

Freedom

• JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM

Vol. XVIII.—No. 187.

APRIL—MAY, 1904.

MONTHLY; ONE PENNY

ANARCHISM AND SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

Some recent vulgar and peevish attacks in *Justice* and the *Social Democrat* against the Anarchists revives once again the question of the differences between the two movements. Passing over the abuse and personalities indulged in by the amiable people who do so much to make the S.D.F. loved and respected, we would point out to the honest members of the Federation that the fundamental principles of Anarchist Communism are at least worth as much consideration as the political programmes of so-called Socialist organisations. But the difficulty is to gain for Anarchism a free and fair hearing. In Conservative England it is so easy to cry down a movement that not only attacks the capitalist system, but the State itself, the back-bone, so to speak, of that system. It is so easy to rouse the ire of the "compact majority" against those who would destroy the soul-killing fetters of all religious superstitions, who deny authority in all its forms, and who wish to imbue the peoples of all nations with the pure spirit of international solidarity. Well, Anarchism has been cried down and unscrupulously attacked, not only by the *Daily Mail* and similar organs that live on such work, but by *Justice*, which pretends to know something of advanced movements, and professes a desire for a realisation of Socialism. As a result, younger members of the Social Democratic movement, who have no opportunity of obtaining Anarchist literature, have a total misconception of what Anarchism truly means. The academic discussion of the rights and wrongs of minorities, however important, need not be dwelt on to make the average man understand that a State-controlled Socialist society would be as repugnant to self-respecting human beings as the present system, or possibly even more so. See how the State treats its employés in Australia and Hungary, and even here in England in its arsenals and dockyards. Under State Socialism they might be better fed, better housed, better clothed. But would it give the liberty which Anarchism claims for all, and without which life not only becomes intolerable but loses its real significance? Never. The army of officials would be indefinitely increased and each would justify his necessity by sophisms, as they do to-day, from Balfour to the hangman. But we are told by people who have simmered their Socialism down to vanishing point in their craving after Parliamentary honours that the Anarchists who preach revolution are becoming a "bourgeois party." Such nonsense is too absurd even for *Justice*. The social revolution from the Anarchist point of view means not only the substitution of Communism for wage-slavery, but also free association and free organisation in place of State-slavery. Social Democracy, however, no longer talks of the social revolution, and even its "stepping stones" get small by degrees and beautifully less. But it talks a good deal of political programs, the objects of which would sound tame on the tongue of a good Radical; and in the ranks of its own party the cry of Socialism is lost amidst the din and the clamour of political warfare, with its pitiful personalities and mutual recriminations; whilst the ambitious self-seekers who hope some day to rule us are showing us the capers they are likely to cut when wrapped in a little brief authority. For the Anarchists there is no compromise with these people, who are doing their best to kill Socialism.

Millerand and Jaurès have shown us what to expect from the political Socialists, and we hope the lesson has not been lost on the English workers.

We suppose that even the best friends of Hardie and Hyndman would feel regret at their ordering out the troops against strikers, or threatening the right of free speech in Hyde Park. But that such things can happen the two French Social Democrats have proved for us. You can hardly get a closer affinity to bourgeois politics than this. Can *Justice* point to any Anarchist in the French ministry? As usual, this unhappy journal has got mixed over cause and effect.

LABOUR DAY.

"Good people, things will never go well in England so long as goods be not in common, and so long as there be villeins, and gentlemen. By what right are they whom we call lords greater folk than we? On what grounds have they deserved it? Why do they hold us in serfage? If we all came of the same father and mother (of Adam and Eve) how can they say or prove that they are better than we, if it be not that they make us gain for them by our toil what they spend in their pride? They are clothed in velvet, and warm in their furs and their ermines, while we are covered in rags. They have wine and spices and fair bread; and we oak-cake and straw and water to drink. They have leisure and fine houses; we have pain and labour, the rain and the wind in the fields. And yet it is of us and of our toil that these men hold their state."

In words such as these—bold, true, fearless, clear as a bell—did John Ball, "the mad priest of Kent," rouse the spirit of the oppressed people more than 500 years ago. It will be noted that even in those days the man who spoke truth of the evils around him was regarded as mad—by the evil-doers. To-day the apologists of the evil-doers would for such words denounce John Ball as a dreamer of dreams. For his action in raising rebellion he would be called a criminal. The ruling classes may thank their stars that over five centuries separate the days of John Ball from the Labour Day of 1904. The First of May demonstrations have lost their sting, and the speeches of the leaders—these eternal leaders who begin as firebrands and end as M.P.'s—sound stale, flat and unprofitable.

