

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

INTERNATIONAL UNITY.

On Sunday, June 16, the English workers gave a splendid and truly enthusiastic welcome to fifty-seven French trade union delegates who came from all parts of France to proclaim solemnly and jointly with the English workers the solidarity and brotherhood of the working classes of mankind. How our French comrades have accomplished their task, what and how they have spoken to us, our readers will see from the following address read at the meeting in the name of the delegation. From our side we will only observe that no politicians, no career-makers were among the delegates. They were all workers sent by unions organised on economic and revolutionary lines. The organised workers of France are decided this time to fight out their economic and social emancipation on the sublime basis of their declaration in 1864: "that the emancipation of the working classes must be the act of the workers themselves." This is why there is a great proportion of Anarchists among the delegates; for the workers begin to understand that Anarchists are fighting, not for petty concessions of wages, but for the abolition of the wage-system, the exploitation of man by man, and for the speedy realization of a free and Communistic life of united mankind.

The Workers of France to the Workers of Great Britain.

Comrades:

Last October, your delegates came to Paris so as to convey to the Workers of France their fraternal greetings and to affirm their horror of war.

It was a critical moment. British Jingoism and French Nationalists exaggerated and falsified the smallest incidents, irritating the two nations against each other in the criminal hope of rendering a sanguinary conflict inevitable.

The arrival of your delegates in Paris had therefore a considerable effect. It rendered manifest that the right minded and healthy section of the British people held nothing in common with that band of exploiters and mischief makers who trade on wars. These so called civilized intriguers strive to present to our understanding that peace is an absolute necessity for all workers. Wherever their origin, workers should consider each other as brothers, children of the same family, the great family of humanity.

To day the Workers of France reply to your pacific manifestation by sending to London a Delegation appointed by the Trade organisations. It is their mission to assure you that the sentiments of the Workers of France are in unison with yours; that they also hold in deep execration all idea of war; that they also energetically condemn the organized massacres of peoples.

The situation to-day is no longer so acute. All danger of war between France and England has been removed. But the world is not limited to our two nations, and never perhaps has war made greater ravages than at the present moment. No government is free from the reproach of having committed odious acts. Blood is flowing in North and in South Africa as also in Madagascar, the Philippine islands, etc. In China the allied troops of the West have indulged in the most revolting massacres ever recorded in history.

Thus our present manifestation, though it has not so precise an object, is of equal and fundamental utility. If the workers desire to check warlike enterprises, they must without truce or rest ever manifest their hatred of war. And, so that this hatred shall be a living force, it must not be platonic, but must take a concrete form and show itself by continual agitations; it must express itself in so clear and emphatic a manner that the governing classes will be compelled to take it into account.

In this, your Quakers have given us a noble example and indicated the road to follow. Let us profit by their teaching. Let us continue what these energetic men begun. The day when the workers of all countries, being strongly united in their Trade Union organisations, will have the power to impose their pacific policy, no government will be able to withstand their influence. What government would dare to engage itself in some sanguinary adventure if it felt that, being all agreed, the workers involved in such a conflict would respond to a declaration of war by proclaiming a general strike.

It is all the more necessary that our propaganda against war should be greatly extended as the governments of all countries are augmenting their war materials, increasing the number of their soldiers, and rivalling each other in foolish military expenditure.

This fever has spread even to Great Britain which, till recently, had been comparatively exempt. Now there is question of imposing obligatory military service upon you. We have for long suffered from this form of slavery. We know but too well the degrading moral and physical effects that compulsory military service produces on a people. It warps the spirit of initiative, smothers all desire for independence and withers up the sense of self respect.

Even if only considered from the material point of view, obligatory military service would have for you the most disastrous effects.

You would have to pay the cost of this new burden. It would tend to disintegrate your Trade Unions, and thus might bring about a reduction of the high wages you obtain. Also the cheap cost of living, of which you are justly proud, could not be maintained.

At one moment, there was question of a general disarmament. It was but a will of the wisp. Disarmament would bring about a more equitable distribution of the products of labour, an increase of wellbeing for the people, to whom and to avoid a dangerous crisis, the enormous sums formerly wasted in the armament and the maintenance on a war footing of colossal armies, would necessarily return.

Disarmament would be the commencement of an era of peace and prosperity which would lead us rapidly to a more humane organisation of society where economic warfare would also disappear. Ferocious competition, the antagonism of interests which, in the field of commercial and industrial enterprise, are as injurious to the peoples as, on all political arenas, war between nations, which in their turn also would disappear.

Thus we should be approaching the end of the old and barbarous world. The emancipated people of the world would at last be able to grow and multiply in the indefinite enjoyment of wellbeing and freedom.

But it is because disarmament cannot be restricted to the mere dismantlement of barracks and the melting of cannon, that we must not expect that it will be agreed upon by the ruling classes.

The general disarmament will only be possible when we are in a position to impose our will on the governments;—make them understand that we will no longer be the accomplices of their homicidal passions and when, in the name of human fraternity, we refuse to kill each other.

Then will peace become an effective and definite reality.

It is towards this harmonious future that we should direct all our efforts. It is to realize this glorious end that, in the name of the Workers of France, we convoke you, our comrades of Great Britain, to unite with us and to work with us.

War against war!

Hurrah! for Peace!

Long live International Fraternity!

The above Manifesto has been brought to England and signed by the following French Delegates:

EMILE POUGET — General Confederation of Workers.
GEORGE YVETOT and PAUL DELESALLE — Federation

of the Labour Exchange of France and Algeria.
A. BAUME' and comrade Miss BONNEVIAL — Federation of the Paris Trades Unions.

XAVIER BISWANG — Bordeaux, Labour Exchange.

LOUIS BOURG — Belfort, Labour Exchange.

Comrade Mrs CAYOL, Marseille, " "

CONANAU — Alençon, Fougères, Rennes, " "

E. DUMAS — Saint-Etienne, " "

A. DURAND — Agen, " "

P. FRIBOURG — Besançon, " "

J. MALBRANQUE — Amiens, " "

CH. MARCK — Havre, " "

L. NIEL — Montpellier, " "

RICHER — Labour Exchange of Mans and Federation

Trades Unions of the department of the Sarthe.

SURNOM — Bourges, " "

BOULENGER — Saint-Quentin, Fed. Trades Unions.

FOSSIER — Marne, " "

G. LELOU — Lille, " "

POIREY — Besançon, Franche-Comté, " "

A. DELESALLE — Tourcoing, "The Workers' Solidarity"

TOUSSAINT — Fed. of the Furniture Trades.

ESPANET — Fed. of the Hatters Trades.

GRIFFUELHES — Fed. of the Leather Trades.

H. MARQUIS — Fed. of the Copper Workers.

COSSON and E. GUERARD — Fed. of the Railway Ser-

vants Trade Union.

COUPAT — Fed. of the Engineering Trades.

CRETOIS and LATAPIE — Fed. of the Metal Workers.

LAPORTE — Nat. Fed. of the Paper Trades.

DREYFUS — Fed. of the Lithographic Trades.

F. MARMONIER and MODELON — Nat. Union of

Postal and Telegraphic Workers.

SAUVAGE — Fed. of the French Moulders.

COPIGNEAUX and TERRIOUX — Fed. of Workers in

the Employment of the Paris Municipality (scavengers, paviors, sweepers, gardeners, etc., etc.)

Comrade Mrs JACOBY — Fed. of the Workmen and

Workwomen employed in the State Tobacco

Manufactories.

KEUFER — Fed. of the Compositors of France.

AUGE' — Clerks and Shop Assistant Trades Unions.

H. ALBERT — The Bronze Workers, the Carpenters,

and Shop Managers Trades Unions.

CALMELS — The Paris Cabmen's Trade Union.

CHEVALLIER — The Paris Scientific Instrument Ma-

kers Union.

DESLANDES — Newspaper Printers Trade Union of

Paris.

GERVAISE — The Paris Mint Workers Union.

LAJARRIGE — The Paris Gas Workers Union.

LARMINIER — Paris Sewer Scavengers Union.

MAYNIER — The Paris Compositors Trade Union.

ELIE MAY — Socialistic Newspaper Correspondents

Trade Union.

L. PERIER — The Paris Portfolio and Pocket Book

Makers' Trade Union.

Comrade Miss BEAU and SINGER — The Paris Lady

Tailoress and Dress Makers Trade Union.

