

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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DECEMBER, 1897.

MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

STRIKES AND ARBITRATION.

Mr. W. P. Reeves, agent general for New Zealand and formerly Minister for Labour in that colony, has been lecturing in England on the advantages of the Industrial Conciliation Act in the settlement of labour disputes. We must regard him as the spokesman of a semi-Social Democratic State, and consequently what he has to say is of great interest to all who study the labour movement.

For all that it is the statement of one side only, and be it remembered an *official* one into the bargain, and as officialism is the same the world over, it is more than usually needful to be critical of the statements made.

The English engineers being just now engaged in a brave and determined struggle against employers' oppression, of course amongst the manifold questions which English State Socialists might have put before Mr. Reeves, the one which afforded the most momentous interest was that regarding the particular manner in which industrial disputes were settled in New Zealand during the two years or more that the Industrial Conciliation Act has been working.

In Mr. Reeves' lecture before the Fabian Society upon this very Act, its aims and effects, he told his audience that "strikes were a costly, unhappy method of settling disputes between Capital and Labor, and the dislocation of industry which they have caused is a subject of grave concern." Thus the aim Mr. Reeves avowedly pursued by bringing the said Industrial Conciliation Bill three times before the New Zealand parliament and getting it finally accepted, was not to help the workmen to crush their exploiters, but to make peace between those two classes of citizens. These are two different aims, and a means perfectly fit for the attainment of one need not necessarily be suitable to the other.

Mr. Reeves then proceeded to criticise "voluntary arbitration," as existing in England; by this beautifully sounding expression he meant the opportunity the English Board of Trade affords to both struggling parties to call for its arbitration if they choose, but without any compulsion to do so, nor to respect the arbitrators' decision. He regards the results of this method as practically insignificant. Further, he spoke upon an experiment tried in New South Wales: there the reference to a State arbitration was compulsory, but the carrying out of this board's decision was not. This system proved to be useless, and was abandoned.

Now, the New Zealand law provides, in the first place, for the election of local conciliation boards, composed of equal numbers of employers and workmen, with an independent chairman. These boards have full power to interfere in any industrial dispute, if any of the struggling parties desire it; however, they have no power to enforce their decisions. But if afterwards either of the parties engaged in the struggle is dissatisfied, either with the decision of the local conciliation board or with this decision not being carried out, they have the right to refer to the General Arbitration Court of the colony, composed of a judge of the High Court, assisted by one employer and one workman. This General Arbitration Court may, at its discretion, make its awards enforceable by legal process, so that a disobedient employer may be fined £500, and the fine repeated as often as the disobedience occurs, whilst disobedient workmen may be fined £10 per head.

Since the law was passed in 1894, the obstinate resistance of the Upper House having been finally vanquished, Mr. Reeves tells us that no strike nor lockout has occurred in New Zealand. (It may be remembered that the population of New Zealand amounts only to three fourths of a million, most of them agriculturists.) The law has been used in sixteen cases, in every case on the initiation of the trade unions; out of these sixteen cases, only three were brought before the General Arbitration Court. As a rule, the awards were implicitly obeyed. The penalties provided by the law have up till now never been enforced. The workmen are exceedingly pleased with the results of the law; in all cases they obtained concessions, and in some cases very considerable ones. Moreover, the law affording to trade unions the opportunity to become registered as corporate bodies (this is the condition under which they get the power to elect representatives for the Conciliation Board), it encourages weak trades, and especially workingwomen, to organise without fearing the masters.

That's what Mr. Reeves tells us. But there is a good old German proverb: "One man's speech is no speech at all; you must hear them both." Well, we would be particularly pleased with hearing "the speech of the other man," the voice of the workingman of New Zealand. We are very doubtful whether the workingmen are at present, and especially whether they will remain for many years, as pleased with Mr. Reeves' law as Mr. Reeves seems to be himself. As long as the

New Zealand governmental socialism, moderate as it is, may surpass their still more moderate claims, they may be pleased with the real or apparent help of the law. But it may easily happen that whilst the working people and their claims are evolving forward, the government will remain stationary or even retrogress, and then the same power which at present *seems* to protect them will oppress them in future. On the other hand, there is something a hundred times better than transient governmental protection: a spirit of independence side by side with vigorous mutual aid.

