

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM

VOL. XV.—No. 162,

NOVEMBER, 1901.

MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

A

Mass Meeting

WILL BE HELD ON

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 12, AT 8 P. M.,

at the

WORKINGMEN'S CLUB & INSTITUTE,

(CLERKENWELL ROAD, NEXT TO HOLBORN TOWN HALL.)

To Commemorate the Legal Murder of the

CHICAGO ANARCHISTS,

and to protest against the

BARBAROUS EXTERMINATION

of Boer Men, Women and Children in South Africa.

Speakers:

S. MAINWARING, P. KROPOTKIN,
E. MALATESTA, F. KITZ, LOUISE MICHEL,
WITHINGTON, KAPLAN, KELLY and others.

Waldheim.

[The figure on the pedestal over the grave of the Chicago martyrs is a Warrior Woman dropping with her left hand a crown upon a man, just past his agony, and with her right drawing a dagger from her bosom.]

Light upon Waldheim! and the earth is gray,
A bitter wind is driving from the north;
The stone is cold, and strange, cold whispers say:
"What do ye here with death? Go forth! go forth!"

Is this thy word, O Mother with stern eyes—
Crowning thy dead with stone-caressing touch?
May we not weep o'er him that martyred lies,
Killed in our name for that he loved us much?

May we not linger till the day is broad,
Nay, none are stirring in this stinging dawn,—
None but poor wretches that make moan to God;
What use are these, O Thou with dagger drawn?

"Go forth, go forth! Stand not to weep for these,
Till, weakened with your weeping, like the snow
Ye melt, dissolving in a coward peace!
Light upon Waldheim! Brother let us go!"

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

THE CHICAGO MARTYRS.

On the 11th of November, 1887, five of our comrades in Chicago were judicially murdered, three others having been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Some one had thrown a bomb into the ranks of the armed police who were preparing to fire on a peaceable meeting; and for this eight innocent men were

arrested, tried and condemned practically at the bidding of the American capitalists whose infamies had been exposed by our martyred comrades. Governor Altgeld has proved their innocence, and the workers now know that they were murdered to satisfy capitalistic vengeance and to crush the Socialist movement in America. Needless to say, the American press never howled for the execution of the *legal* assassins in this case as they lately howled for the blood of Czolgosz. Its feelings, there as here, are governed by the principle of what pays best.

Such is "Justice" in America. Is it any better here?

We ask you to seriously consider this question, for the English people today stand charged with the blackest crime that could be preferred against a nation—the deliberate extermination of a freedom-loving people by the monstrous barbarity of warring on women and children. We have no patience to quote figures, analyse returns and work out percentages of abnormal death rates. We are sick of the figures; but we know the facts, and those facts must be hurled at the English people till they awaken from their cowardly apathy and demand once for all the cessation of British atrocities in South Africa.

For this reason, we have decided to make the occasion of the Chicago Commemoration this year an opportunity for the strongest possible expression of hatred and disgust of the government that is responsible for these wholesale murders of women and children.

But it is not enough to condemn the government. All governments stand condemned in the light of reason and justice as monstrous iniquities, no matter what fine names they may give themselves. It is the conscience of the nation that has to be roused if any good results are to follow. And this must be done even at the eleventh hour.

For this reason we call upon all friends who have the smallest spark of justice and humanity left, to be up and doing, to help us and any others to rouse the wrath of the people against the scoundrels in high places beside whom the ordinary murderer is a decent citizen, and the ordinary thief an honest man.

Fellow-workers, you have not realised your responsibilities over this war. Nay, you have deliberately shunned them. If Chamberlain, Milner, and Rhodes have plotted for the war; if Salisbury, Balfour, and Brodrick have backed them up, you also have lent them your support. It would be useless to deny it; the corpses of these murdered ones are in evidence against you. If you had raised your voices at the critical moment, in place of those hells—the concentration camps—there would have been to-day the happy homes of a peaceful and industrious people that the British army—your brothers—has destroyed. And for what? For the enrichment of the most notorious gang of international robbers the world has yet been cursed with. Yes, friends, the Beits, Wernhers, Ecksteins, Rothschilds, and the rest, are the agents in advance of this cut-throat imperialist government, this administration of jackals and hyenas, scourging you, blind as you are, into still deeper misery and slavery, revelling in the ruins it has created in South Africa, whilst Chamberlain rubs his hands with delight over the 50 per cent. profit his firms are making out of the war.

This is the moral condition of England at the beginning of the 20th Century!

To end the infamies of Imperialism there is but one thing to be done—the working people of England must speak the word that shall end this war. There is no hope for the "upper" classes who are so debased by wealth and luxury as to be blind to the injustice and suffering of the war, as later on they will be blind and deaf to your condition when, unemployed, you will be walking the streets in search of work. There is no hope for the fawning and crawling priests who, whilst living on the best,

flatter and cajole the ruling classes, and hover like a dark and noisome vapour between the people and the light. They glorify torture today as they glorified it three hundred years ago; and if by any chance a few raise their voices on behalf of humanity the world stares in astonishment.

Lastly, what hope have you for the politicians? Are not their lies and tricks proverbial? Even at this very moment when we are disgraced in the eyes of the world, can you not see their miserable ambitions fermenting, their wire-pulling in full swing, while they formulate fresh schemes to deceive you, the people, and promise new acts which never act and new reforms that never reform? If we believed in hell we should say that hell was the place for these Judases—Asquith, Chamberlain—with their abominable intrigues and ambitions. But as it is we ask you, fellow workers, to turn your backs on their tomfooleries and rely on yourselves to have justice done.

For remember women and children are "dying like flies" in those camps, for which we are responsible, and since no one else will do it, we the Anarchists of London call on you to lend all the support in your power, to attend our meeting, to rouse your fellows and to insist that these murders shall cease.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

The annual Congress of the Spanish Federation of the Societies of Resistance was held on Oct. 13, 14 and 15, under animated circumstances. The masons and other workers in the building trade were on strike for the purpose of gaining an eight-hour day, and all the other trades threatened to come out on a general strike by way of assistance; the fishermen of Galicia, toilers of the sea, came to actual battle with the police and soldiers. The workers of Seville organised a general strike there, caused a complete cessation of labor and traffic, and, resisting the troops heroically, forced the government to proclaim a state of siege. In anticipation of these events, the Congress sanctioned a general strike throughout Spain if justice was refused. As a consequence of this attitude the masters of Barcelona accorded an eight-hour day to their workmen, the Duke of Veraguas, Minister of the Marine, went himself to Galicia to treat with the fishermen, and the Military Governor of Seville obliged the owners of the "Cartuja" factory to cancel the lockout which had been the original cause of the general strike in other trades. This, however, did not prevent the Andalusian, Catalanian and Galician authorities from undertaking an iniquitous crusade against the most active of our comrades, several of whom were imprisoned. Let us hope that, through the energy of their fellow comrades, they may soon be released. The Congress broke up after having counselled determined resistance to Capitalism and political parties, and after most of the delegates present, and especially those of Catalonia and Andalusia, had praised the spirit of Anarchism. Our Spanish comrades keep to their project of soon forcing on the social revolution by means of a general strike throughout the entire country. If only they could find active imitators in other parts of the world!

Let us note the appearance of a voluminous work, *The Militant Proletariat: Memoirs of an Internationalist*, from the pen of our excellent comrade Anselmo Lorenzo, the veteran revolutionary Spaniard and comrade of Bakunin, Fanelli, Jung and so many other founders of the International. Lorenzo, who has taken part in every struggle of the Spanish militant proletariat, has written so interesting and full an account of these matters that his book has great documental value, not alone as a study of the Spanish movement, but of that in all countries. We would welcome an early translation of this work into English.

