

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

VOL. XIX.—No. 198

JUNE-JULY, 1905.

MONTHLY; ONE PENNY

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

If some of our readers thought that there was exaggeration in describing the events in Russia as the beginnings of a revolution, because up to the present time we have heard of more massacres of the working men than of victories of the revolutionary parties,—recent events will probably convince them that a movement which deserves to be named a revolution is really going on in Russia. Only it must not be forgotten that a revolution is not a mere change of Government, which may be accomplished after a few hours' fighting on the barricades in the capital. It is a deeply penetrating movement, which affects all classes of society, results in violent struggles that are fought at thousands of spots all over the country between the different classes and sections of the nation, upsets all current conceptions about class relations, about property rights and about authority, and prepares the future even more than it succeeds in achieving at the moment. This is why every revolution takes time to attain its development, and why those movements, like the Paris or Barcelona Commune, which have been stifled after a few months' existence, have not grown to be revolutions.

A distinctive feature of all revolutions is the rapidity with which the leading ideas of the moment are progressing in a radical direction. Mirabeau and Lafayette, who played the parts of revolutionists in 1789, were already reactionaries next year, and the bourgeois-republican Girondists had to be guillotined in 1793, in order to obtain from the Convention a real abolition of the feudal rights.

Ideas develop now in Russia with the same rapidity. In November last the name of Shipoff was on all lips as the promoter of the Zemstvo (County Councils) Congress, in which the first demands of a Constitution were expressed. Now, Shipoff is already standing out as a reactionist, ideas having so much progressed that even the most moderate Whig Constitutionalists of Russia claim the immediate convocation of a National Assembly, elected by the universal suffrage and without a second chamber.

There is, however, something much more important than this change in the opinions of the governing minorities. The views, the hopes, and the demands of the labouring classes—peasants and workmen in towns—are progressing with the same rapidity. A long distance has already been covered since the times when—not further back than last summer—a peaceful working men's demonstration or a partial strike was considered as a not easily obtainable ideal, or when, in January last, nearly 100,000 St. Petersburg workmen went with Georgius Gapon to the Winter Palace to peacefully speak to the Tsar, and, if need be, to prove by their self-sacrifice that "benevolent Tsardom" is a myth that had to go like other myths. Who in any industrial town of Russia would lay now any hopes in any one of the Romanoff family? Who would talk of demonstrations unarmed?

The doomed ones ride fast into the abyss which swallows the men of hollow promises and the traitors!

All Poland is now on fire, but not the Poland of mere patriots, as was the case in 1863,—the Poland of the people: the working man, the artisan, the peasant Poland rising against the Polish and Jewish exploiter, as much as against the representative of the Tsar's authority. It is a *Labour movement*, directed against the Polish, German and Jewish exploiters, which keeps the Polish Manchester (Lodz) in revolt. Of course, the Polish and Yiddish working men, not perverted yet by Social Democratic ideas, and remaining simply Socialists, while they attack their exploiters, do not forget that no revolution would accomplish its task if it did not set *the nation free, as a nation, from foreign rule*; but they conduct both revolts, economical and political, hand in hand. In Warsaw we saw lately that extremely important fact, that even Jews, who in olden times would keep all together, the banker with the slum-dweller, the sweated with the sweater, revolted now against those of their own race and creed who trade in human ware, Gentile and Jewish alike, and against whom the fury of the poor is usually directed first in times of popular excitement.

Of the rural movements in Russia, and especially in Georgia, we have spoken already. But it is not in the Caucasus only that the peasant revolts break out. In many parts of Central Russia the peasants revolt—and politely ask the landlord to leave, while they take possession of the land and cultivate it for themselves. They do it in the most business-like manner. They elect one of the wealthiest peasants of the village to act as their elder; they convoke the mir; take the oath—just as they used to do in the revolted mediæval Communes; asking the clergyman to be there, cross in hand, to give them

the blessing for the new departure; then they go to the landlord or to his representative and signify that henceforth the land is theirs, and the horses are ready for the landlord and his family for their deportation to the next town. Then they see him off with all sorts of good wishes if the landlord was not a bad man, and proceed to divide the land between all households, as they are wont to do with their communal lands. When many villages have done that, they pass a mutual agreement: if need be, the land will be re-adjusted between the villages according to the number of households in each of them. And the movement is spreading, thus bringing Russia every day nearer to the communalisation of land. And Western Europe, too, let us hope.

