demanded from the Mayor who often refuses. Still, in Western towns he addressed meetings in some main thoroughfares.

The Anarchists, especially the Germans, have done a lot of hard work among the labor organizations, and there is little doubt but that those who have a distinct idea as to what the outcome of the present struggle is, will in the end exert a tremendous influence. At present there is a good deal of confusion with the A.F.L. steadily growing over all other organisations. If it continues to keep out politics both in theory and in and in practice while welcoming economic truths in its struggle with capitalism it has a splendid future before it. If in keeping the first it refuses the latter expression a rupture is likely to ensue. If it can only assimilate the new ideas it may become a powerful weapon on behalf of the workpeople of America.

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