T. del M.

There is a phase of the Anarchist movement in Italy which is a little sad, seeing how united a front the comrades there once showed to that most insidious enemy of true freedom—Parliamentarianism. Comrades may remember the brave battle that the two papers, *L'Agitazione* of Ancona and *L'Avvenire Sociale* of Messina, once fought for Anarchism, whole files of each being suppressed again and again, or when their editors were not in prison appearing scarred with more or less blank spaces, sometimes blank sheets, where copy had been deleted by the Press Censor. *L'Agitazione*, weary of the struggle, removed to Rome, where all trouble suddenly ceased. So did the bright, strong articles on Anarchism. *L'Agitazione* is now a very correct paper indeed, but no longer an Anarchist paper, though it calls itself such. It is now a paper with political leanings, as is also *L'Avvenire*, and the press censor lets them alone. Whatever they may call their political platform, or whatever it may develop into, we can only say of it what a sagacious American once said: that all such are like railway-car platforms, things to get in by but not to stand on; for no man of true Anarchist ideals or, for the matter of that, of any ideal, can fail to drop these once he is himself a member or assists others to become members of parliaments, composed as they are today. The old gatherings akin to the Anglo-Saxon *Wittan-agemote*, when the elders sat under the trees and did the best that in them lay for the good of the people, were one thing; the parliamentary procedure of today, no matter where or in what form held, when it is the charlatan only who wins the vote and the trickster who can keep a place, where each does the best for himself with no thought for land or people, is another and a different thing. How Anarchists knowing this

can hope to better the condition of their fellows by entering parliament or helping others to do so, is beyond understanding. Take, for example, the English House of Commons. Who forgets the thrill of triumph that sent the blood quickening through the pulses of the British Workingman when the first Labor Representative took his seat in Westminster? At last the workers would get their rights; at last the "Lords" would be humbled, perhaps fall; at last the needs of the Common People would be honestly represented and satisfied. Well, what have they done, these labor representatives, since the hour they were borne into parliament amid the cheers of their fellowworkers? What have they done? They know at heart the dismal failure of their plans and hopes, but dare not face it. They know that a man, most of all a workingman, who enters the House looking to lead the way to reforms, is a fool, but they lack the courage to admit it. So they sit there and make neat little speeches, as neat as a lord's, where a spade is not a spade but anything else you like to call it, where there is punctilious attention to the rounding of periods and platitudes, where the parliamentary trickster *nolens volens* shows his cloven hoof, where all is polite and polished, prim as a bishop's apron and just as useless. Where are the promised reforms—where has the advent of labor representatives helped the laborers? Michael Davitt wiped away the memory of many a mistake when, the other day, he stood up manfully and left the House for good sooner than mingle longer with the tide of unscrupulous chicanery and hypocrisy that he felt he could never stem; but the labor members sit on, ridiculed in private by all parties if welcomed by the Tory, one of whose eminent men once said that the best way to kill Socialism was to admit Socialists, for the very atmosphere of the House sterilised Utopian ideas and made their propounders as meek as lambs and meeker. Just so. The company of knaves makes knaves. No man who enters the British House of Commons, any more than an American senator in Congress, can remain true to himself. He has to go with the rest or quit, has to keep the minutest rule of the House—or fall; the speech that breathes hot from the heart must never be heard, words spoken under the just resentment of wrongs must be silenced, the glow of noble ideals must never be voiced, speech that is human—that asks for the masses the rights and justice denied by wrong conditions—that kind of speech is never listened to, except in the sense that what goes in at one ear goes out at the other. Instead, there is dull invective and passionless criticism, drivel, cant and humbug—but not one throb of humanity nor one desire for truth. No legislative chamber under the social conditions of today can think for the people or work for the people; it is each for himself and the Party—that blind idiot The People can go to the devil—until election time. And it goes.

This is a digression. But the fact remains that the Anarchists in Italy appear not unwilling to propagate Parliamentarianism; and the tendency, unless it be that government persecution has broken their once defiant spirit, is difficult to understand. Certain it is that Italian Anarchism like its Neapolitan ice cream is mixed, and that some of the once hottest rebels have laid down their arms to curry favor with the powers that be. *No surrender* seems to us best at all times, for the days are not yet when any government will grant peace with honor to Anarchists.

Our comrades in France are still much exercised over the fate of Tailhade and Grandidier, who were recently condemned, the first to one year's imprisonment and a fine of £40, and the latter to six months' imprisonment, for respectively writing and publishing an article denouncing the Tsar in *Le Liberaire* during the latter's visit to France. It may not be wise to denounce a despot to his face, but one heartily applauds the spirit that prompts a courageous man to do it; and every arbitrary act of retaliation but helps to widen the breach between authority and freedom.

Thus our comrades in America write that the wholesale arrests of Emma Goldman and her innocent friends, their unjust retention in jail and vilification by a rabid and lying press, has done more in a few weeks for the cause of liberty and Anarchism in the States than the spoken and written propaganda of the past fourteen years. Upon quitting prison they have resumed work in an atmosphere as full of hope and energy as, until their incarceration, it had been apathetic. While upon this subject, we would note that Czolgosz died in Auburn prison on Oct. 29th, and that even the press that gloated over his execution was sorrowfully compelled to admit he died like a brave man. It is also a fact, worthy in itself to note, that no official in New York State—even in the case of a so-called assassin—has the courage to send the condemned man to his grave. In every case of death by electrocution, though the prison officials prepare the death apparatus, it is the hand of an unknown convict (bribed by the promise of a shortened sentence) which presses the death-dealing button. Why is this? Does it imply a latent conviction that death sentences are unjust and illegal, or that to kill a man "by law" is work fit only for those who rank in the official mind as the scum of the earth?

To return to France, the next few days will decide the question of the miners' general strike. Each side seems prepared for the struggle but desirous of deferring the critical moment. The men up till now have shown adherence to the original plan

to come out as one; as the result of the recent referendum 38,055 votes stood for a general strike and 9,026 against. What mischief the leaders with political leanings may contrive to make of the present united front of the men, is of course uncertain. In Italy, in '98, it was the Socialists who stepped in and prevented the spread of the strike that ended in the massacre at Milan; but for them that massacre might never have been. On its side, the government at the request of the mineowners is pouring police and troops into the disturbed districts; but local journals siding with the men in their demand for an eight-hour day and a minimum wage are helping with sound advice, viz.: never to parade in masses, as such form too good a target for bullets, but if there has to be fighting to do it in small parties, taking especial advantage of cover afforded by the woods, etc.

But Waldeck has forgotten one thing, remarks one paper, "he may be counting too much on the simplicity of his soldiers; the bullets distributed to them for firing upon their brothers in misery might possibly be turned upon other people! Every contingency has been foreseen, except this."

AMERICAN OPINION ON McKINLEY'S ASSASSINATION.

We reprint below some extracts from the American press (published in No. 13 of the "Literary Digest") which are interesting, as showing how political parties in that country love one another—much as they do here. Of course a blatant tone of hypocritical grief is the predominant note, with the usual display of lust for Anarchist blood—which is probably sincere. Each side accuses the other of being responsible for the deed of Czolgosz; but in one or two instances a clearer insight into cause and effect is apparent, notably in the case of the Philadelphia "North American" and the Pittsburg "Post."

Chicago "Inter Ocean" (Rep.):

"That Czolgosz was egged on to his crime not only by professed Anarchists, but also by the newspapers that have continually depicted the President as a creature too contemptible to deserve the respect of a mongrel dog, is an unquestionable truth."

Philadelphia "Inquirer" (Rep.):

"Day after day McKinley has been made the victim of the most atrocious cartoons and editorial attack. The country has prospered, but because some vicious publisher had axes of his own to grind, he has turned his columns into thunderbolts of falsehoods. It is easy for sensational newspapers to gather around them a certain following, and in that following are sure to be persons who actually believe that 'yellow' journalism is the height of patriotism and truth. Some poor, miserable brain becomes turned, and then follows crime."

"Character assassination ends in physical assassination."

"It is a wonder that more public men have not fallen victims to the vicious newspapers that are forever denouncing public men as thieves."