The Central Russia manufacturing region remained pretty quiet till now. But that silent, underground infiltration of revolutionary ideas which has taken place lately in Poland and in Western Russia amongst the factory workmen—an infiltration which cannot be explained by the work of any Socialist party and is much more like a Knights of Labour propaganda—that underground movement has reached at last the Central Moscow region too, and a large manufacturing town (Ivanovo-Voznesensk) is now in nearly the same condition as Lodz.

"General Strike!" this is the watchword which runs all over Russia, notwithstanding all the efforts of the politicians to hamper the movement, and their ridiculous efforts to get the lead of it. The "parties" are nowhere. The working men accept their services, they will accept arms from them, if they succeed in introducing some, or get the money to buy them,—but there the influence of the Socialist ends. The working men prefer to act by themselves. They strike a revolt when and where they find it best,—the slightest incident in the street, or in a factory, often leading to a general uprising. A row, a few blows exchanged, anything is enough, under the present state of mind, to bring about an armed conflict. And such small conflicts are recorded by the hundred since the beginning of this year.

And now comes the latest news from Odessa. The crew of an ironclad battleship have revolted against their officers, and, holding them under arrest, have come to take provisions at Odessa and to bury there one of their comrades whom a dastardly officer had shot "for mutiny." It has been coming for a long time, this revolt of the Black Sea sailors against their masters. It was near Nikolaeff, a Black Sea port, that the first mine had been laid, in 1879, by the sailor Logovenko with the intention of blowing up the train of Alexander II. There was always a spirit of independence amongst the Black Sea sailors which never existed in the Baltic fleet, deprived by contact with the Court. And now they have raised the flag of the Revolution on one of the best battle ships. If the Odessa workmen only understand in time the importance of the moment, and, proclaiming the General Strike, join hands with the brave sailors—they will have proclaimed the Commune of Odessa.

The Russian revolutionary papers now discuss the possibility of Communes in Russian towns. The sailors of the *Prince Potemkin* have made the first step towards the practical realisation of the Commune in Russia. But whether it comes this time at Odessa, or only comes later on, somewhere else—the idea is sure to make progress, and it is certain that attempts to realise it will be made here and there. Only it must not be forgotten that Revolutions take some time to attain their full development.

FATHER GAPON.

The *Grand Magazine* has in its June number an interview, by G. H. Perris, with Georgius Gapon. It is genuine, and we recommend it to our readers. The *Strand Magazine* for July begins an autobiography of this notable personality, Father Gapon, who succeeded in seven or eight months in organising in St. Petersburg from 6,000 to 7,000 working men, and inspired them with such enthusiasm that on the eve of that terrible Sunday (January 22nd) nearly 70,000 working men had taken the oath of coming out next day, although they foresaw perfectly well that there were all chances of them being shot down by the troops that had been massed round the Winter Palace. This was, however, the only way to kill the deeply-rooted faith of the people in all these imperial and royal impostors,—and for that purpose they made the sacrifice of their lives. Those who have survived will now continue the fight without being hampered by those prejudices. "There's no God, no Tsar!" exclaimed Gapon as he, having been dragged by working men friends into a side street after the massacre of the column he was leading, flung his cassock on the ground, and issued his proclamation in which he wrote: "Down with all their viper brood!"

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

Monthly, One Penny; post free, 1d.; 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.

In future all Money and Postal Orders should be made payable to T. H. Keell.

BAKUNIN.

WRITTEN FOR THE BAKUNIN ANNIVERSARY NUMBER OF THE
YIDDISH "WORKERS' FRIEND."

Old Blanqui used to say that the influence of events is better measured by their indirect consequences than by the direct ones,—the former being always more important than the latter.

Speaking of Bakunin, we also must measure his influence, not so much by what he has done personally, as by the influence he exercised upon those who stood round him,—on their thoughts and their activities.

His literary productions were not many. *The Idea of the State and Anarchism*, *The Historical Development of the International Working Men's Association*, *God and the State*—these are the three small books he wrote. The remainder—*The Knouto-Germanic Empire*, *Letters to a Frenchman on the Present Crisis*, *Theological Politics and Mazzini*, *The Bears of Bern*, and so on,—all these were pamphlets which he wrote to answer some question of the day, or letters which he began to write to his comrades, and which attained the size of a pamphlet. Even the above-named books had the same origin.

Bakunin sat down to write a letter on a question of the moment. But his letter soon became a pamphlet, and the pamphlet a book, because with his deep conception of the philosophy of history, and his immense stock of information about contemporary events, he had so much to say that the pages were rapidly filled up.