And there is still another point. The aforesaid judge of the High Court, who in fact must always possess the decisive vote in the General Arbitration Court (his two assessors mutually counterbalancing their influence) is not elected by the people, neither directly nor indirectly, but is appointed by the Governor (what a superfluous institution in an alleged *free* country!), who, of course, is himself nominated by the Queen. Is it not apparent that under most circumstances, in spite of a Socialist parliament and a Socialist people, the decisive vote in labour questions must remain in the hands of an essentially reactionary power?

ANARCHIST COMMUNIST CONFERENCE.

COMRADES:

We feel it must be evident to all active workers in the Anarchist movement, both in London and the Provinces, that there is a pressing need for a revival of re-organisation of the propaganda.

At the present moment when capital attacks organised labour; when the State is murdering wholesale in its infamous wars; when reaction is barefaced and apparently triumphant; all this proving to the most apathetic mind the necessity for a change—at such a time we think it most opportune to educate our fellow workers, and rouse the spirit of revolt against the degrading condition of things forced upon us.

With due regard to individual initiative, it is still our duty to organise so that we may remain in the forefront of the struggle for Freedom and Justice.

Comrades, for this purpose we have decided to meet together on Sunday, December 26th, 1897, at 11 a. m., at the

**Communist Club, 57 Charlotte Street,
FITZROY SQUARE**

and to discuss with all who feel the same necessity of organisation as we do, the ways and means of making our movement the real vanguard of progress.

We therefore call on all comrades in London and the Provinces to help us to discuss these questions so that we may establish a ground of mutual understanding for our activity. The emancipation of Labour from the bondage of cut-throat competition and economical slavery is the work that calls on us. Let us show we are worthy of the Cause by doing our best for the realisation of our ideas.

AGENDA.

1. Organisation of the correspondence between Groups.
2. Organisation of Lecturing and Propaganda Tours.
4. Publishing of a weekly Anarchist paper.
5. The necessity of a leaflet Fund.
3. Preparing the organisation of Free Schools.

The foregoing is placed before Conference for discussion and left open for suggestions from all comrades.

**All communications to the Secretary, Rochelle Zolzman,
16 Parfett Street, Commercial Road, E.**

LECTURE ANNOUNCEMENT.

The Imperial Rooms, 19 Redmans Row, Mile End Road, on December 6th, at 8 p. m., Dr. Gumpłowicz will lecture on *Continental Socialism*. December 13th, Henry Campbell on *Variety in Sex-Relationship*.

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NOTES.

CONCERNING "FREEDOM."

New arrangements have now been completed for the publication of *Freedom*, and we are enabled this month to appear punctually though, we regret, it is minus the supplement. However from the 1st of January 1898, *Freedom* will appear regularly with supplement, and will be received by all provincial groups on the first of each month.

As *Freedom* is printed at considerable loss, we would draw the attention of all comrades, subscribers and sympathisers generally to the guarantee fund of our paper. It will be seen there are already a number of guarantors, but more are needed. The smallest sums will help us greatly, so we trust all will do their best.

We again ask comrades to send us letters and cuttings that would be useful for publication, and above all any suggestions for the improvement of the paper.

We may add that we are now enabled to print pamphlets and leaflets in English, French, German and Dutch at the office, *Cosmopolitan Printery*, 127, Ossulston Street, N. W., where all enquiries should be made by comrades and others who have printing to be done.

BRUTES IN UNITY.

We are living in an age of cruelty. Emperors and ministers unblushingly order the destruction of races and places to both display their fearlessness and their power.

It must be fresh within the memories of everyone, how "honourable" officers in the Belgian army have shown their worthiness of their posts by valourously cutting off hands and feet from natives in the Congo and committing other unmentionable atrocities in honour of H. R. H. King Leopold.

This worthy is considered a righteous man by his subjects—more especially by himself; so when a newspaper editor in Germany derides this gentleman's imperial importance, the passionless Kaiser William II sends him to gaol for several months.

East African atrocities are not dissimilar to those on the Congo, and William is confident now of Leopold returning the compliment in the near future.

Abdul Hamed is of blood Royal and his apologist William will commit any crime if thereby he can add fresh blood (of a kind) to his already bloody circle, hence Leopold suppresses the publication of a Turkish revolutionary journal "Metchvered."