The New York "Press" (Rep.):

"We have only to place Leon Czolgosz in the back room of a Chicago beer saloon reading William R. Hearst's newspaper," says "The Press," "and we can place William Hearst at the bar of Erie County beside Leon Czolgosz, there to answer for the murder of William McKinley."

New York "Sun" (Rep.):

"Now that an atrocious Anarchistic assault on the President has been provoked by the teachings of this journalistic school, perhaps these bishops and other clergy will begin to see that their alliance was only courted in order that incendiary journalism might seem to have the sanction of priests of religion. For such journalism from its original ribaldry and coarseness, adopted at first in order to attract the vulgar crowd, has now graduated into a serious and studied propaganda of social revolution."

New York "Journal" (Dem.):

"Is all life hereafter to be lived in a graveyard by Americans and by American journalism, lest when death comes to a public man the severe word, the light word, and the funny picture may be produced in the death-chamber by malice, shedding calculating tears, and shock by inappropriateness there?"

"Suppose Mr. Bryan had been elected and assassinated, as was Mr. McKinley, how would the editorials and cartoons of the Republican press sound and look?"

"All the enemies of the people, of the democratic order—conscious and unconscious—all who reap where others have sown, all the rascals and their organs, and many fools caught by the contagion of an interested or malignant and mendacious uproar are yelling at "The Journal." Let them yell."

"The Independent" (New York) thinks that if American newspapers of every class, "the best and the poorest alike," will learn a lesson from the President's assassination and endeavour to raise their standards higher in the future, that tragedy will not have been altogether in vain. It says:

"In some measure the American newspaper is responsible for a low moral tone, a somewhat vulgar view of life, a cynical attitude toward all idealism, a tendency to violence and lawlessness, and even an increasing criminality, which thoughtful observers have long been noting with sorrow and with shame, as they have watched the development of a people in which, we sincerely believe, are centred the highest hopes for the future of mankind."

Could there be a better time than this, in the hour of national mourning, for all who in any degree share in the moulding of the national mind, to abandon unworthy deeds of the past, and with higher aims, and kindlier hearts, and cleaner thoughts, to set about the work of strengthening in and for the people a moral life that shall be not only in its strong vitality without fear, but also, in its character, without reproach?"

The New York "Staats-Zeitung":

"If the question must be discussed what causes and elements are working into the hands of anarchism, we do not hesitate a moment to denounce the New York 'Sun' and its followers as the most dangerous of these elements. Their nauseating cynicism, their derision of all nobler sentiments, their support of all most corrupted elements, now on this side and now on the other, their continuous performance in villifying workmen on the one hand and their unlimited advocacy of capitalism, based on the principle of 'might is right,' on the other—these are methods of warfare which, allied to calumny, distortion of the truth, aye, even barefaced untruthfulness, breed hatred among the classes, act as irritants, and conjure up blind fury against their own pompous insolence. We are convinced that a single one of these contemptible articles on the problems of labor, as they are to be found frequently in the 'Sun,' does more mischief than all the stuff, thus sharply criticised by the 'Sun,' that other papers are emitting for the benefit of anarchism."

It will also be of interest to quote the views of Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist Presidential candidate of last year. He says:

"I have sympathy for any man who is the victim of such an attack, because I am constitutionally opposed to shedding human blood under any circumstances. But I have no more sympathy for McKinley than I have for the innocent victims who were shot down by the New York militia at Buffalo a few years ago, or the inoffensive miners who were trudging along the highway of Latimer and were riddled with bullets in the name of law and order."

"The talk about suppressing Anarchy is a waste of breath. Where shall the line be drawn and who shall draw it? When it comes to respect for law, the poor, misguided and much-hated Anarchists are models of innocence compared to the great trusts and corporations that trample all law under foot and so manipulate business and industry as to bring suffering, misery and death to thousands, each of which in its own small circle is as great a tragedy as the attempted assassination of the President. . . ."

"As long as society breeds misery, misery will breed assassination. Every now and then the poverty and desperation in the social cellar will explode in assassination at the sumptuous banqueting board on the upper floor. The way, and the only way, to end Anarchy is to quit producing it. Sympathy for its victims, while praiseworthy in the human heart, does not mitigate the evil."

Finally we will add the following, which appears in No. 14 of the "Digest" under the heading of Anarchy in High Places:

"The members of a legislature that openly sold a United States senatorship to a man who escaped conviction of the crime of misappropriating public money by pleading the statute of limitations—a legislature whose general scorn for common honesty gave it a disgraceful eminence even in a state accustomed to corrupt legislatures."

"A governor who became the accomplice of a band of politicians and speculators and conferred on them by his official signature the legal privilege of stealing the streets of the State's cities."

"An attorney-general who made one of a gang of marauders that tried, with the legislature's help, to steal the coal lands of the State."

"A justice of a supreme court, appointed by the governor whose former law partner he was, and who secretly revealed to that governor in advance how each justice would vote on a case in which the governor was politically interested."

"The mayor of a great city who turned blackmailer in the effort to protect himself from newspaper criticism, who habitually jobs in contracts, gives away enormously valuable franchises to his confederates, connives at the existence of illegal and profitable dens of vice, and from being a bankrupt when he entered office is reputed to have become a millionaire."

The Pittsburg "Post" (Dem.) adds approvingly:

"This does not require much explanation. It can all be found within the limits of Pennsylvania. And there may be added as the greatest of anarchists the political machine that carries elections by fraudulent methods and educates the baser sort of the population in the science of repeating, personation, forgery, perjury, and ballot-box stuffing. Who are anarchists if they are not?"

WANTED: "FREEDOM" for 1886 (except Oct. and Dec.); Jan., June, Aug., October 1888; Jan., Feb., 1889; Feb. 1890.

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

Monthly, One Penny; post free, 1½d.; U.S.A., 3 Cents; France, 15 Centimes.

Annual Subscription, post free, 1s. 6d.; U.S.A., 36 Cents; France, 1fr. 80c.
Foreign subscriptions should be sent by International Money Order.

Wholesale Price, 1s. 4d. per quire of 27, carriage free to all parts.

All communications, exchanges, &c., for "FREEDOM" to be addressed to

THE MANAGER, 127 Ossulston Street, N.W.

The Editors are not necessarily in agreement with signed articles.

Notice to Subscribers.—If there is a blue mark against this notice your subscription is due, and must be sent before next month if you wish to go on receiving the paper.

Brevities.

Are we on the eve of another commercial crisis? From Germany we hear that scarcely at any period has trade been as bad. In the newspapers we read of starving Russian peasants, who, mad with hunger, after fruitlessly approaching the authorities for food, break into shops and engage in looting. And the beneficent government has in Russia, as in all other countries, but one reply for the starving. For those who demand bread, especially if they demand it energetically, there is the usual argument of governments—lead. It is so much easier to kill people than to feed them. Besides, why don't the people who have no bread quietly steal away into the waste and dark places of the country and silently give up the ghost without annoying their good lords and masters? True, the people may be starving; but why make a noise about that? The government is busy—too busy to attend to them—considering the latest death-dealing instruments. It is a grim commentary to those who have still the faith that a few political changes will effect wonders in the condition of the people. For whether it be despotic Russia, monarchist England or "free" America, for the starving unemployed there is the same answer—rifles and batons.

In Russia several people have been killed by the soldiers, and yet no "thrill of horror" has gone round the world. The very names of those who have been foully murdered by the government of the Tzar are unknown. The newspapers dismiss the whole occurrence in a few lines. These were only starving workpeople. But when a king or a president is laid low by some poor devil maddened by our horrible social conditions, there is a unanimous howl of rage from all the newspapers of the world, and a cry for "blood." Yet, is not the life of a poor man as dear to him as the life of a monarch or president? Personally I don't approve of murder no matter who the victim may be. The Anarchist is the only one who has a right to protest against the use of force. Government certainly has no right, based as it is upon violence and the bayonets and bullets of the army. Government shrinks from no crime, however atrocious, to accomplish its end, and has a rough and ready method of disposing of those who object to its dictates. Officialism was never overburdened with intelligence, and it saves a lot of time and trouble to hang or shoot a man, than to convince him of his folly or supply his needs. I suppose this will go on so long as people are content to live half-starved and be promptly shot when their larder is entirely empty.