THINLOT — The Paris Farriers Trade Union.

Two Delegates from French Trade Union of the

Calais Tulle Workers.

This Manifesto has also been signed by 142 Secretaries or authorized representatives of Trades Unions.

PARIS CONGRESS REPORTS, 1900. COMMUNISM AND ANARCHY.

Report by P. Kropotkin.

The importance of this question need hardly be insisted upon. Many Anarchists and thinkers in general, whilst recognising the immense advantages which Communism may offer to society, yet consider this form of social organisation a danger to the liberty and free development of the individual. This danger is also recognised by many Communists, and, taken as a whole, the question is merged in that other vast problem which our century has laid bare to its fullest extent: the relation of the Individual to Society.

The problem became obscured in various ways. When speaking of Communism, most people think of the more or less Christian and monastic and always authoritarian Communism advocated in the first half of this century and practised in certain communities. These communities took the family as a model and tried to constitute "the great Communist family," to "reform man," for which purpose in addition to working in common they impose the living closely together like a family, separation from present civilisation, isolation, the interference of "brothers" and "sisters" with the entire private life of each member.

In addition to this, the difference was not sufficiently noted as between isolated communities, founded on various occasions during the last three or four centuries, and the numerous federated communes which are likely to spring up in a society about to inaugurate the social revolution.

Certain phases of the subject thus require to be considered separately:

- Production and consumption in common;
 - Domestic Life in common (cohabitation)—is it necessary to arrange it after the model of the present family?
 - The isolated communities of our times;
 - The federated communes of the future.
- And, in conclusion, does Communism necessarily lessen individuality? In other words: the Individual in a Communist society.

An immense movement of ideas took place during this century under the name of Socialism in general, beginning with Babeuf, St. Simon, Fourier, Robert Owen and Proudhon who formulated the predominating currents of Socialism, and continued by their numerous successors (French) Considérant, Pierre Leroux, Louis Blanc; (German) Marx, Engels; (Russian) Tchernychevsky, Bakunin; etc., who worked either at popularising the ideas of the founders of modern Socialism or at establishing them on a scientific basis.

These ideas, on taking precise shape, gave birth to two principal currents: Authoritarian Communism and Anarchist Communism; also to a number of intermediary schools bent on finding a way between, such as State Capitalism, Collectivism, Co-operation; among the working masses they created a formidable workers' movement which strives to organise the whole mass of the workers by trades for the struggle against Capital, and which becomes more international with the frequent intercourse between workers of different nationalities.

Three essential points were gained by this immense movement of ideas and of action, and these have already widely penetrated the public conscience; they are:

- The abolition of the wage system, the modern form of ancient serfdom.
- The abolition of individual property in the means of production.
- The emancipation of the individual and of society from the political machinery, the State, which helps to maintain economic slavery.

On these three points all are agreed, and even those who advocate "labor notes" or who, like Brousse, wish all "to be functionaries," that is employees of the State or the commune, admit that if they advocate either of these proposals it is only because they do not see an immediate possibility for Communism. They accept this compromise as an expedient, but their aim always remains Communism. And, as to the State, even the bitterest partisans of the State, of authority, even of dictatorship, recognise that with the disappearance of the *classes* of today the State will also cease to exist.

Hence we may say without exaggerating the importance of *our* section of the Socialist movement—the Anarchist section—that in spite of all differences between the various sections of Socialism (which differences are, before all, based upon the more or less revolutionary character of the means of action of each section, we may affirm that all sections, by the voice of their thinkers, recognise the evolution towards Free Communism as the aim of Socialist evolution. All the rest, as they themselves confess, are only stepping-stones towards this end.

It would be idle to discuss these stepping-stones without basing ourselves on an examination of the *tendencies* of development of modern society.

Of these different tendencies two, before all, merit our attention. One is the increasing difficulty of determining the share of each individual in modern production. Industry and agriculture have become so complicated, so rivetted together, all industries are so dependent one upon the other that payment to the producer by results becomes impossible. The more industry is developed, the more we see payment by piece replaced by wages. Wages, on the other hand, become more equal. The division of modern bourgeois society in classes certainly remains and there is a whole class of bourgeois who earn the more, the less work they do. The working class itself is divided into four great divisions: women, agricultural laborers, unskilled and skilled workers. These divisions represent four degrees of exploitation and are but the result of bourgeois organisation.

In a society of equals, where all can learn a trade and where the exploitation of woman by man, of the peasant by the manufacturer, will cease; these classes will disappear. But, even today, wages within each of these classes tend to become more equal. This led to the statement that a navvy's day's work is worth that of a jeweller, and made Robert Owen conceive his "labor notes," paid to all who worked so many hours in the production of necessary commodities.

But if we look back on all attempts made in this direction, we find that with the exception of a few thousand farmers in the United States, labor notes have not spread since the end of the first quarter of the century when Owen tried to issue them. Elsewhere (see *La Conquête du Pain*; *The Wage System*) the reasons for this have been discussed.

On the other hand, we see a great number of attempts at partial socialisation, tending in the direction of Communism. Hundreds of Communist communities have been founded during this century almost everywhere and at this very moment we are aware of more than a hundred of them, all being more or less Communist. It is in the same direction of Communism—*partial* Communism, we mean to say—that nearly all the numerous attempts at socialisation we see in bourgeois society tend to be made, either between individuals or with regard to the socialisation of municipal matters.

Hotels, steamers, boarding houses, are all experiments in this direction undertaken by the bourgeois. For so much per day you have the choice between ten or fifty dishes placed at your disposal at the hotel or on the steamer, with nobody controlling the amount you have eaten of them. This organisation is even international and before leaving Paris or London you may buy *bons* (coupons) (10 francs per day) which enable you to stay at will in hundreds of hotels in France, Germany, Switzerland, etc., all belonging to an international society of hotels.

The bourgeois thoroughly understood the advantages of partial Communism combined with the almost unlimited freedom of the individual in respect to consumption, and in all these institutions for a fixed price per month you will be lodged and fed, with the single exception of costly extras (wine, special apartments) which are charged separately.

Fire insurance (especially in villages where equality of conditions permits the charge of an equal premium for all inhabitants) insurance against accidents, against burglars, the arrangement by which great English stores will supply for 1s. per week all the fish which a small family may consume; clubs; the innumerable societies of insurance against sickness, etc., etc.—all this mass of institutions created during this century, belong to the same category as being an approach towards Communism with regard to part consumption in certain forms.

Finally, there exists a vast series of municipal institutions—water, gas, electricity, workmens dwellings, trains with uniform fares, baths, washing houses, etc.—where similar attempts at socialising consumption are being made on an ever increasing scale.

All this is certainly not yet Communism. Far from it. But the principle of these institutions contains a part of the principle of Communism: *for so much per day* (in money to-day, in labour to-morrow) *you are entitled to satisfy—luxury excepted—this or the other of your wants.*

These essays in Communism differ from real Communism in many ways; and essentially in the two following: (1) payment in money instead of payment by labour; (2) the consumers have no voice in the administration of the business. If, however, the idea, the tendency of these institutions were well understood, it would not be difficult *even to-day* to start by private or public initiative a community carrying out the first principle mentioned. Let us suppose a territory of 500 hectares (1,200 acres) on which are built 200 cottages, each surrounded by a garden or an orchard of $\frac{1}{4}$ hectare (3 parts of an acre). The management allows each family occupying a cottage, to choose out of fifty dishes per day what is desired, or it supplies bread, vegetables, meat, coffee as demanded for preparation at home. In return they demand either so much per annum in money or a certain number of hours of work given, at the consumers's choice, to one of the departments of the establishment: agriculture, cattle raising, cooking, cleaning. This may be put in practice to-morrow if required, and we must wonder that such a farm—hotel—garden has not yet been founded by an enterprising hotel proprietor.

It will be objected, no doubt, that it is just here, the introduction of labour in common, that Communists have generally experienced failure. Yet this objection cannot stand. The causes of failure have always to be sought elsewhere.

Firstly, nearly all communities were founded by an almost religious wave of enthusiasm. People were asked to become "pioneers of humanity," to submit to the dictates of a punctilious morality, to become quite regenerated by Communist life, to give all their time, hours of work and of leisure, to the community, to live entirely for the community.

This meant, acting simply like monks and to demand—without any necessity—of men to be what they are not. It is only in quite recent days that communities have been founded by Anarchist working men without any such pretensions, for purely economic purposes—to free themselves from capitalist exploitation.