Also Spanish tortures are included in the record of Royal tariffs, and with due sympathy—Leopold, conscious of his own experiences and the unmerited torture of his people—further condones the murderous work by suppressing on every turn the mention of them, from public hall to the Chamber of national representatives, as if crime when done in batallions were excusable.

And yet, Austria threatens to bombard Mersina if apologies are not made to the poor Austro-Hungarian consul, while a number of innocent Hungarian workmen are shot dead in Hazelton U. S. A., and only the calm demand for "justice" is made.

America and France will hand over to autocratic Russia any recognized nihilist demanded by that country.

Never in the history of ancient or modern civilisation has there been such a league of human bandits, reeking with the blood of murdered people and speedily wearing the world to ruin.

One is inclined to cry with Francis Adams: "There is one word for them and that word is extermination." But there—what's the use of crying in the wilderness?

J. PERRY.

Recht voor Allen (Oct. 29th) gives particulars of the resignation from the Belgian Social Democratic Party of Mrs. Alice Bron, one of its most active and prominent members. It appears she attempted to make a collection on behalf of the Spanish Anarchists at the *Maison du Peuple*, Brussels, but was stopped by the Social Democratic officials. Disgusted and indignant she resigned, and is now addressing various meetings in which she denounces in the strongest terms the tactics of these people whose one aim seems to be to impose their authority on the movement.

ANOTHER INSTITUTION "GOING."

Shares in the marriage market we are afraid must be falling rapidly. The institution is in such a decidedly rocky condition—at least so the

Chronicle tells us, and as we all know the editor of the *Chronicle* is an honourable man. This sad news we are told is the result of studying the statistics of divorce just issued by the Master of the Supreme Court, whoever he may be. The figures show a large increase in the number of petitions for the dissolution of marriage. It is unnecessary to quote them: the fact remains anyhow; and what is remarkable is that so far as the duration of marriage is concerned, the longer matrimony lasts the more the petitions increase.

It seems to us that a great need is arising for a systematic teaching of human physiology, so that young men and young women may not arrive at maturity without some knowledge of their own organism and of those relations which involve such tremendous responsibilities, and which affect the whole tone of society. Shakespeare tells us:

"Crabbed age and youth
Cannot dwell together,"

but had he lived to watch the marriage market in this century of commercialism he would have seen that money would impel young women—legally mind you—to "dwell" with old age that was not only "crabbed" but utterly disreputable. Marriage will go, that is sure; but there is nothing to fear on that score. Rather there is much hope for a healthier moral tone.

THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT AND FREE SPEECH.

Our comrade Louise Michel has been shamefully treated by the Belgian government, having been arrested as she was entering the hall to address a crowded meeting in Brussels. A series of conferences had been organised by different groups of Radicals, Socialists and Anarchists, to protest against the atrocities at Montjuich. The Belgian government, anxious to show its solidarity with the Spanish Inquisition, issued a warrant of expulsion against Louise Michel and her companion, Broussouloux, who was to speak in place of Sebastien Faure.

Against all this disgusting parade of reactionary tactics, it is refreshing to be able to report that a huge crowd of Belgian workers protested in an emphatic manner, cheering for Anarchy as our comrades were conducted to the station. Of course the police used their swords against the unarmed people. These puppets of government find such action a great solace to their official dignity, and it saves them any trouble in reasoning things over—a luxury they probably never indulge in.

So the message of hope in their struggle for freedom that our comrades would have carried to the Belgian people was not given. But the people will learn from this the lesson which they are learning everywhere—that their rulers treat them like sheep and regard them in much the same way as those animals in the matter of *living on them*.

ACTIVITY IN MANCHESTER.

Our readers will see by the reports that the comrades in Manchester are moving. We hope soon to see a strong revival of their propaganda. We have received No. 2 of the *Summary, organ of the Discussion Group*, a modest little sheet published, we imagine, principally for private circulation. As its sub-title denotes, it is devoted to reports of the discussions now being carried on by members of the group. We cordially echo comrade Barton's hope that it may develop into something important, in fact that it may be the forerunner of a bright provincial journal devoted to Anarchist Communism. We shall be delighted to send our order (with cash) when it appears.

FROM ACROSS THE SEA.