To return to our "muttons"—are we on the eve of a great depression of trade in this country? It seems to me that we are. For the merest novice, even the casual reader of the newspapers, is well aware of the interdependence of countries upon each other commercially. A serious economic depression in Germany and Russia must have a far-reaching effect upon this country. Even now the number of men unemployed is perceptibly increasing, and before another winter we shall once more see the miserable scenes familiar to most people who have lived through a period of trade depression. But all unheeding the black future which is opening up for many of them, the working classes are cheering pseudo heroes, singing music-hall Jingo rant, interesting themselves in football and horse racing, and the terrible misery which will be the lot of thousands of them is gradually approaching day by day. What a pity! One would imagine that the sights seen in our great cities ten to twelve years ago, would have sufficed for one generation; would have nerved them to struggle for a change which would make such sights impossible again. We move slowly; but let us hope that all the misery and suffering won't be entirely futile.

I don't mean that under ordinary conditions, when trade is good, the workman has a comfortable time of it. Even then he has nothing to waste his breath in thanking God for. Of course, so long as he can get his ale and tobacco and a hovel to sleep in, he is quite content. When it comes to losing these ineffable blessings of civilisation he is apt to grumble a little—before going to sleep again. There is, however, a growing proportion who are becoming more and more dissatisfied with the condition of the worker, even at the best. With ever developing intelligence, with desires increasing and tastes becoming more cultivated day by day, their demands are expanding until, let us hope in the near future, they will be content with nothing short of the fullest life—and the liberty to realise it.

NORTHMAN.

TO A CAPE REBEL.

On the gallows tree they have hanged thee;

Because thy heart beat for thy brothers' wrongs,

Felt the keen bite of Oppression's lash on poor Beer mothers and their dying little ones;

Because thy heart burst with a flame of righteous hate against the hounds that led their human wolves to fire and slaughter of the bold, brave few who loved their home and freedom—even to damnation's brink.

On the gallows tree they have hanged thee;

But thou that tree hast made a pulpit from whence the burning word of Justice and Revolt shall fire the hearts of all.

That gallows is an organ which peals forth in glorious tones the thought that Right is Right;

That Justice must prevail; and Man, armed in the panoply of Freedom's cause, is, though seeming dead, invincible.

REDCAP.

THE SUPERSTITION OF GOVERNMENT.

An impression fixed by long habit of mind, especially where that habit has been transmitted through many generations, ends by assuming the form of instinctive knowledge, too clear to admit of discussion, still less to require demonstration. If such impression is originally based on facts accepted by reason, we call it *common sense*; if, on the other hand, it springs from error in matter of fact or is the result of distorted reasoning, we call it *prejudice*. In expounding Anarchism we are met by a certain stolid repugnance as well as a seeming inability to grasp our idea, and this we find to be owing to a prepossession in favor of Government. Let us therefore examine and see if this superstition is based on common sense, or whether it is not the result of prejudice carefully maintained and cultivated in the past by those who have put themselves forward as the guides of humanity.

Throughout the whole of authentic history this fact of Government is continually presented to us as a permanent factor of human life, as well as its most important and interesting aspect; even the legends and myths which precede history are full of the glorious or terrible deeds of rulers—giants on earth, and gods and devils innumerable throughout the universe divide between them the government of men and things. Are we therefore to conclude that government is natural to man? or that it is a requisite of man's social life? We might be tempted to answer this question in the affirmative, but for another fact which is co-universal with Government and which entirely upsets its claim to be in harmony with man's moral and social nature. That fact is *REVOLT*. In no historic time has Government failed to encounter Revolt, either overt or covert; individuals or classes have at all times contended to subvert the dominion of other classes or individuals in order to win that dominion for themselves. This traditional spirit of revolt is also presented to us in those legends and myths which are the echoes of prehistoric times: Jehovah has to struggle for pre-eminence with the archangel Satan, who leads to rebellion a portion of the angelic host, and who continues, even after his expulsion from heaven we are told, to keep up a fairly successful warfare against heaven's monarch. So, also, in the ancient classic story, Jupiter dethrones his father Saturn, and in his turn becomes "Father of the gods and King of men." I have spoken of the hostility of individuals and classes who happen for the time to be *out* of power, as directed against those who for the moment are *in* power; but of course this hostility would be powerless without the co-operation of the people or a considerable section thereof, and therefore it is that whoever raises the standard of revolt or of opposition (which is only revolt minus military warfare) professes to do so in the interest of the people, who are led to hope for a betterment of their condition as a result of a successful change. Insurrectionary and opposition leaders have always posed as deliverers of the people in order to gain its support, and have taught it to regard the exercise of power and the spoils of office as the just reward of their condescension in taking up the cudgels on behalf of its interests. Obviously, therefore, during the many ages that personal ambitions and rival castes have warred for supremacy, it has never suited them to so much as even hint to the vile populace whose help they were soliciting that the evils it suffered were inherent in Government itself; on the contrary, it was their policy to leave the principles of Government and Authority unchallenged, and to insist only upon the transfer of power to themselves, together with the privileges and perquisites of power,

whilst promising the people as its share of the advantage gained some alleviation of its servitude, generally, in practice.

When, therefore, the Anarchist proposes the abolition of Government and the rejection of Authority, and claims that the affairs of society shall be arranged by mutual understanding of the people themselves, instead of being imposed on them by some external force, he finds that the minds of those he addresses never having been used to contemplate such a possibility, the suggestion bewilders them, and no clear corresponding idea is awakened. This is shown by the question almost invariably asked by those who for the first time hear of Anarchism: "How, then, will you regulate this, that, or the other, for us?" not grasping the fact that Anarchism (or Libertarianism, if you prefer the word) repudiates regulation and leaves the persons concerned to manage each matter for themselves by mutual agreement, compromise, or concession.

Moreover, so accustomed are people to regard those who propose political changes as candidates for political power, that when they hear that Anarchist propagandists do not desire power or place, and reject authority for themselves as well as for others, they are puzzled to conceive the motive which actuates them, used as they themselves have always been to regard the desire for personal advancement as inseparable from the role of an agitator; hence a suspicion is apt to affect them that there must be something hidden, something kept back in such an unusual proceeding as that of an individual championing an unpopular and persecuted cause and, at the same time, disclaiming any special personal advantage as his proposed reward.

There is, it seems to me, no other way of combating this prejudice—for prejudice, I think, it has been shown to be—than by patient reiteration of our principles and repeated pointing out of their logical character; in this way we shall go on in the future, as we have already begun, to familiarise the popular mind with our ideas, which is the indispensable preliminary to their acceptance. In this good work let us persevere; our success will be commensurate with our efforts.

HENRY GLASSE.

PARIS CONGRESS REPORTS, 1900.

THE GENERAL STRIKE.

In order to weaken or completely crush the power of the bourgeoisie, there exists, to our thinking, no method at once so efficient, rapid and humane as the suspension of production in every branch, and that for a period long enough to destroy the value of exchange and to enable the workers to take possession of the soil, the mines, houses, manufactories, machines—in a word, all that goes to the production of wealth.

We respect the revolutionary processess of the past, but have no wish to imitate them. Each period has its own special method and each grade of civilisation its new process. The weapon of tyranny will always be barbarity, that of freed men intelligence.