It is a heart-breaking sight to watch, year after year, the weary, toil-worn crowds of workers, tramping from their misery in the East End into the fresh air and sunshine of Hyde Park, under the mansions of their rulers, threading those dusty miles of roads with banners held aloft expressing sentiments and hopes that their masters smile at from their spacious windows. Little more than a month ago many of the same faces followed the same flags in protest against Chinese slavery in the Transvaal. But the Birmingham renegade, in the grip of Beit, endorses the hellish work of the Randlords, and the work of reaction goes on, and neither people nor leaders are feared.

'Tis better to protest in vain than never to protest at all, and for the Anarchists—who, it should be remembered, were the first to insist that the First of May should be adhered to as a Labour Day—any awakening of the workers to a sense of their responsibilities in fighting the reactionary forces that have wrought such havoc with their unions, and that even now are holding in check all progressive movements, is the most welcome sign of a coming revival of activity in Socialist and Labour movements. At the Anarchist platform comrades gave the workers the true message of their social and economic emancipation, denouncing the present evils as incurable by political action, and asking for co-operation in educating our fellow-workers in free organisation and true revolutionary action.

But all the useless talk of petty reforms that is indulged in on May Day by Social Democrats and Labour leaders will do nothing to infuse new life into the movement.

The wretched spirit of political compromise, the miserable fear of being too revolutionary, the dread of calling the exploiters by their true names, and of openly demanding their expropriation, the lack of adherence to true revolutionary Socialist principles, are the reasons that enable Dilke and Gorst to trifle with the Labour movement, and Gerald Balfour and Earl Grey to appear as presidents of co-operative and co-partnership

(Continued on next page).

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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.

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NOTES.

A BITTER CRY FROM JAPAN.

Comrade Torao Nankano, writing from Kumamoto, Japan, gives a heart-rending account of the condition of the Japanese peasant. We print as nearly as possible his own words, more touching in their ingenuousness than any "good English."

"In the long course of time land in Japan is gathering into the hands of the few, and these landlords have no tears and sympathies towards the peasants.

"Peasants have a very little portion of land in the country. They marry, have children, but cannot get the livings of their family.

"Satan calls them to go to the city, telling that it is there very easy to live.

"They are ignorant, and go to some city where in reality the struggle is hard.

"In the country fowls and vegetable he could get without price, but in the city all things must be changed with money.

"Here again appears a capitalist in place of the landlord.

"Workmen are many, wages are low; living becomes more hard in cities than in villages.

"What must they do?

"They say it is the highest point of shame to part with the land where their fathers have built the house and kept it till the last gasp. But what is to be done? They must sell it and a small portion of land and mountain to keep them alive.

"The struggle becomes harder and harder, wages lower and lower.

"Tears in eyes! Pale their yellow faces! They leave behind the city, and back again into the country! What do they find then? Hills stand laughing, waters flow singing. But none for them!

"Relatives and old friends pass with a side-long glance.

"Standing they must starve. Crying they must die.

"They must pay national duty even in this deserted condition.

"Woe to the present century!

"I am poor and uneducated, and my pen does not go as my inner self commands. But please understand me.

JOHN TURNER.

A meeting of friends and sympathisers was held on Wednesday evening, April 27th, at the offices of the London Society of Compositors in St. Bride Street, to discuss the question of giving Comrade Turner a public reception on his return from America. The meeting organised itself into a reception committee, and decided the reception should take the shape of a public meeting where all phases of the Labour Movement should be represented. A special committee was appointed to make the necessary arrangements with Herbert Burrows as treasurer and H. M. Kelly as hon. secretary. In addition to those present letters have been received expressing sympathy, and a willingness to help, from Dr. G. B. Clark, Pete Curran, W. B. Parker, and others. Numerous subscriptions were received, and promises of assistance from those in sympathy, and a success seems assured. A deputation consisting of Herbert Burrows, James Macpherson and H. M. Kelly, waited on the L.T.C. the following evening to invite their co-operation, but owing to the meeting being a special one and pressure of business, the matter was referred to the executive who meet on May 5th.

Subscriptions can be sent to the Treasurer or Secretary of the Committee, 127, Ossulston Street, Euston Road, N.W.