The second mistake lay in the desire to manage the community after the model of a family, to make it "the great family." They lived all in the same house and were thus forced to continuously meet the same "brethren and sisters." It is already difficult often for two real brothers to live together in the same house, and family life is not always harmonious; so it was a fundamental error to impose on all the "great

family" instead of trying, on the contrary, to guarantee as much as possible to each individual freedom and home life.

Besides, a small community cannot live long; "brethren and sisters" forced to meet continuously, amid a scarcity of new impressions, end by detesting each other. And if two persons through becoming rivals or simply not liking each other are able by their disagreement to bring about the dissolution of a community, the prolonged life of such communities would be a strange thing, especially since all communities founded up to now have isolated themselves. It is a foregone conclusion that a close association of 10, 20, or 100 persons cannot last longer than three or four years. It would be even regrettable if it lasted longer; because this would only prove either that all were brought under the influence of a single individual or that all lost their individuality. Well, since it is *certain* that in three, four or five years part of the members of a community would wish to leave, there ought to exist at least a dozen or more of federated communities in order that those who, for one reason or other, wish to leave a community may enter another community, being replaced by new comers from other places. Otherwise, the Communist beehive must necessarily perish or (which nearly always happens) fall into the hands of one individual—generally the most cunning of the "brethren."

Finally, all communities founded up till now isolated themselves from society; but struggle, a life of struggle, is far more urgently needed by an active man than a well supplied table. This desire to see the world, to mix with its currents, to fight its battles is the imperative call to the young generation. Hence it comes (as Tchaikovsky remarked from his experience) that young people, at the age of 18 or 20, necessarily leave a community which does not comprehend the whole of society.

We need not add that governments of all descriptions have always been the most serious stumbling blocks for all communities. Those which have seen least of this or none at all (like Young Icaria) succeed best. This is easily understood. Political hatred is one of the most violent in character. We can live in the same town with our political adversaries if we are not forced to see them every moment. But how is life possible in a small community where we meet each other at every turn. Political dissent enters the study, the workshop, the place of rest, and life becomes impossible.

(To be concluded.)

AMERICAN NOTES.

Kropotkin's visit to the United States was nothing more nor less than a triumphal procession largely personal, partly because of a change in the attitude of the people towards Anarchism and Anarchists, it nevertheless was one continuous ovation from the day he landed till the day he sailed. His stay in Boston has been beneficial in many ways, and that it will have a lasting effect there is little room to doubt. His course of lectures on Russian literature at the Lowell Institute was an unqualified success, and his presence in Boston for close on a month stimulated the sale of the "memoirs"—a fact by the way which didn't please the present tory editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, while the discussion which waxed hot over "Fields, Factories and Workshops" proves most conclusively that that splendid book has produced a sensation in scientific circles. It has not touched the general public yet because but a very small number was published, but it is confidently expected that one of the results of Kropotkin's visit to America will be that a cheap edition of this book will be published when a very large sale may be expected. The meeting which took place in Paine Hall, the home of the Freethinkers of Boston, and the Farewell Social were reported in last month's *Freedom*; they were splendid successes both in numbers and enthusiasm and prove that the spirit of Emerson, Phillip, and Garrison is not dead but has been sleeping—may this visit help to awaken it.

During six days in New York Kropotkin spoke five times: twice before the League of Political Economy, a middle class organization for the discussion of political and economical subjects, and at an English meeting arranged by the comrades in Grand Central Palace. This was probably the largest and most successful Anarchist meeting ever held in New York, although an admission fee of 25 cents (1s.) was charged over four thousand people assembled to hear our comrade lecture on "Anarchism, Its Philosophy and Ideal"; and the fourth lecture was in Russian at the famous and notorious Tammany Hall where over three thousand Russians paid 25 cents to hear Kropotkin lecture to them in his own language. Although we are "no moneyites" for the future I am sure comrades will be glad to hear that as a result of these two meetings £150 was cleared over and above expenses for the propaganda. Some of the immediate results will be that our comrades of "*Free Society*" will publish Tcherkesov's articles which have appeared in *Freedom* and *Temps Nouveaux* during the past few years in book form, and the *Reports of the Paris Conference* of last year will also be published. *Free Society* received a share of the money *Freedom* also was not forgotten, so it was a blessing for the English movement all round. Unfortunately, at the Russian Social, Kropotkin was kept too late and this coupled with the strain of speaking in that huge hall to over four thousand people was too much for one week, and it put him on his back with influenza for ten days. This caused a postponement of his Chicago lectures, but his visit was none the worse for that; he was received warmly and taken in charge by Jane Adams who took him to that famous Social Settlement, Hull House, where the hospitable Jane looked after him during his weeks stay in the windy city. He lectured five

times, paid a visit to Waldheim Cemetery to place a wreath on the Martyrs' graves, and met innumerable people, chief among whom was Ex-Governor Altgeld, the man who "dared" as Danton would have put it. His lectures were as follows: April 17, Hull House, before the "Arts and Crafts Society," subject "Fields, Factories and Workshops." April 18, Twentieth Century Club, "Medieval Cities." April 19, High School Teacher's Club, "Mutual Aid." Saturday, visit to Waldheim. Sunday, April 21, a large Anarchist meeting was held in Central Music Hall, "Anarchism, Its Philosophy and Ideal" was the subject, 25 cents admission was charged and the hall was crowded, several thousand people being present. It was, according to *Free Society*, a big success. Monday and Tuesdays he lectured at the universities at Champaign, Ill., and Madison, Wis. Wednesday April 24, the Industrial Art League tendered a reception to our comrade at which many comrades were present, an enjoyable time was had. Jay Fox reports in *Free Society* that after Kropotkin had left the *Chicago Chronicle* one of the leading dailies of that city had, on May 5th, a symposium on the possible effect of Kropotkin's visit on the movement for Social progress. The articles occupied nearly a page and were for the most part piously sympathetic. Fox quotes one writer who thinks the ideal of Anarchism very beautiful "but if cast abroad they can become a disturbing element in the lives of mercy knows how many poor mortals." "And," remarks our philosopher, "however true it may be that they are robbed, etc., etc., it won't do for him to dwell on that one subject." Add to all this propaganda the countless number of people Kropotkin met and discussed with privately, the articles written and the interviews granted to newspaper men and it will convey a fair idea of the work this one man did in the two months of his stay in America. May he come again and stay longer!

Emma Goldman began another propaganda tour on April 9th and ran into trouble first thing. Philadelphia was her first stop and her first meeting was one arranged by the Shirt Makers Union the members of which were on strike. Her subject was the very modest one of "Trades Unionism" but nevertheless when she arrived at the hall she was met by a lieutenant and a squad of police who refused her admission to the hall and were none too gentle in forcing her down the street. Rather a high handed proceeding for a country that is engaged in extending the blessing of civilisation "to the persons sitting in darkness," eh? Yes, but then, as the *North American*, (a daily paper in Philadelphia which took up the fight in Emma's behalf) remarked, "the Mayor is a person of inferior intelligence who went into office a bankrupt and is giving all his energies to leave it a millionaire—a jobber in contracts, a broker in offices, a protector of profitable vice and the eager collector of rake-offs." Strong words these, and from a capitalist paper too. It further says that the Mayor is trying to divert public attention from his thieving by posing as the saviour of public morality and vested interests from these Anarchists. Very pretty, but it didn't work, our comrades are too active in Philadelphia and reinforced by the Single Taxers and other radicals including a large number of trade unionists they made things hum. Emma spoke three times after the Chief of Police had blustered that not only she but no other Anarchist should be allowed to speak on Anarchism in Philadelphia. Frank Stevens and other Single Taxers did yeoman service for the cause of free speech and our comrades gained a splendid victory and unconsciously this stupid policeman did us a great service. Emma is visiting other cities and from reports in *Free Society* she is having splendid meetings. May 30th is Decoration Day (a day set apart to decorate the graves of those who fell in the Civil War) and our comrades in Chicago have arranged to decorate the Martyrs graves at Waldheim with a wreath Kropotkin bought for them while in Chicago. They have issued a call in *Free Society* for all comrades and friends to be present on this occasion when Emma Goldman will deliver the decoration speech at the grave. This is interesting news because the authorities at Waldheim have forbidden demonstrations at the Martyrs graves for some years now.