It would be impossible to condense into the few words of a report the crowding pictures which rush up over the horizon as I sit looking over the rail of the ship to the east water. Briefly they are, on the whole, hearty, healthy, and affectionate. And although I found my preconceived notions, wherever I was foolish enough to form any, greatly at fault; although in the great capital itself I failed to find that cohesion and virile force which my reading of *Freedom* in America had somehow put me in frame to expect, yet I shall never forget the devoted and faithful services rendered to me personally by a few of the London workers; for although we Anarchists go in no representative capacity, "each for himself one single, separate person," yet the courtesy with which we receive and are received is a more personal affair, a manifestation, in the only way possible, of the love that goes across deep waters in a common cause.

During my stay of two months in London, deducting a week's visit to Paris, I made the acquaintance of that inestimable boon, "free speech," which in law-ridden America is but sounding brass and tinkling cymbals. And while I must say that so far as the educational effects of any particular meeting is concerned I cannot consider it of much benefit, yet when I consider the whole institution of open air speaking, the spirit it develops, the opportunities for agitation it affords, and the immediate grasp upon the people in times where it is important to get their ear at once, I am touched with a profound regret that we, who were supposed to be the freer offspring of England, have lost this mighty engine of freedom. The study of this one thing was a liberal education for me, though I fear my attempts at open air speaking were scarcely beneficial to my audiences.

During my entire trip in England and Scotland I delivered some thirty lectures and speeches including the following topics: The History of Anarchism in America; Economic Phase of Anarchism; The Woman Question; Sincerity and our need of it; The Poetry of Reform; Why I am an Anarchist; The Worship of Truth; Woman v. Orthodoxy; The True mental attitude of a Freethinker; Social plants and Transplants; Anarchism and the Labor Question; The True Value of Trade Unions, etc.

My real work began with my trip into Scotland, about the beginning of September, being the opening speaker of the season for the Glasgow I. L. P. The afternoon subject on "Why I am an Anarchist," elicited some opposition from those who considered my economic views as somewhat latitudina-

rian, to which I frankly plead guilty; I am not "sound" in economics, and I fear that my communist friends, as well as the individualists, will be called upon to overlook a good deal in me. I'm all right in the philosophy though, and as the Scotch are "a serious people," we got on famously together. The philosophy of Anarchism is almost as endless and interesting a subject as True Theology, in which my comrades W. Duff and Turley would certainly have gotten a doctor's cap had they not devoted themselves to heresies and asking popular questions. I anticipate a little however, as this last lecture was delivered only on my second visit to Glasgow, and I have yet said nothing of the meeting which listened to my "Poetry of Reform," and included about a thousand people. The lecture was written with the intention of elevating the standard of taste in poetry, among our reform workers if possible, and certainly not to furnish anybody rules by the observance of which any one might produce poetry at will. Yet so ineffective was my method of saying it that Mr. Jim Connell arose in criticism, and observed that I hadn't given the right prescription at all for would-be P's: that the proper way was to pick out a subject of thought, whether it was a pretty woman or a cabbage, go out into the country, lie down on the grass alongside of this cabbage, and think about it, *hard*. Mr. Connell's method is so simple and suggestive that I give it in full. There were also some demurrers to my ranking Ibsen ahead of Shakespeare as a dramatist, which have nevertheless not convinced me. The following Wednesday I addressed the Woman's I. L. P. From Glasgow I went to Aberdeen, where I found a thoroughly living, original, native anarchist growth, led by H. H. Duncan, a man whose heart beats not only for all men but for all his humbler brothers. We held one meeting in the market-place, and two excellent indoor meetings on Sunday, Oct. 12. Some lively discussion of the marriage question arose in the evening, a subject which I find is in the vibrations of a first great awakening all over the insular kingdom. In Aberdeen also I had the pleasure of meeting Alex. Webster, the Unitarian clergyman whose work as an Anarchist Socialist has made him a marked figure in Aberdeen, as well as throughout the ranks of Unitarianism. Also there was one memorable evening when we wandered down by the banks of the Dee, and, with moonlight falling white and clear across the "gurgling burn," threw ourselves down upon the bank and sung—Oh! their sweet Scotch voices and the sweet Scotch songs! I hear them yet across the sea; I shall always hear Annie Laurie as I heard it that night on the banks of the Dee. My next point was Dundee, where I addressed the I. L. P. on "Why I am an Anarchist," and met with opposition of the Social Democratic variety. There seems to be but one Anarchist, avowedly such, in Dundee, Mr. W. Fraser; but he is a host in himself, and though not a "talker" has lately, through his practical opposition to the vaccination law, become a public advocate of freedom.