(Continued from page 13).

societies at the same time as they advocate Chinese slavery for South Africa.

All these things will need to be altered if May Day demonstrations and Labour protests are to be of any serious importance, and already we hear in France a call for more earnestness and more firmness of purpose in the undertakings. When a similar appeal is made in England, and some honest voices demand earnestness and sincerity in our fight with the enemy, we shall know that better times are coming and that the May Day gatherings of the twentieth century will regain the significance they have been losing since the early nineties.

THE FIRST OF MAY.

She comes, the fairest of the months, to-day,
The month of merriment, with laurel crowned;
Wing'd heralds sing above the shining way;
And flowers are scattered broadcast on the ground:
With eager footsteps runs the morning breeze
Before her whispering in the grass and trees:
It is! It is! It is the First of May!

Maidens awake! awake! and come away
Where Nature's cups are brimming o'er with dew!
"Which, whose taste, upon her marriage day
Shall meet with love for ever fond and true!"*
O come! O come, where everywhere around
The world is waking with a joy profound!
It is! It is! It is the First of May!

Then deck the merry poles with ribbons gay,
Red, yellow, violet, green, white and blue;
And silken rainbows make with dance and play,
To music village bands shall make for you!
No school! no task! no labour! all day long
But hum of happiness and sound of song.
It is! It is! It is the First of May!

And men and women! though your hair be grey,
With youth unwithered in your hearts, appear!
Your banners waving, and the bright display
Of work in drama, give the workers cheer!
Let every nation, from the Arctic snow
Down to the equator, jubilantly know
It is! It is! It is the First of May!

O, speed the time! for come it must some day,
When suffering peoples can no more endure
The State's "force" régime and "cathedral"† sway;
And rising to the stern occasion sure
Their bolts and bars and bonds and barriers break!
O, speed the days of Anarchy! and make
All times as happy as the First of May!

T. F. M.

An Appeal for "Freedom."

The difficulty of printing *Freedom* in these times of depression compels us to ask all friends and sympathisers to render what financial assistance they can to enable us to appear regularly.

Much voluntary work must always be given to help the paper along, but as we are only workers ourselves, our pockets will not meet the deficit on each number.

Any subscriptions will be thankfully received, and should be sent to J. TURNER, 127, Ossulston Street, Euston Road London, N.W.

THE FIRST OF MAY.

Profiting by the fact that the First of May fell on a Sunday this year the committee thought it a good time to return to "first principles." Our interest centres chiefly around platform 7 where a large crowd assembled to hear speeches by Comrades Wess, Withington, Leggatt, Kelly, Tcherkesov, Racher, Morelight, and Bushell. Through rather clever manœuvring of some Jewish Social Democrats one platform was set aside for speeches in various languages. The Jewish Trades' Council agreed to co-operate, and applied for a separate platform to Mr. A. C. Burn, the Chief Marshal. That gentleman said they were too late. They then went to the Park Commissioners for another platform—and got it! Hence No. 7. Not wishing any ill-feeling to arise a comrade went to Mr. Burn and showed him the permit, saying they were willing to fall in with the East End contingent. Mr. Burn agreed, but insisted that they move the same resolution as the others—rather cheeky, did you say, not at all, merely Democratic. Needless to say we did not comply. It is also worth mentioning that the crowd at our platform was one of the largest, and our van had the distinction of having the only union carman of the seven.

* In Scotland girls rise at daylight to rub their faces in the dew on the 1st of May, in the belief that happiness in love will follow.

† The Pope's words *ex cathedra* (from Papal chair) are accepted by his followers as infallible.

HERBERT SPENCER.

By P. KROPOTKIN.

II.

All Spencer's philosophy, including his *Principles of Ethics*, is absolutely free from any Christian influence. This is saying a great deal. When we think how much of what is written in our day on philosophy, and especially on moral questions, is influenced by Christianity, we appreciate the service rendered by Spencer.

Nobody before him has given us a system of the universe, of organisms, of man, of human societies and their moral conceptions, that was absolutely agnostic, non-Christian. Christianity is, in Spencer's view, a religion like all others, born of the same superstitions, the same fears, the same legends, and interesting only as a fact in the history of societies—on the same grounds as the juridical conceptions of savages and the marriage ceremonies, whereof he studies the origin and evolution.