Those English comrades who seldom, if ever, see *Free Society* are missing a treat, the paper is bright and crisp and always intensely interesting. Our gifted comrade C. L. James began a history of the French Revolution in Vol. VII., No. 10 of *Free Society* and up to the present seven weekly instalments have appeared, two pages each week. It is splendidly written as all those who have read James can imagine, and it is a landmark, being the first *Anarchist History* of the French Revolution that has been written. Get it and read it. This history is well worth preserving; and considering James's opinions it's doubtful if any publisher can be found to publish it in book form.

We have lost a good comrade in Susan A. Patton of Philadelphia who died a few weeks ago. A sterling good comrade and the soul of honesty, she will be sadly missed by all who knew her. And so one by one we are wafted away as leaves in a summer breeze. A brief strut on life's stage, we have played our part and we disappear. We knew her as "Susie" Patton; to "Susie," then, we say "Good bye! may thy dust fertilize the soil in which they place thee, and a hundred 'Susie' Pattons come forth to follow in your footsteps and so free the slaves of Wannamaker with whom you toiled so long. Farewell!

H.M.K.

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NOTES.

THE TURN OF THE TIDE.

The great and successful meeting at Queens' Hall is rightly regarded as marking a turning point in the feeling of the nation towards the government and the war. But whatever feeling of satisfaction we may have in seeing that the eyes of the people are slowly being opened we cannot forget the fact that their own crass ignorance, stupidity and indifference, exploited by the creatures of capitalism, have been responsible for an amount of human suffering that no "granting of independence" will ever assuage.

The tale of horrors is only just beginning to unfold itself; but if the English nation had not been so greedy, so absorbed in money-making, had not given its leisure to betting, gambling and sports, had cultivated more what it has of imagination instead of priding itself so much on its practical, sordid, narrow-minded life, it would not have needed this eighteen months' orgie of slaughter and suffering to make them realise their responsibilities.

The *Daily News* is inclined to deprecate some of the "strong language" used at the meeting, and regards it as a mistake to have sung the Marseillaise hymn instead of the National Anthem. We regret that we have never yet heard any language strong enough to describe the crimes of the present government. When we do, and when we hear the nation asking for the impeachment and disgrace of the present ministry we shall begin to have faith that Englishmen are *men* once more. But at present our confidence in the certainty of the noble Briton whining about going "too far" is quite unshaken. What is needed today is the "audacity" of Danton.

SHALL WE RESIST OR SUBMIT?

The action of the Jingo element and its defeat at Queens' Hall raises a point of some interest at the present moment when in face of passing events we still find an inclination amongst some of our friends to advocate "passive resistance." It is quite fair and reasonable for us to ask for a straight answer to the question: How would you have held a meeting at Queens' Hall if you had not been prepared to fight for your right to speak and be heard? The position was too clear to be misunderstood. You had to fight or give in. There was no question of reasoning with that howling gang of paid bullies and middle class cads. A non-resistant policy would have meant this: To have suffered meekly all the blows and insults these brutes would have showered upon you—indeed to have been trodden under foot if that had been their sweet will; to have abandoned in consequence all your rights of assembly and free speech, and to have endured all the humiliation in your own eyes and the eyes of the world that such a course would assuredly bring. More than this. The whole moral of the meeting as it stands today would have been lost, and the cowardly crew of conquering Jingos would have taken fresh courage for still further outrages on our dearly won liberties. Not to resist, it seems to us, almost amounts in such cases to an invitation to be attacked. Happily that was the view taken by the organisers, with the result that the Jingos will have a little more respect for such meetings in future, and the question whether we are to preach truth to the people will not remain at the discretion of the paid bullies of the Stock Exchange.

A LOGICAL DEVELOPMENT.

The Radical-Socialist alliance that is taking place in France is only a clearer and more strongly marked instance of what is happening, or will shortly happen in other countries. It proves beyond question the accuracy of all that has been said by our

comrade Tcherkesov in his criticisms of Social Democracy and the Marxists. As a political party they are beginning to find their right place as an advanced section of the Radicals. There they will find plenty to do in endeavoring to bring forward their "palliatives" of the countless evils of the wage system. A Sisyphean labor, without doubt, but one which they are bent upon wasting their time on; but at least there will be the advantage of not having them to hinder the true revolutionary Socialist movement. In France this will be an immense advantage, since it will make the real issues clearer to the people.

However, the situation is too important to be dealt with in a "Note," and we shall return to the subject more fully in our next issue.

It is interesting to observe that Tcherkesov's article in our last issue on the Russian movement has been translated into French, Dutch and Spanish. We also notice it has been retranslated from the French and printed in *Justice*.

Kropotkin's *Fields, Factories and Workshops* has now been issued in a popular edition at one shilling. It is excellently printed; and as a book both for study and reference there is nothing to replace it. Every workman should have it. The publishers are Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., Paternoster Square, E.C.

We notice that *Die Gottespest* (The Deistic Pestilence), by John Most, has been reprinted. It is one of the best atheistic pamphlets we have ever read; it may be obtained of W. Mac Queen, 10 Baldovan Place, Harehills, Leeds.

Annual Picnic.

The Annual Picnic of the Midland Counties Anarchists will be held at Rowsley on Bank Holiday, August 5. Conference at 3.30 p.m. For further particulars apply to A. Barton at 12 Olive Terrace, Owlerton, Sheffield, or to A. Gorrie, 18 Princess Street, Leicester. Comrades will be present from Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Leicester, Sheffield, Timperley, etc. Comrades will attend to their own catering.

METHODS OF PROPAGANDA.

One of the most interesting discussions that the "Freedom Discussion Group" have had for some time was the one opened by our comrade Mainwaring a few meetings ago. He took for his subject "Methods of Propaganda." A goodly number were present and many excellent points were raised by the different speakers. It is difficult to remember the many side issues which inevitably arise in a discussion of this kind, but the four chief points raised, if my memory serves me right, were I. A renewal of open air propaganda advocated by Mainwaring and supported by Parker. II. Agitation in the Trade Unions by Marmol. III. Mrs. Dryhurst thought Anarchists should apply themselves more to literary work and so become a power among the educated and thinking people. (I don't mean to assume that uneducated people are not necessarily thinking people!) The fourth suggestion was made by St. John, and while the exact phraseology has slipped my memory I think it was that we Anarchists ought to do very little preaching, and try to live our ideas more. Tcherkesov urged agitation and especially agitation among the workers, while Weis thought we ought to preach less and study more so as to become "convinced Anarchists" as he put it.

It would be well if this subject were discussed in *Freedom*, for those comrades from far as well as near could give us their views on this all important subject. If my presumption may be pardoned I would suggest: let us be practical and not academic and avoid saying or inferring that those who believe in agitating among people of means and education are bourgeois. Thank goodness we are not yet a class conscious party! Every one of the above named methods of propaganda have much to commend them, yet the conviction grows on me that while, perhaps, not the most important, yet agitation in the Trade Unions is certainly the most neglected of all forms of propaganda in this country. Judged by the number of Anarchists who belong to Trade Unions in these isles we can only come to the conclusion that they don't believe in them. Then again some of those who do belong to unions say it is quite impossible to do any propaganda there. There is much to be said against their system of organisation and the methods by which the unions are conducted. For the most part the London Trade Unions are either too large or too small to be as effective as they might be. The compositors have over eleven thousand members in London; general meetings are impossible with such a number, so each shop delegates its power to a member whom they call the chairman, or father of the chapel, if all of these delegates assemble at the regular quarterly meeting it barely represents ten per cent. of the total membership; the result is that apart from the opportunities afforded for the capturing of the union by all and sundry political parties it robs the members of that initiative which is absolutely necessary and which would be possible were the union divided into four sections with regular monthly

meetings; for in the interval of the delegate meetings, which occur but once in three months, the business of the union is carried on by a committee. Again, take the Engineers, they have in and about London no less than fifty branches. The number of members in each branch is so small and with the same system of quarterly meetings that the individual initiative is so small among the members that Geo. N. Barnes who makes his living as their Secretary is allowed to sneer at them as he did at the Crystal Palace on May 1st, when he said "The trades-unionists of this country are spending their time and their money and wasting their energy and their brains—as far as they have any in useless schemes to defeat the capitalists." If the members of the A. S. E. had an ounce of go in them they would prefer charges against this man and drive him from the office he now holds.