A hasty visit to Edinburgh where I did not speak, and a run back to Glasgow and Paisley, at which latter place I spoke before the I. L. P. on "Social Plants and Transplants," completed my visit to Scotland, which, though now past, will long remain the greenest thing in my memory. From Glasgow I went to Bradford, addressing two meetings of the Labor Church on the "Worship of Truth" and the "Woman Question." The largest of these, in the evening, was comprised of some twelve hundred people, and the applause, I am pleased to say, was for the most radical utterances. One young woman came to me after the meeting, and assured me she was going to carry out in her life the good fight against marital restrictions.

The Bradford experience was followed by a visit to Mr. and Mrs. Oswald Dawson, who first publicly took up the battle for the rights of illegitimates, in the formation of the Legitimation League and themselves entering into a "free union." They have suffered much persecution for their frankness, and one feels how much brutal prejudice still exists in England when one talks with a woman who has been struck in the face on the streets for her honesty.

From Leeds my paths took me to Manchester, where a social gathering of the Manchester Anarchist Group put me at home. On Sunday October 3, I addressed fair audiences at the Manchester Secular Union, the evening lecture in which I advanced the idea that freethought, to be a living movement, should interest itself in living questions, elicited some discussion.

Oct. 4, we, the Anarchists, went to an I. L. P. meeting of locked-out engineers, and were told by one of the engineers, a splendid muscular fellow, that "we (the engineers) was makin' more anarchists 'n what the anarchists is": which is good news.

Oct. 5, I spoke at Leicester, meeting good comrade Gorrie and his troop of young followers. A good meeting and fair discussion. Oct. 6 I arrived back in London in time to address a few words on the "Atonement" to the Jewish Anarchists assembled at South Place Institute.

Two meetings more, one a small gathering of women in the parlors of Miss Ellen Crickmay, and another at the Croydon Brotherhood Church concluded my lectures. One more open air meeting at Hoxton, and then the farewell night, which was so hearty, so kindly, and so comradely, that notwithstanding I was "going home" well near brought tears of regret to my eyes. And now, from across the sea I will "say *au revoir* but not good-bye" to all the dear faces and warm hearts. May we meet again!

V. DE CLEYRE.

PATRIOTISM.

To the professed Briton it is to struggle for the "extension of the Empire." To the German it is the preservation of "The Fatherland." To the Frenchman it is personified in the famous cry of "Vive la Republique," and so on.

With the Boer it is the love of the Veld and his homestead. With the savage the love of his tribe and the home in which he lives his natural life unhampered by business worry or the thought of want on the morrow. This is the greatest of all reasons that prompt him to defy and resist any encroachments on his life, even to the extent of freely giving his life in so doing, thus martyring himself for his ideal. In that unhealthy book *Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia*, Mr. Selous describes an attack on the Matabele in the following language: "Once broken, the Kafirs never made any attempt to rally, but ran as hard as they could, accepting death when overtaken without offering the slightest resistance; some indeed when too tired to run any further, walked doggedly forward with arms in their hands which they never attempted to use, and did not even turn their heads to look at the white men who were to shoot them down."

Being unarmed, such sacrifice and accompanied calmness displays the naturalness of their struggle.

Poor people!

That which differentiates the patriotism of the savage from that of the civilised person is the natural life of the former and the so-called cultivated—but narrow and callous—and conventional life of the latter. For just as laws are supposed to justify their existence by interpreting the common actions and customs of people living in civilised societies, so does patriotism justify (verbally that is) its existence in the name of love for home, nation and life, the instinctive feeling possessed by every human soul.

But this spirit is narrowed down by the artificial creation of frontiers, resulting from race hatred and the growth of desire of gain instead of peace and natural necessity. Then follows expansion of the nation, encouraged by its strength and self confidence in terrifying physically weaker nationalities. Thus wars ensue, race hatred develops, and the already ugly world is made uglier still.

And all this in the name of preservation, defence against aggression—and "peace."