What are the means of combat at the disposal of the proletariat? Education stands in the front; but can the proletariat teach himself? Has he the necessary leisure for study or money with which to purchase books? What would become of governments if the workers succeeded in acquiring knowledge and through it learned to fully understand the depth of the injustice, robbery and crimes committed by the ruling classes? The exploiters even do their best to prevent the exploited from teaching themselves; for it is suicidal to class interests. One can always govern mere brutes; but enlightened men, never! The sole instruction the bourgeoisie desires for proletarians is what will render them specialised machines, producing much at little cost. Were the worker educated is it likely he would any longer tolerate the existence of parasites as insupportable as the rulers, the clergy, masters of any sort? The producers would no longer permit the theft of their labor, nor would the helpless women be wronged and their sons drilled into assassins. Most certainly we advocate and ardently desire education; but we demand that it shall be the real and the true, that which we hope for through revolution, which cannot be influenced or ruled by the State, Religion, or the Capitalist; briefly, such as we shall obtain when we determine to become free men.

We still retain as methods of combat arms and the barricade; but what an illusion not to seek weapons other than these! Military organisation with its unity of action, strategy, and its perfect arms, cannot be vanquished by sticks and stones, no matter how great the courage animating the revolutionists. Every precaution has been taken to ensure the violence of the people rebounding upon itself, and to diminish the possibility of a general rising except in the case of a foreign war. Even did a general rising take place and conquer the political forces of the moment, the leaders

who had led the people to victory would certainly develop into masters in their turn.

What then remains to us? Legal means, resignation, obedience? If, unhappily, we wait upon these deplorable methods, it means not only delay but the most degrading bondage. Why seek further when we hold in our hands an efficient, prompt and infallible weapon? If it is true that the worker produces all, if true that without his labor none can live, why so much hesitation, so many barren strikes, such unpardonable suicides? In order to destroy the bourgeoisie with all its powers it is unnecessary for the proletariat to waste his generous blood and to expose himself to inevitable defeat; there is no need for any special talent, for arms, conspiracies or assassinations. Enough to say: *I will!* to communicate his will to the comrades, and all is done.

The branches of industry are numberless, the army of workers immense, yet the necessities for daily existence are limited. There are certain crafts in which the workers, often looked upon as insignificant, are nevertheless the keystone of the social fabric. It would be an enormous task to spread an idea among a mass of workers divided and subdivided as we are by reason of religious, political and economic opinions, as well as being scattered and even often completely isolated. The task would become far simpler if we endeavored only to convince those whose labor is essential to the social wellbeing. A populous city, especially, cannot remain long without water, bread and light. Now, the constant supply of these commodities depends mainly upon a certain number of workers who hold in their hand the fate of all the other inhabitants. Were the gas men, millers, etc., to cease work, the fact would tell instantly, fatally, upon many other trades. When mines cease to be worked the drivers and trolley-men are forced into idleness; the boilers remain inactive from want of fuel; the work of trains, steamers, factories and foundries becomes disorganised or is forcibly stilled, whether the thousands of laborers employed upon them desire it or not. If agriculturists and raisers of foodstuff cease to provision the city markets for eight days, an end would come to rents and wages. If the unhappy children who acts as helps to the weavers, etc., went off to play for a week, the production of clothing and other material would inevitably cease. While if, in consequence of a strike, the watering places around (for instance) barracks dried up, the stables became empty of forage, the canteens of supplies, the troop horses and battery mules would be rendered useless and the soldiers forced to be employed in searching for fodder and water. After some days of hunger, thirst and darkness, the population would be compelled to seize the shops in order to procure provisions; these would be shared as rations and not according to their money value, the value of exchange being by that time *ipso facto* of no object.

The question, therefore, becomes reduced to a very simple one—to unite the elements and strength of partial strikes into one general strike, which should spread until it becomes international; to commence this strike in the large industrial centres and not to terminate it until expropriation shall be an accomplished fact. Then production can be organised upon such lines as Necessity shall dictate. Once having received the proper impulse, the new Society will progress rapidly towards the ideal and true civilisation.

JOSÉ LOPEZ MONTÉNÉGO.

(for *La Vida* and *Los Iguales* Groups. Barcelona, Sept. 1900.)

CO-OPERATION, POPULAR UNIVERSITIES, BOYCOTTING AND SCAMPING.

Report by A. Henry and Savvy for the Delegates of the Bronze-workers Union of Paris.

There are some questions which have not been placed upon the agenda for discussion at the Congress, but which yet have a certain importance. Among such the Bronze-workers' Union think it worth while to name for notice the subjects of Boycotting, Scamping, and Popular Universities.

We will rapidly sketch the rôle that is and the one that might be played by advocates of co-operative societies in the solution of the social problem. In handling the above subjects, we have to ask whether they are being treated from a really co-operative standpoint, and are compelled to state they are far from answering to such a title. At present simple palliatives, their trend is not educational; neither are they constituted on a social basis. It is well indeed when they do not meddle with politics. As to entering them with a view to propaganda or on the chance of raising the mental standard of co-operators, we think little need be said on either matter. We have no desire to discourage the energy of such susceptible persons as are ready to break so arid a ground; but, really, seeing the sad spectacle presented by a General Meeting of co-operators one learns to gauge the moral height and educational value of societies that deal with goods for consumption. Co-operation is a pastime that tempts the people aside from the revolutionary path. It leads them into one knows not what childish speculation, with no other result possible than the inoculation of the proletariat with the persistent malady of Gain and Loss, which tends to absorb its

life and leave it without a single idea with which to carry on the struggle for human Thought. This much praised Co-operation is not even Socialistic. It is a mixed breed born of the association of Proudhon and the political economy of Malthus. The So-much-per-Cent is its god and Capital the real master. It rests on the same basis as every commercial society known, whether this be nameless, a partnership or a stock company. Read its statutes, its minutes of meetings, its circulars—they are couched in the veriest *argot* of finance. It is the complete triumph of the political economy so dear to M. Leroy-Beaulieu, who casts his victims by the thousand into the hungry jaws of Competition, and even of Demand and Supply; for there are *auxiliaries* in Co-operation, a name that charms, forsooth, but an ill disguise for paid assistants.

To speak, moreover, as a revolutionist: Who knows whether the owners under several heads will not be harder than the owner with one? Nor need one be surprised at the affection assumed by legislators and economists towards societies formed by consumers, which are practicable in important centres only. Another point the promoters of Co-operation do not face is the part that vagabonds, the unemployed, the unclassified of all sorts might reasonably be supposed to take in it. Surely they are not so negligible a quantity as to be completely overlooked? One seeks in vain in Co-operative societies for indications of serious educational propaganda, and if we are to look to Co-operation to transform society we shall wait a long time for it. For, to struggle successfully against a society organised as ours, it is not enough to throw millions into the market of Competition; even were we to succeed by such a method, it is hardly one that would raise the intelligence of a brutalised mass.

From our point of view much more might be done by means of Popular Universities and co-operation of ideas of every kind. Not that the universities of today are to be over-praised, so many being faulty and even far from being inspired by true libertarian sentiments. But that does not matter greatly, advance can be made. As soon as the unions endeavour to tighten the links that bind the workers of one corporation, the circles of study, colleges, etc., will begin to enlarge their membership and increase their intellectuality. There one does not find oneself in the midst of commercial temptations as in trading societies, but furthering some special end. We would gladly see this movement deepen and broaden. But even now the workers can always derive instruction from the library which forms a part of every college. It is for them to study, to observe, to compare; for thus is it by little and little that the brain expands, develops, and finally arrives at the comprehension of social phenomena. Let us repudiate no attempt whose aim is the liberation of the working class from its ignorance and from brutalising drunkenness. Rather, on the contrary, let us cling to it, sowing everywhere free and open teaching. If it is often defective yet the remedy rests with us. The enemy of politics, popular universities seem to us to be advancing along a path in the way of which none should stand, and those who feel their energy lost in commercial co-operation might there find a congenial atmosphere.