In spite of these disadvantages there are opportunities in plenty for Anarchists to make their influence felt in the branch meetings and on trade councils. Social Democrats have been busy of late years in capturing trade unions and more especially trades councils with the inevitable result of stultifying them; why should not Anarchists combat this spirit? Here in London where there are nearly five million people and at least six hundred thousand wage slaves who ought to belong to their trade unions and be federated together in a compact trades council we find a paltry fifty-eight thousand belong to the L.T.C. There are several reasons for this; first of all, many trades are unorganized, secondly, many trades have unions which are woefully weak and represent but a small proportion of their trade, and last, but not least, many trades which are well organized stand outside the council either because they do not understand what the council is for, or because they say it has no power and they don't believe in it. This last complaint is probably due to the fact that some delegates on the L.T.C. consider it a debating society instead of a place in which to do some practical work. What a power the L.T.C. could be in London if instead of a paltry fifty-eight thousand they represented five hundred thousand workers. Here is a chance for Anarchists to do something now! Organize the poor sweated slaves where no unions exist. Strengthen those unions that are weak by inducing those who stand outside to come and join in the fight. And last, but not least, urge your unions to join the Trades Council so that they may become a power in the land. Yes, some will say and as they become strong they will be manipulated by politicians. True, they will try—where are they not trying to manipulate the workers?—but it is the work of Anarchists to see that the workers organized and unorganized are not deluded by politicians. At present the trade union movement is largely discredited by the endorsement of candidates for political honors from Borough Councils to the House of Commons and by sending deputations to various officials. The candidates are seldom if ever elected and the reply of the officials are platitudes. The work of Anarchists in the trade union movement is cut out for them. Will they do it.

H. M. K.

GUSTAVE LEFRANCAIS.

On May 19th, Socialist and revolutionary Paris rendered the last honors to one of her best and most honest citizens. Thousands of workmen, singing *L'Internationale*, followed Gustave Lefrançais, the most distinguished Socialist orator, exile under the Empire, and member of the Paris Commune, to his last resting place. Of all the stubborn fighters for the social emancipation of the people that France has produced in the 19th Century, Lefrançais was certainly one of the most courageous, unselfish and entirely free from personal vanity. A free-thinker, and man of wide and deep Communist and libertarian convictions, he remained till death the avowed enemy of power and authority in every form, whether religious, political or Socialist. In his essay *The Communal Movement*, in his *Memoirs*, in the *Souvenirs d'un Communal*, as well as in his articles published in our Anarchist paper *Les Temps Nouveaux*, Lefrançais treats with equal severity authoritative Socialists aspiring to obtain power, as republican, monarchical or imperialist governments. The following, which are the opening lines of his Will, give the best proof of the rigour and integrity of the principles which guided his life:

"I die more and more convinced that the Socialistic ideas which I have professed all my life and for which I have fought with all my strength, are just and true.

"I die more and more convinced that the Society in which I have lived, is nothing but the most cynical, and the most monstrous as regards depredation and robbery.

"I die professing the profoundest contempt for all political parties, including the Socialist, as I have always considered them as nothing else than groups of simpletons ruled by shameless and unscrupulous ambition."

As the above speaks conclusively to the Socialist and revolutionary side of his character, the final words of the same document show better than could any eulogy of ours, the modesty of his character in private life:

"I pray my son Paul to see that my burial be as simple as my life itself has been, and that it is attended only by those who have known me as a friend and have kindly given me either their affection or simply their respect. In case my body cannot be cremated, I wish to rest in the common grave among all those dear to me who have already preceded me there, as well as among the poor, to whose class I have never ceased to belong."

W. TCHERKESOV.

NOTES—SCOTTISH AND OTHERS.

Dr. Johnson was after all fairly near the mark, when he stated that there was only one road in Scotland, and that was the road to England—at all events it was the road out of Scotland—and most of the Scottish Anarchists at least the active portion thereof have made good use of that road. The result is that the few—the very few—who are left find their energies and time totally inadequate to the work which has to be done. There is really a demand for Anarchist speakers, but the supply is so limited as to be practically non-existent. The people, now that the war fever has passed away, are just as eager to listen to the ideas of Anarchism as at any time in the past; and the £ s. d. side of the lesson from the war is compelling them to be not only more reflective, but also more receptive to new principles.

In Glasgow meetings are held every Sunday night at St. Enoch Square and the attentiveness of the fairly large crowds who gather there, speaks of interest, if not sympathy with Anarchist ideas; and I am certain that with a greater variety of speakers, together with a greater number of comrades to push the literature, they would be even more successful than hitherto.

The war fever is rapidly passing away. In fact I don't think we ever had it very bad in Glasgow. True, we had one or two days of delirium, yet during the whole of last summer we held our open air meetings as usual, without interruption of any kind. Almost every Scot bears a spark of hostility to England. Occasionally the spark develops into a flame, and we have our Theodore Napiers, and David MacCreas, who are looked upon by Englishmen as harmless lunatics, but far otherwise be it said by thousands of people here, who never rush into print with their opinions. The result is that we find more sympathy here in our denunciation of the Transvaal war than, I believe, in England. For after all England's attempt to annex the Transvaal is an exact repetition of her attempt to annex Scotland; an attempt, which after years of misery and bloodshed during the war of independence resulted disastrously to England at Bannockburn. Edward I. (like the present Edward) claimed to be Suzerain of Scotland; on some pretext or other he claimed the right to interfere with the affairs of the Scottish nation, and when this was resented, he raised the cry that England must be the paramount power of the British Isles. Well, we know the result. Will history still further repeat itself?

But after all the great point to be borne in mind is that few wars originate to-day for other reasons than financial.

It does seem stupid that people wildly shout for war, and tamely submit to the exorbitant taxation, for the benefit of a gang of cosmopolitan swindlers; more especially does it seem so when they have numberless object lessons that their employers are only patriotic—when it pays.

In the Lanarkshire and Ayrshire coal fields and ironworks, Poles have been imported by thousands by employers to displace the "Rule Britannia" "God Save the King" patriot.

When the "hard times" come, I don't suppose that any employer will consider as a valid reason for retaining an employee, the fact that he went "amafficking" in the summer of 1900. And for the soldier what is his reward? If he is lucky enough to survive, a little piece of ribbon, a little piece of silver is expected to compensate for the loss of limbs, and a shattered constitution. It is enough almost to make me despair of humanity, to find generation after generation repeating the stupid errors of their fathers, with so many object lessons of what these errors entailed. The reward of the soldier has too often been the workhouse, like so many of the Balaclava heroes, or that of the Highland Brigade which swept the heights of Alma, to find on returning to their homes in the Highlands, that their homes were no longer in existence. The huts and cots had been razed to the ground; their fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters deported to Canada, scattered over all the world, to make deer forests for sporting millionaires. It is scarcely surprising that the Highlander is no longer patriotic. He is, in the sense of attachment to locality, but he will never come again as in the past to fight for Empire; and all the attempts at beating up recruits by sending detachments of regiments through the Highlands, have admittedly resulted in dismal failure. The Highlander knows what Empire means; possibly being like the Irish peasant, directly dependant upon the land, its evils and hardships reached him first. Sooner or later, however the city population will also suffer from its baneful effects. May the suffering not be lost. And it will not be, if it teaches them to perceive that Empire, and Empire building, with all their attendant misery are the joint result of monopoly and government. Sweep these away, and with liberty as the watchword, it will be possible for humanity to relegate to a barbarous past all the ghoulish horrors, and infamies which the present holds for the children of men.

J. BLAIR SMITH.

PIKE-THRUSTS.

A writer has just written a book to prove that immortality does not belong to all, but only to those who are good, and love God. How glad I am that I am not good! Another life like this would drive me to drink or suicide. That reminds me, poor Bresci has suicided. It leads one to wonder which, after all, is best; slow torture or killing spread over many years, or one short sharp jerk and an end. Bresci thought the latter and I am glad he is out of it. But the Government of Italy

is so kind, it can't shed human blood. After all, is bloodshedding the worst form of murder? Isn't poverty and overwork and preventable accidents like, for example, most mine explosions, &c., a damned sight worse? Isn't it better to die to the swishing of bullets on a battlefield than like a dog in a ditch, or a pauper in a workhouse? Bah! there is a lot of cant about war and peace, but the worst war is not fought with bullets and bayonets, but the degradation of women, the sobs of children and the curses of men. Ah well! God is good! We are but lodgers, heaven is our home; but will God have more sense there than here? Will he shew any more discretion in the arrangement of things? If not, I'll stop here, please. But there, we must excuse the old chap. To be suddenly waked up out of a sleep from eternity—perhaps he hadn't quite opened his eyes when he created this world. After all, it's his first effort. He may improve when he makes the next. Practice makes perfect even with gods.