There is such a thing as unconscious tyranny just as there is such a thing as unconscious crime.

The habitual criminal seldom sees the evil of his crime, the repeated exercise of which blinds him; and so 'tis often with political and economic tyrannies.

The savage defends himself when his liberties are aggressed or threatened, the patriot (who is no less savage in his brutality) aggresses in the name of defence. One is rebellion, the other authority. The one is spontaneous—asserting itself when preservation is in question, the other is constituted and mechanical, acting on instructions and not through suffering, either moral or physical.

So that in all action sincerity and the application of reason is essential, if results are to be considered.

The application of reason so as to moderate action, or in other words, to cease action when the primary purpose for which it was originally put into force has been accomplished; or not to institute and prepare methods of destruction in the name of defence when there is no sign of aggression.

To laws and government have been attributed the sacred principle "for defence of the weak," but we see how it is the very antithesis of this, and crushes the weak, as if to still further ensure its already existing strength. A judge sentences the prisoner to 10 years penal servitude in the name of "humanity" and to death in the name of the preservation of "life." Self delusion sees humaneness even in brutality.

Thus it is, not alone must we resist but always acknowledge resistance, and in so doing preserve ourselves from aggressing and against aggression.

It will therefore be seen that the great mistake in all ages, including our own, is that of converting a common idea, custom or recognised instinctive feeling into a constituted and imposed law, which if not obeyed is made punishable.

Thus again we see the law declaring that two persons united in wedlock must always remain together, simply because it naturally and inevitably follows that where true love exists between two such persons, their association has been, and is will be of a long enduring character. In a word the law—foolishly, yea ignorantly—takes one circumstance and bases its whole fabric thereon; declaring that the conduct exercised in such a case must act as a precedent in all such future cases, disregarding generally temperament, personality and circumstance.

Thus legal "justice" is void of sentiment and therefore not true justice at all.

Even our Social Democratic friends are not free from this absurdity; in the self same way that patriotism is an abuse of the principles of rebellion, is the acknowledged right of the majority to impose their will on the minority in each and every case, an abuse of such free agreements as do and will come to pass, where the majority because they are more do act whilst the minority cannot, and where the minority often freely and willingly yield. Voluntary agreements are distinct from artificially enforced conditions.

For the above mentioned reasons it will be seen that that which is often done by Society in the name of humanity is indescribably inhuman.

There is not one of the above arguments that is not applicable to patriotism.

Patriotism is dogmatism, nay it is fanaticism constituted into a big principle, more horrible and cruel than all the fanaticism of all theological sects, for in its name more souls have perished and man become more decayed. Freedom, Freedom, Freedom in every thought, in every act, in everything, unfettered by tradition or conventionality, whether religious, political or social, that and that alone will be a guarantee for the healthy and full development of the individual and in return that of Society.

Patriotism makes for retrogression and the destruction of the race.

J. PERRY.

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.)

Now the labor movement, in the ordinary acceptance of the term, is

not a general cause, nor is it even international. It is for the benefit of the organised workingmen only, and its quintessence may be expressed by this phrase,—get as much as you can in the best way you can. Its essential features are increase of wages and decrease of hours of labor, for the attainment of which it makes use of strikes and boycotts, and encourages, even more vigorously, the ballot box and the election of proper officers. Although it has many intelligent and well-meaning instigators, it does not seem to have a fundamental basis other than the immediate and direct benefit of the union-man.

ANARCHISM AND ITS RELATION TO THE LABOR QUESTION.