If we only think of what he and his friends—and his friends were Herzen, Ogareff, Mazzini, Ledru Rollin, and all the best men of action of that revolutionary period of the forties—had thought over the dreams they had lived through, and felt during those years of hope which preceded 1848, and of despair which followed it,—if we only remember what a period they had lived through, we understand at once how thoughts, images, facts, and arguments, borrowed from the knowledge of real life, must have impressed themselves on Bakunin's mind. We see why his generalisations in the philosophy of history were so richly intermingled with facts and thoughts taken from contemporary reality.

It must be noted, however, that every pamphlet by Bakunin marked a turning point in the history of revolutionary thought in Europe. His speech at the Congress of Peace and Liberty League was a challenge thrown out to all the Radicals of Europe. Bakunin declared in it that the Radicalism of 1848 had had its day, and that a new era—the era of Labour Socialism—had come. That by the side of the question of Political Liberty there was the question of Economical Independence, the question of property rights, and that this would be henceforth the dominating factor in European history.

His pamphlet addressed to the Mazzinians announced the end of the period of conspiracies for national independence and the beginning of the Social Revolution, as also the end of the sentimental Christian Socialism, and the beginning of the atheistic, realistic Communism. And his famous letter to Herzen about the International and Bazaroff's realism had the same significance for Russia as the former for Italy.

The Bears of Bern was a parting word said to the Swiss Philistine democratism, while his *Letters to a Frenchman*, written during the war of 1870-71, were a litany to the radicalism of Gambetta, and an appeal for the new era which soon found its expression in the Paris Commune—this uprising casting aside the Louis Blanc idea of State Socialism and proclaiming the new idea of a Communist Commune. The Commune, raising for the defence of its territory, and beginning the social revolution within its own walls,—this was what he recommended as the means for repulsing the German invasion.

The Knouto-German Empire was a prophetic vision of the old revolutionist who saw perfectly well, since then (1871), the reaction which would pervade Europe for the next thirty or forty years, as a consequence of the triumph of the Bismarck's military state, and at the same time of the German State Socialism of which the godfather had

been this same Bismarck patronising Lasalle. This pamphlet also marked a completely new tendency of modern thought in Latin countries towards No-State-Communism, or Anarchism.

And finally, *The Idea of the State and Anarchism*, *The Historical Development of the International*, and *God and the State*, albeit their combative pamphlet form (which they owe to their having been written for the needs of the moment), contain for the thinking reader more practical thought and more philosophical comprehension of history than heaps of university and State-Socialist treatises, in which the absence of deeply thought ideas is concealed under foggy dialectics.

They contain no ready-made recipes for political cooking. Those who expect to find in a book the solution of all their doubts, without having to pass themselves through the process of thinking, will not find that in Bakunin's works. But if you are capable of thinking for yourself, if you are accustomed to look upon a book as upon material to be thought over independently,—as a talk with an intelligent man who wakes up your own intellect,—then the hot, sometimes disorderly, and sometimes luminous and brilliant generalisations of Bakunin will help you more in your revolutionary development than all the above-mentioned treatises.

However, the main force of Bakunin was not in his writings. It was in his personal influence. He made Byelinsky* what he became for Russia—the type of the unflinching Socialist, Revolutionist, and Nihilist, which was personified later on in our admirable youth of the seventies. It was Bakunin who provoked the new birth of Byelinsky. "You are my intellectual father," he wrote to Bakunin.

At Paris in 1847, and in Germany in 1848, his influence upon all men of mark of his time was immense. Bernard Shaw (in his *Perfect Wagnerite*) tells in a jocular way that in Siegfried, who knew no fear and carried away Brunhild by the force of his fearless love, Wagner impersonated Bakunin, by whose side he had stood during the Dresden Revolution. Most probably it was not Bakunin personally, but the daring Revolutionist altogether who was Wagner's prototype of Siegfried, but in his creation Wagner surely was deeply impressed by his fearless friend. And not only on Wagner, but also on George Sand, on Herzen and Ogareff, and on all the circle of French Socialists who were then in Paris, as well as on Young Germany and Young Italy, and even on the young Swedes, Bakunin exercised in his time a most powerful influence. "It was impossible to approach him and not to be infected by his revolutionary spirit,—not to be carried away by his powerful revolutionary argumentation." So his contemporaries spoke of him.

He was the same when, in 1862, he once more rejoined his friends in London, after his escape from Siberia, and immediately on his return he began organising the revolutionary forces.

It is possible that, as his friend Herzen reproached him after the failure of the Polish uprising, he often placed more hope in those who approached him than they deserved. But was not the same thing said about Mazzini and every other sincere Revolutionist? This is perhaps why he exercised such a magical influence, because he believed in man, believed that the great cause of which he made him a partner would arouse in the new-comer all that was best in him. And so it did. Under Bakunin's influence the man gave to the Revolution all the best that he was capable of. He appealed to the higher qualities of man; and if some of those whom he tried to inspire did not fully answer to his appeal, the rampant politician traders in Socialism who swarmed in the ranks of his Marxist adversaries, never succeeded in gaining his confidence.