But its a long cry over there. I notice most of the clergy prefer dear old England—little England! Strange isn't it? we used to boast of our "little country" that could beat the world. That "tight little island." Now we boast of "Empire," the millions of square miles we own, and the millions of starving "niggers" we rule. Glorious! To think of "India's coral strand" where millions of people die of actual starvation and plenty of corn in the land. Did you read of the poor wretches who were going to eat their dead child, and then thought better of it and drowned themselves in a well. Ah, if they had only loved Jesus! Well, more missionaries brethren. Never mind that the heathen don't want them. That is the sinfulness of their hearts. We want them. They open up trade, and when they get hurt or killed, we can always get a trading concession, or even a province in exchange, if we have only a few ironclads and hell-belchers to back us up. Isn't it lovely? Think of the poor Chinese, who up to now have had nothing but Confucius who told them to love their friends and do justice to their enemies. But we go one better than that. Did not Jesus say "Love your enemies; love even those who persecute you." And we are giving the Chinese a test lesson in that line they will remember for generations. Flaming villages, looted houses, slaughtered peasants, ravished women—Christ! Well it's a good job you are dead. Because if you weren't, you'd not only have to be responsible for all this, but you'd have to conclude an alliance, offensive and defensive—mostly offensive—with Kaiser Billy and his pals, and that would not be nice, would it?

How these kings do love their peoples? Here's the Kaiser keeps a couple of regiments of soldiers handy, besides the "d's" and spies and all the other crawling vermin, and told his guards the other day they must be ready to shoot his good citizens of Berlin, even if their fathers and mothers and wives were amongst them. And there's Tzar Nicholas—the apostle of "peace" (and Manchurian massacres), transporting, knouting, imprisoning, conscripting and killing his students and workers, because they want a little of the elementary liberties of life.

Liberty—that blessed word! Thank God we are not as those Russians are. And an Irish paper suppressed the other day because it made some remarks about King Teddy's baccharat and devotion to the other sex. But except in Ireland, India, South Africa and a few other places they don't do it so brutally under English rule. The law of libel reaches far, and one hasn't to get outside the truth to get into its clutches, as the *Morning Leader* found out not long ago. But just think of that letter of Arthur Chamberlain to his Irish Works Manager. Get an Irish M.P. or so to visit the works; tell them if we don't get the Government orders the works will close and put hundreds out of work; if you show them the workpeoples' houses, "show one with an Irish family living in it; don't go outside the truth but put forward the truths most conducive to our interests, &c." Ah! artful Arthur. And then we are told to believe he is innocent as a sucking dove, poor chap. And Joe even more so. Yes they are honorable men, all honorable men! "Lampost!" did you say. "Pikehead!" Tush, those things have gone out of fashion now. We are much more respectable. "Law 'n Order" is our watchword. Things are bad as you say; but have we not got municipal baths, and is not Sidney Webb on the London County Council? Not that I'm sure about those baths. They say in Tokyo, Japan, there are 800 public baths, besides innumerable private ones. But the Japs are only just getting civilised. When they are so, they won't have so much time to waste in washing themselves.

After all, bodily grime isn't the worst; it's the other kind that's hardest to wash off. And there's a devil of a lot to wash off, I can tell you. And the sun never sets on our Empire. And there's a good many places where it never rises, worth speaking of; or it is sorry if it does. And the race that beat the Armada and lopped off King Charles' head is the tamest of asses that ever licked a bone flung by royalty or plutocracy.

Ah well! there is one ray of hope in the world. If 10,000 Boers—who are also men can keep 250,000 servile tools and their arrogant lash holders at bay, what may not a minority of freeminded men do in the future, when visibly fighting for the rights of all who labour and suffer.

But whoever made the world as it is, is like a cook who made a pudding three parts baking powder; only in this case the ingredient is—stupidity. Let us hope it is like the measles, and we shall grow out of it as we get older.

REDCAP.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

It is very evident that Spanish workers have a supreme contempt for Parliament and parliamentarians, to judge at least from the result of the late Socialist electoral campaign. Comrade Marmol sends us the following note taken from the *Express* of Liege, which speaks for itself:

"Barcelona, May 24th. As I foresaw, the result of the poll of Sunday published yesterday throughout Spain, points to a complete disaster to the Labour Party which has little or no backing in this country, unless it be at Bilbao, where its leader, Iglesias, blackballed for twenty years, again presented himself as a candidate. The Government, desirous of seeing him elected did not contest his nomination. At the last moment, however, an opponent appeared in the person of M. Lubiria, who belonged to the district and is an anti-ministerialist. He received 5,000 votes against 2,200 given to Iglesias. The leaders of the Labour Party are completely discouraged. At Barcelona, the industrial centre of Spain the workers abstain from voting. The Socialist candidates only secured some dozen votes. In other districts for which they stood they figured at the bottom of the lists with absurd returns."

Commenting on the above Marmol writes: "This proves how all-powerful the libertarian movement is in Spain just now, and how weak authoritarian Socialism. The disaster to the Labour Party as shown by the returns now to hand is even worse than stated in the previous telegram. At Logrono the Socialist candidate only received seven votes! Now the committee of the party in that town comprises a president, two vice-presidents, a treasurer and two secretaries—total, six. The Socialist Party in Logrono therefore possesses six generals and one soldier—what an army! On the other hand the *Revista Blanca* announces that the Federation of the Societies of Resistance, composed of anti-parliamentarian and Anarchist elements, has increased during the last few weeks prodigiously. It had 52,000 members before the late general strike at Barcelona, and must now have 80,000 or more, since members are joining daily. Well done, comrades!"

From Barcelona we learn that another fighter in the shape of a new weekly paper "defending the Workers' Cause" makes its appearance on July 1st. We call our readers attention to the request of its promoters for material and sympathy; they write: "You know that we are working here under very hard circumstances, not only financial but owing to government oppression which is always trying to put a stop to our work. But we do not lack of good will and faith in our cause and are ready to undergo all sorts of sacrifices for the good of it. Please send us all sorts of communication in any language, Italian, French, English, or Spanish." Teresa Claramunt the well-known propagandist, Montenegro, Bonafulla, and others are giving their active assistance to the new venture, which we fraternally endorse. We cannot have too many speakers or papers in these days to voice the protest against tyranny and coercion whose growing strength governments would so gladly smother into silence. The address of our youngest contemporary, *El Productor*, will be: Calle Seneca 21-122o, Barcelona.

Sooner or later the despotic methods of reactionary governments rebound upon themselves. England excepted, at this moment throughout Europe advanced political parties are striving for a basis of union. In Italy the Radicals and Socialists have joined forces in support of a ministry which promises what it calls legislation for the people. In France two weeks since we note a convention of the Radical and Radical-Socialist parties under the presidency of Goblet, Brisson and Leon Bourgeois for the purpose of forming an alliance with the Socialist Party the better to fight those modern Gorgons: Clericalism and Militarism. In all such efforts of political bodies to sink mutual differences and make common cause against the slowly tightening grip of Power there is a strong gleam of hope. It shows that on every side where two or three advanced thinkers are gathered together they have had borne in upon them the growing conviction that the first quarter of this century is likely to see an overwhelming development of the two dread scourges of modern times—Clericalism and Militarism; also that it behoves men and women who value liberty of person and conscience to be up and doing. None are so blind as the Person who sits in Darkness, as Mark Twain aptly labels the inert and deluded masses upon whose shoulders kings and capitalists serenely sit; the scales must be torn from their eyes, they must be goaded while yet there is time into action, they must be forced into facing the situation as it is and not as to them it seems to be. "Better," runs a north country saying, "the greet of a bairn than the tears of bearded men"—better, therefore, the angry scowls and brickbats of newly awakened Stupidity than the blood that will stream when our children, now at play in the street awake as workers to find that their fathers have allowed their last liberties to be filched from them. It is easy to say that so dismal a prospect is one purely of the imagination, that in "these democratic days" it cannot happen. Prophets of evil, we know, are ever at a discount. Noah, according to the Hebrew tale, built his ark and foretold the coming deluge a year in advance, but his neighbours did not cease from dancing even to mend the family umbrella. Suggest such a possibility as an invasion of England; hint, never so humbly, that there is hardly a fort or by-road on the rim or in the heart of this water-tight island that is not being specifically noted on the war maps of certain foreign Intelligence Departments, and the retort is a euphemistic "t'aint so!" What? a possibility of prison camps for *British* women and babies? Our butchers and bakers and candlestick-makers looted! our farms and wheatfields burnt! our cattle lifted, our women tortured and butchered like their gentle, helpless sisters in China! Rubbish! China and South Africa any way are not England. When the humane European soldier *does* get into England there will be no looting; he will not prod his bayonet into the fat paunch of the first shopkeeper he (for appearance's sake) knocks down, nor into the lean ribs of the worker he hires at 10d. an hour (Union wages) to carry his water bottle;—"On, comrades," we hear him say, "on to the nearest grog shop, we would drink to the glory of England!" In the farms he will be found, not kissing the women, but helpfully winding their wool, milking the placid cow, or tucking up the babies in bed after they have