Even when he does speak of ethics, he is interested rather in the origin and development of a given custom or a moral principle, than in the individuals set up by priests, mullahs, or chamans (savage sorcerers) as founders of the religion or moral precept.

What Spencer lacks is the spirit of attack, the fighting spirit. He builds his system of the universe without a creator, but we should like to see him directly demolish the superstitions that encumber the minds of people, preventing them from accepting his system. Spencer passes them in silence, or throws them a word of scorn on the way.

Spencer's style is sometimes heavy. Very often his proofs are insufficient to convince you (Darwin had noticed this). You also feel that he has nothing of the poet or artist in him. But when you have read his works—were it only in a synopsis—you feel that you master a complete conception of the universe, of Nature as a whole, in which no place is left to mystery and the supernatural. A creating god, an "absolute," a "substance" represented as a "divine spirit"—even the "great geometre"—all this seems to you so small, so obviously the product of ignorance, so useless and artificial, when you can represent to yourself the real concrete life of worlds, solar systems, planets, and those pretentious little beings—men!

Spencer does not rise high enough to give you great and beautiful outlooks. He is always of the earth earthy, and does not answer to the poetic enthusiasm that is inspired in us by the contemplation of the universe. But he explains how life has been brought about on this planet by chemical and physical forces alone; how by the action of the same forces the simplest plants appeared; how by even more complicated adaptations much more complex plants had to develop. He shows how the other branch—that of animal life—had also to appear and develop even unto man, to perfect man in turn, and some day to surpass him.

If we were to have asked Spencer, What part was here played by the creator? where is the plan of the universe? the directing idea? he would have answered as Laplace once did: "You see that in no part have I felt the need to fall back on such an hypothesis!"

In his *Principles of Sociology* Spencer unfolds in the same way the series of human institutions, beliefs, general ideas, civilisations, from the simplest to the most complex. In detail he evidently may make mistakes—he often does. Our conception of society is already very different from his.

But Spencer gives us the method by which we are to interpret social facts—the method that flows from the progress of inductive science, the method which consists in searching for an explanation of all social facts in natural causes, beginning with the nearest and simplest, and not in supernatural forces or in the hypothesis born of verbal, metaphysical analysis. If one accustoms oneself to this method, one truly sees that all our institutions, our economic relations, our languages, our religions, our music, our moral ideas, our poetry, &c., can be explained by the same concatenation of natural events that explain the movements of suns and those of the dust that circulates in space, the colours of the rainbow and those of the butterfly, the forms of flowers and of animals, the customs of ants and elephants.

It is true that Spencer does not bring this unity of Nature home to us; he does not make us feel the beauty and poetry of this synthetic interpretation of the universe. To do this he lacks the genius of Laplace, the poetic feeling of Humboldt, the beauty of style possessed by Elisée Reclus. These and other qualities are lacking in him. But he makes us understand how a naturalist reasons, when he is once freed of the religious and scholastic teaching by which they try to paralyse the mind.

We cannot but ask ourselves whether Spencer himself is entirely freed of this dead weight.—Yes, almost but not entirely.

In all sciences, when study has been pushed to its furthest, we reach a limit that cannot at a given moment be surpassed. It is this that makes science for ever young and attractive.

What delight amongst us when, towards the middle of the nineteenth century, such splendid discoveries were made in astronomy, the physical sciences, the science of life, psychology!

What grand horizons displayed themselves to our eyes in those times, as the limits of science suddenly widened! They were widened at that time, but not effaced—immediately new limits were placed as new problems to solve arose on all sides.

Continually does science thus displace her limits; where she stopped twenty years ago we now have a conquered field. The limit has receded. But after having made a few steps forward, science stops again to unite her efforts and accumulate new facts before she makes another great effort.

Fifty years ago we said:—"Here is a group of phenomena—attractions and repulsions—they have something in common. Let us call them 'electric phenomena,' and call the common cause, unknown for the moment, 'electricity.'" When impatient people would ask, "What is this electricity?" we had sufficient honesty to answer that we did not know anything about it—for the time being.

We have advanced a step to-day. We have found a point of agreement between sound, heat, light, and—electricity. When a bell rings it produces waves in the air, alternately compressed and rarefied, which follow one upon the other as waves on the surface of a pond.

These sound-waves move in the air at a pace of about 300 mètres a second. They are propagated in a way that is well known to us, so that we submit it to mathematical calculation. This was known a long time ago. But it has now been discovered that heat and light and also electricity are propagated in the selfsame way, but at a pace of 300,000 kilomètres a second.