But to pass to questions which, though secondary, still have their importance—boycotting and scamping. Both of these revolutionary practices appear to be well received among us. Adopted at different co-operative congresses, they are yet far from being made the most of. In France this may be accounted for possibly by the present condition of the nation's spirit. We are more tempted to believe this, seeing what excellent results are produced by these two methods in other countries. At the last congress of Metal Workers a resolution was broached for the adoption of a trade mark, as had been already done by the Glass Workers. The best means to assure work to the glass makers of Albi, for instance, would be to compel our wine-merchants to use bottles bearing the Glass-workers' label. Were this system to be applied to every branch of industry, appreciable results would follow. Practised on a large scale in conjunction with boycotting, we could obtain improvements in the life of the wage earner everywhere, improvements not to be despised either in the co-operative or political arena. It is the best means by which to demonstrate to the exploiters that the realisation of our dreams depends on ourselves. It is also a simple and good revolutionary method, an excellent proof of the workers' solidarity.

Upon the question of "scamping" it is not necessary to enlarge. Since, owing to economic conditions it is not always possible to fight the masters openly, scamping becomes a genuine weapon with which to practice secret warfare. Wrestling against exploitation, unable to break our fetters at one stroke, we can only sever them by degrees. Scamping is, therefore, a method all the better to use as it can be done for a long time without discovery and occasion a very sensible loss to the employer. We leave to each trade the methods that seem to it wisest to adopt. At the late co-operative congresses of Rennes and Tours, scamping was fully approved of by the unions represented.

In conclusion, we see that the revolutionary work to be accomplished both in the co-operative and economic field is excessively complex. It is for each of us to seek for and direct our blows to the point that seems the readiest to be assailed with a view to the furtherance of our propaganda. Far from wishing to bring ideas into a fixed line, we seek, on the contrary, to expand and separate them, so that the militants among us may act according to their temperament and tendencies; it is in this light that we ourselves shall work. ALBERT HENRY and SAVRY.

(For the Delegates of the Union of Bronze Workers.)

A CONFERENCE OF SCOTTISH ANARCHISTS will be held in Glasgow on January 1st, 1902. The arrangements are in the hands of the Glasgow Group. Communications to J. Blair Smith, 15 Sunnybank Street, Glasgow.

Will this induce us to respect Authority.

With the death of McKinley, or rather with the firing of the shot that ends his useless life, the problem of "how to dispose of Anarchism and Anarchists," seems to have come to the front again. For the last few years and especially since Kropotkin's visit to the United States last winter, the "pillars of society" have discovered that Anarchism was not crushed in Chicago in 1887. On the contrary, it has been growing—slowly, but as healthily and as sound as ever.

And government was aware of this. The beast of prey was only waiting for the opportunity to throw itself upon its intended victim. No sooner had this shot been fired than the chase began. "*Free Society* must be crushed," was the cry; and no sooner did the telegraph transmit the order than its publishers, with their families and all, were arrested, imprisoned and kept without bail. Well known propagandists were next in order. Emma Goldman, another thorn in its side, was the first one singled out. Arrested in Chicago, she was kept there, as no charge could be found on which to extradite her to Buffalo to stand trial with Czolgosz. A conspiracy charge was invented; but the bottom fell out of it. In many cities comrades, known as such, still have to endure all kinds of petty persecutions from the police as well as drunken rowdies, instigated to acts of vandalism by the catch-penny journals, pulpit fakirs, and other "educators."

Politicians, stockbrokers, soul-saviours, moralists, pawnshop keepers, press-prostitutes, society reformers, social and unsocial—in short, all "examples of good citizenship" are shedding their crocodile tears of sympathy for the great, wise and noble leader. Social Democrats, for fear of being compromised, hurriedly pass resolutions to express their sympathy for the fallen ruler, and denounce the "assassin" in one breath with Anarchy. One of their leaders, an authority on Marx, even offers prayers. To the honor of the body (the Convention) it must be said that at this point they retained some of their self-respect, and rejected that part of the comedy.

"Freethinkers" go them one better, and threaten to throw anybody from their hall who dares to uphold any Anarchist Communist doctrine or say anything in justification of the "crime." Such is the modern explanation of free speech as interpreted by the "Freethinkers" of the Boston Liberal Forum.

And all these cowardly actions without the least attempt to show the connection between an individual's act and a great Philosophy, or even assuring themselves that this particular individual was an Anarchist or had any connection with the Anarchists or their movement in this or any other country. The fact that *Free Society* had warned its readers against a certain person of suspicious movements and intentions, who later proved to be one and the same person that slew McKinley, was never taken into consideration.

The reaction was on, and to howl with the wolves of the mob was the fashion. But as we have passed and braved other storms we will also face this one. Those that cannot stand it, let them withdraw or disappear; the rest will be stronger for it. S.

Boston, Mass.

THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN HOLLAND.

The events of the last few years in the Dutch Socialist movement—the rupture, the complete dissolution of the Federation of Socialists (Socialistenbond) at the Congress of Rotterdam in December 1897, the separation of its fractions after that Congress, finally, the fusion of the rest of the Federation with the Social Democrats, whom they joined in the late general elections (June), are of international interest because they form the history of a movement of the masses.

The Socialist movement in Holland distinguished itself from the beginning by its Communist and revolutionary character. That is to say, the aspiration for a radical transformation of the basis of existing society and for establishing a new Communist order has predominated and predominates still in the Dutch workers' movement over the tendency to obtain reforms by legislation.

Measures for trading reform could interest the small trading bourgeoisie, small peasant proprietors, workers who had acquired more or less privileged conditions; they could attract religious workers led by democratic clergymen. What, however, won the hearts of the industrial and of the rural working population was the idea of simple and pure Communism, the brilliant picture of a society where men work for each other and enjoy with each other as brothers and sisters of one large human family.

Another characteristic of the Dutch Socialist movement which must be noticed, is that the movement has penetrated especially among the rural population of the country.

There are whole regions where Socialism has conquered a large part of the population, especially in the northern provinces of Groningen and Friesland, further in the industrial part of the Zaan (Zaandam Koog, Zaandijk, West Zaan and others). So it is also in those parts of the country where, within the last twenty years and more, clergymen of advanced views have preached. No longer believing in a paradise after this sorrowful life, the poor wanted to work for a paradise on earth. It was something to see the earnestness with which the rural population in the northern provinces—working from morning till evening—arrived at open-air meetings with their banners, accompanied often by choirs or bands; it was something to see, those country folk, women as well as

men, walking one, two, or more hours to attend a meeting held in some publichouse or barn, singing their revolutionary songs on the way instead of going to church with bible under the arm as before; and well worth was it to note the eyes of those poor toilers glisten as they shook hands with the Socialist speaker after the meeting; only then might one understand what Socialism meant for them.

Communism had become there a sort of new religion. Our country people had never seen other representatives of the government than the mayor, the county and the rural policeman—and in later years the gendarmes. They have no confidence in the government, and the Democrats, even the Democrats who call themselves Socialists, who preach that the social question consists in replacing Liberal or Clerical deputies by Democratic ones, do not easily find the way to their hearts. The social life of the rural population in Holland distinguishes itself by certain special Communist characteristics. Then the people in general hate any governmental regulations. If at the first May-day demonstrations, our Socialist orators spoke to the country Socialists about an eight-hour day to be established by law, they have objected that in the country the length of the working day is fixed by the season and by the weather, and that, after all, the workers themselves would decide the question since in any case regulations made by people who know nothing of agriculture were not wanted. The country folk understood quite well that the social question was for them one of possession, and not of regulation.

In short, they wanted to give their strength for a society where they could manage their own affairs, for that purpose fraternising among themselves and without making the acquaintance of the government officials.

It is easy to understand that up till now it is the Communist groups in the country that have manifested the greatest opposition to State Socialism. What exerts a special influence upon the opinions of this rural population is the tendency towards autonomy in each centre, so characteristic of the Dutch, and which is equally apparent in the wide autonomy which throughout Holland the communes have ever maintained in face of the provincial and central governments. But not only among the rural population, among the industrial workers, also, the Communist principles are deeply rooted. The trade unions consider themselves machines in the combat against the employer. They are anxious to obtain ameliorations in the condition of the workers, but they do this especially to keep their position and to obtain, by demanding more and more, a growing influence in factories and workshops.