lisped their prayers. And he will pay for everything. War may be war everywhere else, but its characteristics once transplanted to British soil are certain, according apparently to the idea of most of those who sit in Darkness, to undergo a radical change. It may seem a grim wish, but for ourselves we hope no such change will occur. Continual peace and prosperity at times work as much havoc in the temperament of nations as of men. We believe in the strong humanitarian instincts that underlie the British character, we remember the oldtime love of liberty and fair play that once was the honour of the nation, but to-day England is surfeited with wealth and the swinish indolence bred of self-indulgence, and noting this it seems to us that the horrors of an internal war as ruthless in its operations as the combined action of Europe in China has been and of England in the Transvaal, will alone bring home to the people the depth of their cruelty in respect to these devastated countries, and of their moral cowardice in endeavouring to smother not only the truth as to the carnage in which they themselves have shared, but every voice raised in sympathy or protest against oppression where-soever rampant. England, who says she fears no invader, to-day cringes so low at the foot of the Russian Government that not so much as by one word from political leader or representative journal dare she reproach that government for its inhumanity to the students and workmen. A nation whose chosen leaders remain dumb in the face of injustice, a nation which would rather have the right of free speech torn from it than listen to one word of dissent from the minority, is ripe, not for progress but disaster. As regards Clericalism and Militarism, however, the claws of these twin harpies have already struck so deeply into the vitals of continental Europe that the blindest must in some measure have noted the signs of their approach. We know that conscription is threatened at home. The Tory papers, Primrose Leaguers and Imperialists tell us that the mothers of England will not weep but exult when their sons are forced (not invited, mind you) to wear khaki. Wait; after an invasion of England and they have seen for themselves what their boy looks like with his head ripped open or a ball in his heart they will perhaps not want any more Mafeking or Conscription business either at home or abroad. As for Clericalism, the vampire that once permitted a roost to suck out the very life blood of liberty, no need to look back further than the past decade to see the rapidity with which it is winning in its patient, determined struggle after power. Clericalism is no longer satisfied to dominate just one or two countries, it intends to rule the World, and to-day as ever an armed force is its best pioneer to Victory. Side by side with Militarism, Clericalism sweeps upon us. Behind every soldier stands the priest. As armies increase, so does the Black Brotherhood. On every side we see the effects of this persistent disastrous coalition between brute force and superstition. Even little Holland, the bulwark once of liberty and Protestantism, the country that for eighty odd years fought to the death against the power of Spanish Clericalism, even Holland has now succumbed and again it is the Clerical party that controls its State affairs. Is England to escape? No. Here, as elsewhere the power of the Church steadily increases; with the press it has formed "public opinion" on the massacres in China and the devastation in South Africa. And while abroad the workers, fully alive to the danger of even a feint of submission before the onward march of this ambitious host, are marshalling their ranks in order of battle, here at home we have only brother Kensit to flourish a silk hat in the face, not of the bishop, but of his mitre.

MEETINGS:

Trafalgar Square Demonstration against the outrages of the Russian Government on Students and Workers.

After twenty years unbridled license of a Yellow Press bought by Rhodesian mine-grabbers and a reactionary ministry directed by Chamberlain, the embodiment *per se* of oppression and dishonesty, the advanced section of Socialist and revolutionary London has shaken off its slumber and awakened. It was time, because the Stock Exchange gamblers, those patented thieves who are ordinarily only tolerated in actual society as some species of social vermin, thinking they could completely master our national life had made a point of attacking or wrecking every popular meeting protesting against the ministerial policy of undermining the liberties of England and subjugating as well as devastating a free country and people. And we hope that once awakened the Socialists and revolutionists of London will go further, and sooner or later crush the stronghold of this ruthless brood, be it the Stock Exchange, the Yellow Press lairs, or Westminster. We base our hope on the three splendid and enthusiastic meetings held in London during the month of June. The first of these, held on June 2nd in Trafalgar Square, was organised by all shades of Socialist and Trade Unionist opinion to express the sympathy of English workers with the victims of Russian tyranny and cruelty. Among the speakers were Ben Cooper, L.C.C., W. J. Barwick S.D., Tom Chambers, C. Charrington (Fabian), S. Mainwaring, H. Quelch S.D.F., Ben Tillet, J. Hunter Watts, etc., and F. Volkovsky (a Russian political refugee who was seven years interned in the fortress of Sts. Peter & Paul and later escaped from exile in Siberia); the last gave an account of the recent governmental outrages against Russian students and workers, while our comrade Kropotkin, who was unable to be present, sent the following eloquent letter which was read by comrade Turner and was received with great enthusiasm:

"FRIENDS, We are here to protest against the abominable treatment of students and working men in Russia by their Government.

From all the main cities of Russia the same news has been coming lately, and is coming still. Peaceful unarmed crowds of students, men and women, are charged by the Cossacks. With their lead-weighted horsewhips the Cossacks cut open the faces, or break the skulls of men and women alike. At St. Petersburg—on one single day, the 17th of March—they have actually killed with their whips seven men, and wounded seventy-five men and thirty-two women.

At the same time, the workmen are surrounded by troops in their suburbs. They are provoked, and as soon as they come together, or attempt to hold a meeting they are shot down. "The hospitals are full with wounded working men"—these are the very words of the Reuter telegram which you saw in the papers on the 28th of May. And the prisons of St. Petersburg are literally overcrowded with people arrested.

And what was the cause of this massacre? Peaceful meetings with a view of a strike at the Steel works of the Crown, near St. Petersburg, so peaceful that the *Standard* and the *Times* make a special mention of the quiet attitude of the workers and the absence of any act of violence.

To terrorise the workers into absolute submission to the cotton and iron lords; to loose upon them the "White Terror"—this is the watchword of the Russian Government, which Gladstone, if he were alive, would have branded with the name of *KING KNOUT*.

My friend, Volkovsky, will tell you what were the grievances of the students after a twenty years' Police management of the Universities. And you know how the peaceful expression of their grievances was repressed by the Czar, by sending over 200 students to become soldiers.

Not to perform in the Army a duty which is imposed upon all Russian citizens, but as a special personal punishment.

Not in accordance with the law of the country, which regulates who is exempted from military service and for how many years, for such reasons as being, for instance, the only son in a family, but in violation of a law which is a fundamental law of the country.

A Punishment, assisted by packed and secret Courts, acting in absolute secrecy; a punishment which brands the young man as he enters the Army as a criminal who must be treated and ill-treated in the ranks as a felon, provoked by every brute of an officer, and shot at the slightest breach of discipline.

Two students thus sent to the Army have already been shot at Kieff; others are already Court-martialed, and will be shot if an end is not put by the clamour of all freedom loving nations to the misdeeds of the young despot.

As to the Russian working men, forty years ago they were slaves: slaves of the landlord, of the factory owner, of the last police official.

But now they are slaves no more. They have turned the last forty years to good account. The great number have learned to read, and they have learned all about the struggles of the West European and American working men for Justice and Liberty. Most of them are sick of a twelve hours' labour day, of confinement in the factory barracks under the truck system, of the miserable pay they get for their hard work. And they have started amongst themselves in nearly every industrial centre their labour unions.