It is perhaps matter more rarefied than air that vibrates in the case of electric phenomena; but electricity is due to vibrations quite similar to those produced in the air by a bell, and capable in the same way of being mathematically studied.

Doubtless this is not to know all about electricity: the unknown presses round on all sides—but it is a gain. Thus we can chat from one continent to another without the aid of so much as a submarine cable; and we get the news of the day on board a vessel sailing full speed on mid-ocean.

"But what is this vibrating matter?" you will perhaps ask. "I know nothing about it for the moment, any more than I knew anything about electricity or heat fifty years ago." This will be your answer. And if you still insist and ask, "Will anything be known fifty years hence?" nobody will be able to inform you. How could we tell in 1860 that towards the end of the century we would be able to throw electric vibrations over from Ireland to New York, when we did not even know that electricity consisted of vibrations analogous to light vibrations? Let us try to teach less nonsense, whether religious or lay, in our schools. Let us try to teach natural science better, so as to develop boldness—for ever boldness in young minds—and those that live will see! This is all that science can tell you.

Translated from *Les Temps Nouveaux*.
(To be continued.)

THE COLORADO CONFLICT.

(From the *Literary Digest*.)

The labour war between the miners and coal companies in Colorado is beginning to attract the serious attention of the whole country. "The condition there has been bordering on civil war for several months past," says the *Indianapolis Journal*; and the *Louisville Courier-Journal* remarks, "there are indications that there is a small rebellion in Colorado, and that the insurgents are led by the Executive Department of the State." The situation is "discreditable" and "closely akin to chaos," declares the *Boston Journal*; and the *Cleveland Leader* says that for months it "has shocked the moral sense of the country." The strike began on November 9th last, the miners demanding semi-monthly payments, an eight-hour day, better ventilation of the mines, and the recognition of 2,000 pounds as a ton, instead of having to mine from 2,400 to 3,000 pounds per ton, as before. An amendment to the State Constitution, providing for an eight-hour law, was adopted by 40,000 majority at the State election in 1902; but the legislature failed to enact such a law. The assertion was freely made that the legislature was influenced by corrupt motives in its failure to obey the popular mandate, and the miners felt justified in trying to obtain by a strike what had been thus denied them. Some months ago Governor Peabody put several mining districts under martial law, and the reign of the military has been marked by the seizure and exile of labour leaders and members of the unions. District Judge Theron Stevens has interfered with this work by injunctions and writs of *habeas corpus*; but Adjutant-Gen. Sherman M. Bell and Captain Bulkley Wells, who command the militia, have disregarded the judge's orders, and have been upheld in their course by Governor Peabody. The judge has declared the officers to be in contempt of Court, has assessed a fine of \$500 on each, in their absence, and expresses regret that he cannot hale the governor before his Court and give him similar treatment. Says the judge:—

A very grave question is presented as to whether it is the striking miners or the Governor of Colorado and the national guard that are engaged in insurrection and rebellion against the laws of the State. If there is to be a reign of military despotism in this State, and civil authority is to have no jurisdiction, the latter might as well go out of business.

This conflict between the Court and the militia is to be taken to the Supreme Court.

Governor Peabody says:—

The Courts have no right to enjoin or arrest the officers or members of the military while they are on duty. They are not subject to attachment or injunction at this time. If the District Court of Ouray is to be allowed to interfere in the carrying out of the plans of the military under martial law, there is no reason why a justice of the peace might not with equal authority intervene and render the military absolutely powerless and impotent.

The Springfield (Mass.) *Republican* describes the situation in Colorado thus:—

Hundreds of union miners have been seized and locked up for no stated cause, union newspapers have been suppressed, outside labour agitators have been forcibly deported from the State, and countless numbers of Colorado miners have been dealt with in the same way. A miner mysteriously disappears, and his family is left to conjecture whether he has been murdered or not until a letter comes from him in another State. He had been kidnapped and forcibly removed from the State by the militia—presumably because no criminal charges could be found against him; his presence was obnoxious to the organised operators, and so this means was resorted to for getting rid of him. It is said, and we have seen no denial of the statement, that hundreds of men—citizens of Colorado—have thus been driven from their homes and families into exile. That the proceeding is of the most high-handed and essentially lawless character is evident. Equally clear is it that trouble of the most serious sort must grow out of persistence in these extraordinary proceedings.