Herzen has told in a humorous way how Bakunin easily accepted men and gave them commissions in the East. But was it so? At any rate, those men whom Bakunin grouped in his famous Alliance—Varlin, Elisée Reclus, Cafiero, Malatesta, Fanelli (his emissary to Spain), James Guillaume, Schwitzguebel, and so on, and so on—were the best men whom the Latin races had produced at that moment. I should say, on the contrary, that Bakunin's judgment of men was wonderfully good. Read, for instance, what he wrote about Netchaieff, whose good and bad features he had so wonderfully indicated. Who could add anything to his character sketch?

But there was something else in his influence upon men. What is most striking is the extremely high moral level of those men who were grouped round him in Western Europe as his intimate friends. I did not know Bakunin personally, but I have known very intimately most of those who worked with him in the International Working Men's Association, and whom Marx and Engels and Liebknecht persecuted with their most vituperant hatred. And I maintain the above in the face of those who hated them so bitterly. History, I am sure, will confirm this appreciation of mine. The Social Revolution has certainly had amongst them quite a phalanx of its best supporters and promoters.

As to the activity of Bakunin within the International Working Men's Association, I have briefly sketched it in my "Memoirs." At a time when the crushing defeat of France, the murder of 35,000 Paris working men after the fall of the Commune, and the triumph of the German Empire had opened a new period of reaction, which lasts till now, and when Marx and his friends endeavoured by means of all sorts of intrigues to transform the International Association, created for the purposes of a direct struggle against capitalism, into an arm of parliamentary politics in the hands of those workers who were going to pass

* Byelinsky was the great Russian critic in the forties. Towards the end of his life he became Communist and Revolutionist, and only his death prevented his arrest.

over to the Philistine camp,—at such a time the Federalist federations of the International, inspired by Bakunin, became the only stronghold against all European reaction.

To Bakunin and his friends we owe thus in a great degree that in Latin lands the revolutionary spirit, which was widely spread by the International within the labour masses of these countries, was maintained, and was thus enabled to prevent the backward movement that began amidst the once Radical middle classes, from carrying with it the working men as well.

Amidst these working men grew up then the young power which, abandoned soon by the once revolutionary Radicals, took up the struggle for freedom in Europe and developed gradually into Communist Anarchism, with its ideal of economical and political equality, and its bold negation of the exploiting of man by Capital and State alike.

P. KROPOTKIN.

June, 1905.

THE STATE AND THE UNEMPLOYED.

Poor naked wretches, wheresoe'er you are,
That bide the pelting of this pitiless storm,
How shall your houseless heads and unfed sides,
Your loop'd and window'd raggedness, defend you
From seasons such as these? —SHAKESPEARE.

These burning words of King Lear must awaken a fierce echo in the hearts of the workers who have feeling and intelligence enough to observe and to understand what is happening around them. The Government's treatment of the Leicester men after their arduous march ought to arouse the indignation of the most apathetic. The moral courage of the brave little army that tramped that hundred miles through muddy roads and drenching rain, ill-fed, ill-clothed, and poorly shod, to bring home to the richest city in the world their misery, their want, their honest wish for work, wins our unbounded sympathy and admiration, and increases, if that were possible, our hatred and contempt of the system that enthralled them.

These words are easy to write, and no one realises better than the Anarchist the futility of high-sounding phrases in the face of such suffering and injustice as their condition betokens. But let us at least say what we think; and in face of the cowardly indifference, and the self-seeking cynicism of the majority of the labour leaders a protest should be heard from the workers that should bring these weak-kneed ones to their senses.

We have said recently, and we repeat it now that Government neither can nor will solve the unemployed question, and that even if some paltry attempt was made in that direction, the conditions under which it would be carried out would be too galling and too degrading for honest men to submit to. It is the co-operators and the trade-unionists who must bestir themselves to provide some alleviation of the misery into which the people are sinking. The crimes of the Government and the exploiters, and the apathy of a large majority of the people, are hurrying us on to a state of things that will end in an industrial crisis, but those who raise hopes of reforms being enacted by a Parliament, which is itself reeking with corruption, must indeed be blind leaders of the blind. It is well-known that Government itself is the worst of employers—the march of the Raund's men emphasised this—and the discontent in the arsenals, the dockyards and the Post-office, is evidence of the hardships that would be inflicted on the unfortunate "out-of-works" who should fall under the scourge of the State.