Secret and rudimentary unions, of course, like the early unions of fifty years ago in this country—because all unions and meetings in Russia are treated as a conspiracy. But even these incipient unions prove to be strong enough to permit the working men winning in 1895 their strikes at St. Petersburg and elsewhere, and to compel the Government to pass an eleven hour's labour day.

The Russian Government has done all in its power to prevent the most elementary ideas of freedom from spreading amongst the working men. Those of us who tried thirty years ago to do something in this direction, and those of the workers who began to think and to speak about Capitalist oppression were arrested, kept in the dungeons of the fortress, sent by the hundred to Siberia.

A whole generation was wiped off from life in this way. The Press was put under the most rigorous censorship; to comment on the labour movement in Europe was forbidden. The factories were inundated with police spies, and hundreds of working men were summarily arrested every year, and sent back to their villages under strict police supervision, or transported to Siberia without any sort of judgment.

But the labour movement in Europe and America is too powerful a factor in human life to be kept out of the knowledge of the Russian workers. The middle class Press itself contributed to acquaint them with the battles fought and the victories won by the working men in Western Europe and the States.

With what incidents, indeed, would they have relieved the desperate dullness of their papers, if it were not with reports of Pittsburg and Dock Labourers' Strikes, with May Day Demonstrations, with Socialistic elections in Germany, and with the Anarchists in France? Surely not with the doings of the Kings—which are so insignificant—or the usual reports, that "Nothing was done during this Session" of the Parliaments!

All that was progressive in the life of the civilised world for the last thirty years was centered round the labour movement. And the Russian middle class Press—nay, even the official Press itself—by continually speaking with horror of strikes, of Trade Union Congresses, of Socialist and Anarchist agitation, spread widely and broadly in Russia the notion of what was going on amongst the workers in Europe. It is your spirit, working men of England and the World altogether, your struggles and your ideals which inspire now the working men of Russia.

They are your brothers in body and spirit, fighting under your red banner for Justice and Liberty.

And then the Russian students and the educated youth altogether have helped in spreading amongst our workmen the hopes and the aspirations of their Western brothers and sisters.

Notwithstanding the vigilance of the Police, in the face of all prosecutions, notwithstanding the thousands of arrests which were made every year, and the hundreds which were sent every year into exile, they aided the working men in circulating information about the Western labour struggles, in spreading the love of Liberty and the hope of final success.

A Labour movement spread broad and wide in the industrial centres of Russia. From Poland it gained West Russia, then the capitals, St. Petersburg and Moscow, and finally the Eastern and Southern Industrial centres.

And when, two months ago, Nicolas II. took the extravagantly foolish measure of punishing all students involved in University disturbances by sending them to the Army—in violation of the laws of the country—and when the students made their demonstrations in the open thoroughfares of all University cities—the working men joined them in their protests.

This was the beginning of an organised, planned-beforehand massacre of the workers. A massacre thoughtfully planned by a clever hand in order to terrorise the working man into full submission.

The autocrat and his councillors have understood the danger which menaced their unlimited power if the working men of the great cities joined hands with the educated classes. It would have been the end of autocracy, and they decreed—White Terror.

On March 17th, when the students made a demonstration in the centre of St. Petersburg, the working men were going to join them.

Consequently, since the early hours of the morning the suburbs had been flooded with troops. No workers were allowed to enter the central parts of the city, and when groups of working men began to be formed the troops were let loose upon them. While the Cossacks killed the students with their leadweighted horsewhips, the workers were killed by rifle shots.

The same was repeated at Moscow, at Kharkoff, and in several other towns.

And when the workers of the Crown Steel Works near St. Petersburg, arose, on May 18th, claiming Justice for their arrested brothers, and menaced to strike unless Justice be done, a new well planned massacre took place. How many were killed no one knows, but the fact is this: "The hospitals are full with wounded workers," and the prisons are full and overflowed with arrested workers and their sympathisers of all classes.

It is to you, the workers and the organized Trade Unions of Great Britain, that we, Russian refugees in London, have decided to appeal.

It is your brothers who are massacred by the satrapes of the Russian autocrat.

Let your mighty voice be heard all over the world. Brand the assassins on the face. And tell to Young Russia that the day she rises against the Czar-Knout—as Young Italy rose one day against King Bomba—you will be with her, as you were with Young Italy—with the people against the assassins."

Shoreditch Town Hall and South Place Institute.

No less enthusiastic than the Trafalgar Square demonstration were the meetings given the French delegates at Shoreditch Town Hall on June 16th and South Place Institute on June 21. The Manifesto of our French comrades and the deep political and social significance it embodies forms our article on the front page. Few of the delegates had been able to remain for the final meeting, but Albert Henri (Bronze Workers Union) and two others were on the platform and spoke, being ably supported by Louise Michel, Marmol, A. St. John, L. Withington, S. Mainwaring, H. Kelly, E. Leggatt, G. Lotz and others. On each of the three occasions referred to the war in South Africa inevitably gave the tone to the speeches, and every word of sympathy for the Boers aroused loud cheers.

OUR PRESENT PERILS.

A WORD TO ALL PARTIES.

For years past Socialists and Anarchists have been in the habit of prophesying to the workers the inevitable outcome of the capitalist control of the means of production. It has always been said that that control meant not only keeping us in the grip of the wage system, but also a continuous threat against the few dearly bought liberties that remain to us. We Anarchists have gone further and have contended, what of course is an indisputable fact, that the transference of capitalist monopoly to municipal control would not insure that liberty for us all which the full expression of varying ideas and activities must naturally claim. We have no longer any need to prophesy. The peril is with us now face to face. In the first place take the press. Has it not been said over and over again that the capitalist control of the press was a danger to the country in general and the workers in particular? Well, it has succeeded in poisoning, literally poisoning, the minds of the majority of the people till the English nation, as a nation, is unrecognisable to those who have known her in the past. She has behaved

like some frenzied wretch from whom all sanity and decency have departed. And what has done more to produce this effect than the lies, the calumnies, the suppression of truth that has for years been the work of the foul, vampire press of to-day? Obviously there is no need to pass laws against the freedom of the press when it is almost entirely in the hands of the enemies of the people.

In the second place, it would be well for Liberals, Radicals, Socialists and others to note that Queen's Hall is lost to them all, at any rate for meetings on burning questions. And they will find this boycott increasing rather than diminishing, as Miss Hobhouse found at Oxford, as well as in London. So we may say again, no need to pass a law restricting the right of public meeting, when the most desirable meeting places are in the hands of our opponents, or when organised gangs, paid by the capitalists, can suppress "free speech" without the aid of the police.

Here is the situation, and we as Anarchists have a right to say a word on the moral of it. Seven years ago when the May day demonstration held by Anarchists was brutally attacked and broken up by Scotland Yard, with the help of some unofficial roughs, there was no outcry against this outrage either by Liberals, Radicals, or Democrats. Later on when Anarchist clubs were raided, when halls were closed against us, when extradition went on apace, when Bourtzev was sentenced, contemptible indeed was the attitude of these parties. To-day it is you Liberals, Radicals, Democrats who are the "Anarchists" in the eyes of the Government. To-day it is you who feel the injustice of a Chamberlain Government, of a capitalist press, of the tyranny of the majority. And you cry out. You ask for the help of those who still love the liberties that have made England's name a tradition. But in reality you do not know what true liberty means. You speak in her sacred name but your "liberty" is adulterated with fifty per cent. of coercion. You only want as much of it as suits your own purpose. And that stupid, narrow-minded policy has landed you where you are. For learn this: *He who will not fight for the liberties of others will surely endanger his own.*

And so it has been. It is pitiable to see you outside the pale of respectability, but we are afraid it will not be for long. You are fighting in a grand cause, one that we have at heart perhaps, more than you. It will win we feel sure. But, after that, the greatest cause of all, the emancipation of mankind from the thralldom of capitalism, will remain to be won. But by that time you will again be within the pale of respectability. You will then be members of Parliament, of County Councils, of Borough Councils and School Boards. And when we Anarchists ask you, as we may have to do, for the use of the Town Halls, Trafalgar Square or the Parks to call meetings of protest against you, for having forgotten the rights and liberties of the poor disinherited ones who look who looked to you for Justice, we shall be refused because our language will be "too strong," as the *Daily News* said of your speeches at Queens' Hall. Let us hope before that time comes your present experience will have induced you to study the principles of Anarchist Communism, which extends the blessing of equal liberty and well being to each and all.

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