The whole of the miners' story has not been told, and we must question whether in all honesty and truth they would care to tell the whole. That they have used intimidation and force to keep out non-union men is readily to be believed. Quite likely there have been desperate characters among them who have dynamited mines or machinery in cases, and their counter charges that hundreds of lives have been lost in the mines by the neglect of operators to observe the law in regard to ventilation, &c., and that some of the outrages charged to the strikers have resulted from the employment of men ignorant of the use of explosives, deserve attention. But beyond all this is the apparent fact that the miners, through lawful methods, have sought to bring about eight-hour enactments, and that the operators, through unlawful methods, have succeeded in defeating the same, and have then undertaken to break up the labour organisations altogether, in which task they have the assistance of the whole military power of the State employing the most outrageous measures of suppression. It would seem to be time for the State authorities of Colorado and the mine operators to give ear to more peaceful counsels in dealing with the situation. Nothing but far worse trouble can come of a relentless prosecution of their present course.

INTERNATIONAL NOTE.

Russia.

Never was the bankruptcy of autocracy and bureaucracy, of Russian Tzardom, so manifest as during the internal and external crisis through which Russia is at present passing. The Russian nation is reaping the fruits of the senseless and atrocious rule of priesthood and police oppression existing during the last twenty years of the reign of Alexander III., of Pobiedonostieff, Von Plehve and consorts. Now on the battlefield it is clearly demonstrated what such a régime, with its suppression of all individual initiative, and of the spirit of daring, means for a great country, ruined economically and kept in ignorance by the governing classes. Not a single general, not a naval officer, has shown himself a man of initiative or audacity. Brave and courageous though most of them may be, hierarchy and bureaucracy presuming to guide their action from a distance of hundreds and thousands of miles, has rendered their heroism and self-sacrifice but a useless decoration.

Continued despotism and persecution, the same reign of police and clerical domination in social life, in schools and universities, lowers the character of the present generation. Even among revolutionists we find no longer that spirit of daring which animated the generation of 1860-80, which had in its ranks fighters like Perovskaya, Zhelaboff, Stepniak, Lopatin, and many others. When now isolated courageous young people, indignant at the general enslavement and despotism, rise as avengers of national dishonour, the majority of the so-called revolutionists, the Social Democrats, are the first to repudiate a Karpovitch, Balmasheff and their friends.

This state of things would be heartrending were it not for the general discontent and unrest manifest among the workers and peasants. Everybody in Russia knows how during the last six years the working class movement and the spirit of revolt have been spreading all over the country. The news of peasant revolts and insubordination comes from Central Russia, as well as from South and East Russia. The peasants of the Dnieper, in their thousands, attacked the landowners and authorities; those of the Volga, of the Saratoff province, are in such a state of ferment that the Government found it necessary to suppress the local agricultural exhibition for fear of a peasant rising. It is not astonishing, therefore, that all Russia under the so-called exceptional police measures is in reality in a state of siege. Every meeting of friends in private houses, every gathering in the streets, is suppressed by the police. Hundreds and thousands of workers and students are arrested, ill-treated and banished. Nevertheless the spirit of revolt begins to penetrate the mass of the people. Demonstrations and strikes are increasing; in the streets of the capital and large towns, as well as in remote provinces, more and more is the cry heard "Down with despotism, long live the Social Revolution!"

The simultaneous general strike in Baku, Tiflis, Batoum, Odessa, Kieff and Nikolajeff, which last August spread in a surprisingly short time, is a good omen, and we shall not be too sanguine if we predict that, indignant at the losses and humiliation of the present war, the Russian people will make a great and strenuous effort to shake off the present political régime which dishonours the country and paralyses the national development and welfare.

LITERARY NOTE.

We have received a pamphlet published by P. Fraubose (Berlin N. Kopenhagenerstr. 74) for the German Anarchist Federation. It is called "Wekruf an alle die denken wollen," and contains a short and comprehensive exposition of—

1. The State and Parliamentarism.
2. The workers' movement and the general strike.
3. The principles of the German Anarchist Federation.

In a country where Social Democracy holds such a powerful sway this little pamphlet may help to rouse the workers to form an independent opinion on questions which are of such vital importance to them.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

For March and April.

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—Moore 10s., N. and K. 30s., H. Glasse 30s., F. Charles 30s., W. Wess 10s., D. 5s., W. T. 5s., T. F. Macdonald £2.

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