As young as the labor question is, its metamorphosis has been so rapid as to change its original features, and in the place of its narrow and personal aims and purposes, there arises a universal and general cause. The "scab" joins the union and the unions begin to amalgamate and form one great brotherhood; the little strikes begin to give place to great struggles, and the sympathetic strikes, as the railroad strike of Chicago, the street-car strikes of Brooklyn and Philadelphia, etc., take on the aspect of civil wars. The capitalists and rulers begin to prepare their soldiery, they send them out to shoot and kill the strikers, as they have done in Pittsburg, Chicago, Homestead, Brooklyn, etc.; they begin to sharpen the sword and prepare the rifles, they improve on their war ships and pile up ammunition. It is no longer a matter of a fifty cent increase of wages per week, but equality of opportunity is the demand, and it is no longer a matter of union rights, but the possession and ownership of all wealth by the producers thereof. Therefore it ceases to be a labor question and in its stead there arises the Social question. The former is embodied and implied in the latter, this being only more general,—not concerning one class of people but all classes, not concerning specific time but the entire future. The causes for this great disturbance of society, the reasons underlying this universal unrest and commotion, and the study of the movements of the people, together with deductions thereof, constitutes the Social Science or Sociology. This is divided and subdivided into several different theories ranging from the simplest reform to the most revolutionary doctrines. Mutual banking, co-operation, labor exchange and the single tax theory may be grouped under Sociology, but most prominent of all stand the two schools of modern thought: Socialism and Anarchism. Formerly both schools were one but difference of opinion has separated them, the one being termed Social-democracy, the other Anarchism. I cannot at present explain the difference between them other than in a few words, and this is that the first is growing more and more conservative and is taking on the aspects of the corrupted political parties of the day; the second remains revolutionary and loyal to its original principles, the first has gradually yielded point after point and has allowed itself to be shaped and formed according to circumstances, and has followed the stupidity and ignorance of the masses; the second makes the people come up to his own standard and teachings. We can not find in Social Democracy the solution of the Labor question, or better said the Social question, because it believes and aims at establishing an all-powerful State, which is to regulate industry, manufacturing, production and distribution, which is to govern the people in general and dictate to them the amount and kind of work they are to do and consequently direct their conduct in life, all of which are in opposition to human nature and contrary to the natural order of things. Freedom, *absolute personal freedom*, stands at the top of social perfection, the tendency towards which, as we have seen before, is an inherent property of matter; but absolute individual freedom is obtainable only under Anarchism. It is obtainable only in a state of Society where all are free to do as they please, with one cardinal limitation,—the rights and pleasures of others. Be it understood that Anarchism does not mean chaos and confusion, as is so commonly thought, but that it is the Ideal Order the most perfect state of society conceivable. The Hebrew prophets have predicted and the Grecian philosophers have dreamed of a Society of peace and splendor where "the lion and the lamb will live together," where "there will be no master and no slave," this is the "Kingdom to come" of the Christians, and it is the life long aim and object of all Anarchists to help bring about this happy state. I do not for a moment mean to reconcile religious doctrines pertaining to a future society with Anarchism, that would be attempting syncretism; they are like parallel lines, however extended they never meet. The Moslems and all Mohammedans expect that some day Mohammed will come down and rule the world, and then there will be a better administration; the Buddhists are awaiting Buddha to descend any moment and dethrone Cleveland and Nicholas, and Wilhelm and Victoria, etc., and seat himself in their respective seats; and the Jews, poor souls, they have been expecting their Messiah now nearly 3,000 years, and he has not come yet; and the Christians have been piercing the skies in search of Jesus, for 2,000 years, who is to come and administer justice to the world. All this, however ridiculous in itself, teaches us one great fact, Universal suffering. Men have studied the Social problem and have formed certain ideas pertaining to it. Systems have been compiled and Schools formed, and new philosophies have sprung up. Political economy fails to show the true causes of the earthly misery, it fails to give a solution of the problem, and it justifies all the present inequity and inequality by supporting the theory of Malthus that there are not sufficient natural supplies to satisfy all the wants and make all people happy and content. Various philosophical Schools justify the present state of Society by the theory of survival of the fittest, making the inexcusable assumption that those now in power and in possession of wealth are the fittest and the ablest.

(To be Concluded.)

REPORTS.

CHICAGO COMMEMORATION.