So far, State Socialism has found among the workers less sympathy in Holland than, perhaps, in any other country, and such sympathy is even then found mainly among the leaders rather than the workers; especially the leaders of some of the large trade unions, such as the printers, diamond workers, cigarmakers, carpenters, or wherever men have some hope to gain a seat in parliament or on the municipal council.

The methods which generally attract the industrial workers in Holland as a means whereby to become masters of factory and workshop are strikes and a general strike in two, three, or four great branches of industry. Strikes, as developing in England and France, arouse in the long run greater enthusiasm among the Dutch industrial workers than any protective labor legislation, which they hate even while they accept it.

(To be Concluded.)

JOHN MOST.

The modern journalist glories in being the instrument of all government and police crimes—by preparing weak-minded public opinion with lies for every new infamy they perpetrate. An example of this, is the way in which John Most has been hunted down once more by the vile American press, the idolizers of the low traitor Funston, and we see English papers (*Morning Leader* and *Star*, Oct. 15) joining them in this congenial work. The *Morning Leader's* "own correspondent" represents Most as a Yellow journalist, a rich saloonkeeper, an actor appearing on the scene with hands dyed in blood, and the editor of a "little rag" (*Freiheit*) wherein he published a bloodthirsty article on McKinley for which he was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment.

All these are, of course, lies; and the facts leading to Most's last condemnation—after eight years previously passed in various prisons—are the following (as stated by Most himself in *Freiheit* of Sept. 7, 14, 21, 28).

No. 36 of *Freiheit* (Sept. 7) was printed in New York on Sept. 5, and published on Sept. 6 about noon, several hours before Czolgosz fired on McKinley in far away Buffalo. The editor explains that from various reasons he was prevented from giving the usual care to this particular issue and so he reprinted as leading article an extract from what Karl Heinzen, a German republican and freethinker, wrote about fifty years ago on "Murder versus Murder"—just as he printed after this an extract from Boerne's "Letters from Paris" (1832), a translation from *Les Temps Nouveaux*, etc. Heinzen says: if murder is permitted to some, it is to all; against tyrants no crime is possible, they are outlaws, etc.,—in the usual style of writing of a republican refugee of 1848-49, and with no allusion whatever to America. It is evident that similar remarks have been printed thousands of times in American papers, and also that, if Most could have helped it, this article on this particular subject would not have been reprinted just at the time of an attempt on the President,—witness the remarks of quite a different character on the attempt at Buffalo, written by Most himself in the issue of Sept. 14

and the reprint of his article on Berkman's act, written in 1892, in *Freiheit* of Sept. 21. It is known to all how the *Freiheit* is watched by spies of all sorts at such times, and Most took good care not to give them a chance by what he wrote himself on the attempt (Sept. 14).

Still, the usual happened; as on a former occasion the New York *World*, this time the New York (German) *Staats-Zeitung* became informer by publishing extracts from Heinzen's article; the American press took the matter up, adding their vile lies, and Most was arrested and placed in a dirty prison full of vermin until after some days he was liberated on bail (all on the charge of having published the old article by Karl Heinzen). On the following Sunday (Sept. 22) he made an excursion to Newtown, took part in a social gathering of a singing club and spent the evening with some of this club in a dancing hall. This hall was raided by the police and Most and others put in prison. The next day he was charged with an incitement to sedition at an alleged meeting in that hall—all of which he declares are lies. He was transported handcuffed on a trolley-car all over the town, exposed to the insults of the mob before a saloon and to other indignities. Bail for \$5,000 was demanded, the production of "evidence" delayed, etc. Meanwhile, the New York printer refused to publish the *Freiheit*, and No. 39 is replaced by a single sheet telling of Most's treatment at New-
Since then we hear that he has been sentenced to one year for the Heinzen article. We can hardly believe the matter will rest there.

In any case, the *Freiheit* will survive this as it did so many other persecutions since its first issue in London, in January 1879, and so will Most, now fifty-five years old, pass through this year of prison as he previously passed through eight years of imprisonment, in Austria, Germany, England and America, since 1870. Most joined the International in Switzerland in the late sixties, when working as a bookbinder in the Jura; he was an active propagandist of Socialism in Austria until his expulsion in 1871; from that time until 1878 he edited Socialist papers in Germany and became a member of the German parliament, but spent nearly half of the time in prison. From the end of 1878 to the summer of 1882 he stayed in England, passing the last eighteen months in prison for publishing an article on the death of Alexander II. of Russia.

Since the autumn of 1882 the *Freiheit* has been issued in America; on two more occasions—after the bomb of Chicago and somewhere about 1890—he was hunted down by the American press and imprisoned for two years. Now they are at their dirty work again. How stupid and powerless they are, after all! Four governments using all the means in their power these last thirty years to silence this one man and his spoken and written utterances—and they never succeed. Nor shall they this time! [The address of the *Freiheit* is 69 Gold Street, New York city.]

From the latest issues of the *Freiheit* we gather that after several adjournments asked for by the prosecution, Most's case at Newtown was entirely settled on Oct. 2, when he was discharged and set free. A few days later he was tried at New York for the publication of the old article by Heinzen which was considered as "disorderly conduct" by the prosecution. Three magistrates sentenced him to one year's penal servitude (Blackwell's Island). He was at once arrested.

This means that any article or book which does *not* contain anything against any of the existing laws, can nevertheless lead to its author's imprisonment if any scoundrel chooses to denounce it and another set of scoundrels, some petty magistrates, choose to call the obnoxious article "disorderly conduct"! We see from this how closely related the laws and institutions of *all States* are—from despotic Russia and police-ridden Italy to "free" America. In Russia, an author who cannot be prosecuted for a definite "crime" is transported to remote provinces or to Siberia by order of the administration. In Italy, an Anarchist who cannot be prosecuted for transgressing any of the laws is sent to *domicilio coatto* (transported to one of the Mediterranean islands). In the United States, a man goes to the "hell on Blackwell's Island," if infamous journalists call for his suppression—a thing which does not happen in either Russia or Italy, where the press has not sunk to that level of degradation yet.

Of course, the possibility of an appeal remains, which does not suspend imprisonment until granted and means large sums wasted on lawyers' fees. In the case of Most an appeal was made successfully, we hear, and a new trial granted, the judge accepting the lines of the defence: that the reissue of an article fifty years old before ever McKinley met his doom, had evidently no connection with the latter fact. So perhaps our old comrade will be spared his ninth year of prison.

The address of the Workingmen's Defence Association formed on his behalf is: Ed. Brady, 172 E. 82nd Street, New York, U.S.A.

INTEGRAL EDUCATION.

VIEWS OF EMILE ZOLA.

Since the establishment of the school the masters had arranged quite a new programme of education. From the first class, in which they

took the child before he could even read, to the fifth, in which they parted from him, after teaching him the elements of general knowledge necessary to life, they particularly strove to place them in presence of things and facts, in order that he might derive his learning from the realities of the world. They also sought to awaken a spirit of orderliness and method in each child; for without method there can be no useful work. It is method which classifies and enables one to go on learning without losing aught of the knowledge one has already acquired. The science of books was not condemned in the school at La Cr  cherie, but put back to its rightful secondary place, for a child only learns well such things as he sees, touches, or understands by himself. He was no longer bent like a slave over indisputable dogmas; his masters appealed to his initiative to discover, penetrate and make the truth his own. By this system the individual energy of each pupil was awakened and stimulated. In like manner punishments and rewards had been abolished, no further recourse was had to threats or caresses to force idle lads to work. As a matter of fact there are no idlers, there are only ailing children, children who understand badly what is badly explained to them, children into whose brains obstinate attempts are made to force knowledge for which they are not prepared. This being so, in order to have good pupils at La Cr  cherie it was found sufficient to utilise the immense craving for knowledge which glows within each human being, that inextinguishable curiosity of the child for all that surrounds him, a curiosity so great that he never ceases to weary people with questions. Thus learning ceased to be torture; it became a constant pleasure by being rendered attractive, the master contenting himself with arousing the child's intelligence, and then simply guiding it in its discoveries. Each has the right and the duty to develop himself. And self-development is necessary if one wishes a child to become a real man of active energy, with will-power to decide and direct.