The annual Celebration was held this year at the Hall of the Club and Institute, Clerkenwell Road. Though the meeting was small as regards numbers, yet a great amount of enthusiasm was shown. Comrade Bert Stockton conducted the meeting and read a short address by Miss Voltairine de Cleyre, which dealt with the state of Chicago at the time the awful murder of those heroic men was committed. Comrade Joe Perry followed, dwelling upon the present state of the movement, compared with that in America of 10 years ago, and pointing out the lessons to be drawn from the events of that period. Lothrop Withington then addressed the meeting in words full of encouragement, remarking that though the meeting was small, yet the fact of us being there showed that Revolutionary activity had not died out, that it was extremely probable that small parties of men and women—earnest in the cause of the Emancipation of Labour, and full of love for the memory of those who are sacrificed for the cause that is dear to their hearts—were gathered together in their own homes, recounting over the circumstances which led to the trial and murder of the men of Chicago. Our Comrade ended his speech by exhorting all who had any spirit of revolt left, to persevere in their efforts, so that in the end they would crown the work in which Chicago had taken so prominent a part, by the complete overthrow of Capitalism and civilised Slavery, and the substitution of Human Right. Comrade Frank Kitz spoke upon the present warlike state of the country and reminded the audience how much better it would be, if the Highlanders at Daughai, instead of climbing the heights of the frontier of India, and murdering men with whom they had no quarrel, were to make a stand for their own homes in the hills of Scotland, and take possession of their natural right: that all this war and bloodshed was not for the good of the workers here at home; for if it was how came it that the miserable slums, surrounding the hall of the Institute, still remained? It was for the abolition of these slums, the abolition of national feuds, war and bloodshed that Parsons and his noble companions died. He asked whether the action of these men should not renew our energy in the cause of the people. If so, then it lays with us to concentrate our efforts against the capitalist, to speak to the *soldier*, who is their tool, and get him to give up his profession of war and murder. George Etievant, who has recently left France after doing a long term of imprisonment, next addressed the meeting in French, which was translated afterwards. Comrades J. Turner and Barker of Yarmouth also gave addresses, and the meeting was finished by Comrade E. Leggatt, who, in a brilliant and versatile manner, and causing a good deal of laughter, vowed eternal war against the present system of Society, and asked the Anarchist body to show modern capitalism that, instead of Revolution dying out, the memory of Chicago put spirit into the movement, leading us on to greater and nobler achievements.

W. O'SHEA.

NORTH AND EAST LONDON.

Leggatt has had good meetings at Woodgreen, Tottenham, Finsbury Park, Edmonton, Victoria Park, Mile End Waste, Stratford Grove, and has also lectured at the Liberal Club, New Southgate, on Nov. 14, on "Why I am an Anarchist." The meeting was well advertised in the neighbourhood, bills being exhibited everywhere, and owing to the hard work done by the Lecture Secretary, Charlie Horn, S. D. F., the meeting was a grand success. The place was packed, a great many having to stand. Some amount of opposition from some G. O. M. worshippers was easily answered, and the chairman, a very impartial and intelligent one, did very well for giving us a fair hearing. Young and Cavanagh took part in discussion, and Leggatt was well applauded at the close and literature sold out. In fact every Sunday 4 or 5 quires are sold at these meetings, Leggatt speaking 5 or 6 hours each day. Comrades Gale and Greyling from Edmonton selling *Freedom* and pamphlets while Leggatt talks. We have some good Comrades in Edmonton and Tottenham who do good work in that neighbourhood, and a change of speakers would help the cause along. 25s. collected for Engineers.

E. LEGGATT.

SOMERS TOWN.

For the past six months propaganda has been carried on at Ossulston Street, in an unhesitating and vigorous manner. Sums varying from 6d. to 2s. have been collected, and we have thereby been able to profusely distribute leaflets.

Regents Park has had a very good and efficacious dose of Anarchist Communism from Cantwell, Young and O'Shea, so much so, that when W. O'Shea broke the bye-law of that Royal Estate, by making a collection, the audiences responded by making up £12-6 in five weeks. O'Shea's name and address was taken, but nothing as yet has come of it. *Ca Ira!!*

Comrade W. O'Shea has held meetings in Hyde Park, and from appearances, has gained much sympathy, especially from a small cluster of Local Hibernians who frequent the park on Sunday evening. Perhaps the memory of '98, the centenary of which is drawing nigh, has roused their Celtic blood a little. Good work on the whole has been done, and looks like good soil for next summer's propaganda.

W. O'SHEA.

MANCHESTER.

We have had to stop our meetings owing to weather, but have had good ones up to the finish. Our group is in a fine way at present. We are busy discussing principles and, as you will see by enclosed specimen, making our paper which we propose to continue for the present. We are also getting a printing press in order (look out, you London folk then!), but of course we have to learn printing and do lots of things yet. Besides this, we are actively discussing the possibilities of a communal home and a voluntary co-operative agricultural group; but next summary will deal with that.

ALF. BARTON.



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