Thus the five classes spread out, offering from the very first notions to the acquirement of all the scientific truths, a means for the logical, graduated emancipation of the intelligence. In the garden gymnastic appliances were installed, there were games, exercises of all kinds in order that the body might be fortified, provided with health and strength whilst the brain developed and enriched itself with learning. In the first classes especially, a great deal of time was allowed for play and recreation. At the outset only short and varied studies, proportionate to the child's powers of endurance, were required. The rule was to confine the children within doors as little as possible: lessons were frequently given in the open air; walks were arranged and the pupils were taught amidst the things on which their lessons turned, now in workshops, now in presence of the phenomena of nature, among animals and plants, or among watercourses and mountains. Then, too, efforts were made to give the children a notion of what mankind really was, and of the necessity for solidarity. They were growing up side by side, they would always live side by side. Love alone was the bond of union, justice and happiness. In love was found the indispensable and all-sufficient social compact, for it was sufficient for brave men to love one another to ensure the reign of peace. That universal love which will spread in time from the family to the nation, and from the nation to all mankind, will be the sole law of the happy community of the future. It was developed among the children at La Cr  cherie by interesting them in one another, the strong being taught to watch over the weak, and all giving rein to their studies, diversions and budding passions in common. From all this would arise the awaited harvest—men fortified by bodily exercise, instructed in experience amidst nature, drawn together by grain and heart, and in this wise becoming true brothers.

After the class-rooms, beyond the garden, came the workshops for the apprentices. Instruction was given there in the principal manual callings, which the children practised less in order to acquire them perfectly than to form an acquaintance with their *ensemble* and determine their own vocations. This teaching went on concurrently with other studies. Whilst a child was acquiring the first notions of reading and writing, a tool was already placed in his hand; and if in the morning he studied grammar, arithmetic and history, thereby ripening his intelligence, in the afternoon he worked with his little arms in order to impart vigour and skill to his muscles. This was like useful recreation, rest for the brain, a joyous competition in activity. The principle was adopted that every man ought to know a manual calling, in such wise that each pupil on leaving the school simply had to choose the calling he himself preferred, and perfect himself in it in a real workshop. In like manner beauty flourished; the children passed through courses of music, drawing, painting and sculpture, and in souls that were well awakened the joys of existence were then born. Even for those who had to confine themselves to the first elements such studies tended to an enlargement of the world, the whole earth taking a voice, and splendour in one or another form embellishing the humblest lives. And in the garden at the close of fine days, amidst radiant sunsets, the children were gathered together to sing songs of peace and glory, or to be braced by spectacles of truth and immortal beauty.—From *Work*, pages 181-4.

[In our September issue the quotation was from Kropotkin's *Fields, Factories and Workshops*.]



MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—N. 5s., Kampffmeyer 5s., T. del M. 5s., A. M. 5s., N. W. T. 10s., Spanish Group 1s., H. G. 10s., Wess 3s. Mink, 1/4.
Annual Subscriptions.—Bakker 1/6, Russell 1/6, Gordon 1/6.
Sales of FREEDOM.—Newsagents 3/6, Office 13/4, pamphlets 1/6, MacQueen 7s., Monk 1/6, Paisley 1/6.

BRESCI PORTRAITS, Carte de visite size, 3d. each. For benefit of prisoners.

"FREEDOM" MAY BE OBTAINED OF

W. Reeves, 83 Charing Cross Road, London, W.
 O. Mathias, 20 Little Pultney Street, London W.
 Heiligenstein, 39 Charlotte Street, London, W.
 B. Ruderman, 71 Hanbury St., Spitalfields, London, E.
 Blair Smith, 15 Sunnybank St., Dalmarnock, Glasgow.
 W. MacQueen, 30 Ganton View, Woodhouse St., Leeds.
 A. Barton, 12 Olive Terrace, Owlerton, Sheffield.
 A. Gorrie 18 Princess Street, Leicester.
 N. Notkin, 242 N. 2nd Street, Philadelphia. Pa. U.S.A.
 K. A. Snellenberg, 54 Haskins St., Roxbury, Mass., U.S.

"Free Society." An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism, 515 Carroll Ave., Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.
 Agent for *Free Society's* publications: T. CANTWELL, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N. W.



Cosmopolitan

ALL KINDS OF PRINTING
 IN ALL LANGUAGES
 AT MODERATE PRICES

T. CANTWELL.

127, Ossulston Street, (Euston Road)
 LONDON, N. W.

Printery

FREEDOM PAMPHLETS.

- No. 1. THE WAGE SYSTEM. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
- No. 2. THE COMMUNE OF PARIS. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
- No. 3. A TALK ABOUT ANARCHIST-COMMUNISM BETWEEN TWO WORKERS. By E. MALATESTA. 1d.
- No. 4. ANARCHIST COMMUNISM: ITS BASIS AND PRINCIPLES. 1d.
- No. 5. ANARCHY. By E. MALATESTA. 1d.
- No. 6. ANARCHIST MORALITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN.
- No. 7. EXPROPRIATION. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
- No. 8. ANARCHISM AND OUTRAGE. By C. M. WILSON. 1/4d.
- No. 9. ANARCHY ON TRIAL—George Etievant, Jean Grave and Caserio Santo. 32 pages; 1d.
- No. 10. ANARCHISM: ITS PHILOSOPHY AND IDEAL. 1d.
- No. 11. THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.
- No. 12. RESPONSIBILITY AND SOLIDARITY IN THE LABOR STRUGGLE.
- No. 13. THE PYRAMID OF TYRANNY, BY F. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS. 1d.

Other Pamphlets.

GOD AND THE STATE. By MICHAEL BAKOUNINE. Price fourpence.
 THE CHICAGO MARTYRS. Their speeches in Court and the record of their trial, with the reasons given by Governor Altgeld for pardoning Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe; price 1 shilling. Spies speech in pamphlet form, 1d.
 MORIBUND SOCIETY AND ANARCHY, by JEAN GRAVE. One shilling.
 DIRECT ACTION VERSUS LEGISLATION, a new pamphlet by J. Blair Smith. Price one penny.
 AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
 A DIALOGUE AND HUMOROUS POETRY BY L. S. B.; 16 pages 8vo. 1d.
 LAW AND AUTHORITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.
 EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION. By ELYSEE RECLUS. 1d.
 CHANTS FOR SOCIALISTS. By WILLIAM MORRIS. 1d.
 USEFUL WORK VERSUS USELESS TOIL. By WILLIAM MORRIS. 1d.
 MONOPOLY; OR, HOW LABOR IS ROBBED. By WILLIAM MORRIS. 1d.
 SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY. By GUSTAV LANDAUER. 1/4d.

FIELDS, FACTORIES and WORKSHOPS, by Peter Kropotkin, a study for ALL. Paper 1s. net., cloth 2s.

All the *Freedom Pamphlets* notified above can be obtained of W. REEVES, 83 Charing Cross Rd. W., and of T. CANTWELL at 127 Ossulston Street, N. W.

Lectures at Athenaeum Hall:

(73 Tottenham Court Road, W)

Sunday Nov. 10,

"The Decline of Democracy." J. TURNER.

Sunday Nov. 17,

"The Garden City Scheme." Mr. EBENEZER HOWARD.

Sunday Nov. 24,

"Washing the Bloody Shirt." LOTHROP WITHERINGTON.

Printed and Published by J. TURNER, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N. W.