It is better to face the hard and brutal fact that the capitalist system *must* have its unemployed, and however much their numbers may be reduced in "good times" they will always exist in sufficiently large numbers to act as a check on the workers' claims for better wages. Were it otherwise the workers would wield the controlling power, and could, if intelligent and energetic, enforce such claims against the masters as would amount to an act of expropriation.

So we are not likely to see the unemployed problem solved this side of the social evolution. But, on the other hand we are just as firmly convinced that much good might be done if the co-operators, turning their attention to the land and helped by the trade-unions, would begin by organising small industrial communes. The English, it seems, must plod along in their own particular way, which they are so fond of regarding as so practical and superior, and here it seems to us are means that answer to the English character. It leaves the vast field of propaganda for the true Socialist still to work in, and in this direction everyone can do some useful work—the more revolutionary the better. But by the present tactics of appealing to politicians, either already corrupt or on the high road to that inevitable consummation, and fostering the fatal habit of trusting to the broken reed of so-called State aid, Socialism itself is greatly suffering. Direct action in this as in other things is the true road to success.

As to the action of the unemployed in marching on London, we welcome it as a healthy sign. Their oppressors, who make the laws that keep them poor, sit here in their vicious assembly. The exploiters who boast of their wealth transact their schemes of robbery in the very heart of this great city. So we say let them march in their thousands on this Babylon of luxury and crime. They will not, we are sure, shame the parasites who batten on the unpaid labour of the workers, but by these means the disinherited may begin to realise their power, and at the same time rouse the sympathies of their fellow-workers. The latter they have already succeeded in doing.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Italy.

The Railway Men's Congress has cleared the air of all doubt as to the intelligence of that organisation known as the "Riscatto Ferroviario." As one much-applauded speaker put it, nine months ago the strength of the railway men was felt to be inefficient, so a meeting of 150 delegates took place, and the first thing they did was to free themselves from the control of the Parliamentary group. Since then there has been a new energy in the movement. There is still, however, much doubt and hesitation in the minds of some of the most trusted men, and it was this element in the strike committee that led the strike to the ridiculous finish of an appeal to the deputies to make terms with the Government. Such men for their faint-heartedness are likely to lose even more than the confidence of their comrades.

A new stimulant to the divergent tendencies of direct and indirect action is the declaration of the Pope that it is now the duty of all his flock to combat the Socialists in the political arena. No one knows to how great an extent this will affect the Socialist Parliamentary party. The experience of Germany would point to the forming of two great parties, Catholics and Democrats; but in Italy one cannot ignore the fact that the true energy of the Socialists is at bottom purely Anarchist, and that as yet the bureaucratic or "reformist" section has not felt strong enough to walk alone. Therefore it is not likely that this new element of opposition will strengthen the party of compromise, although the ground has been well prepared by those who feel that it is the greatest glory of free thought to attack the Church.

This anti-Church campaign has, by the very nature of its purely negative atmosphere, the result of quite annihilating the sense of reverence in the people. Yet it is to this same sense that the Parliamentary candidates appeal. In this condition the people turn to the practical side of Socialism, so that one may foresee a result of the propaganda quite different to that anticipated by either the priest or the politician.

K. W.

Australia.

Comrade Fleming writes to us saying that the condition of things in Melbourne is awful. Bad trade, numbers of unemployed, and wide-spread political corruption; these are the main features of what is called social life in that city. Anarchism, he tells us, is spreading, while "Labour Member" is used as a term of reproach. He encloses a cutting from the *Melbourne Age*, which gives a long account of the May Day celebrations.

After describing the great preparations of the Labour party, with their bands and banners, three lorries for platforms, and a long list of speakers, it goes on to say:—

Notwithstanding this great display of rhetorical talent, Mr. Fleming proved far and away the most powerful attraction. An immense crowd assembled round the standard of Anarchy. The orators of the Yarra Bank, as a rule, use strong language. Their lights are lurid and their colours vivid. Mr. Fleming is a past master in the art, and he delighted his hearers immensely. He opened out by attacking Parliament as one of the institutions inimical to the true freedom of the people, and the Labour party incidentally as defenders of it. "Those rascals over the way," he said, pointing to the speakers on the lorries, "are only using your organisations to get fat billets in Parliament and keep you in the gutter. They only want to rule others. There's Martin Hannah, a nice article he is to rule other men; and Stephen Barker, a man who boasted that he had got a man nine months in gaol—another nice article to be a ruler of men. They won't rule me. I would rather die an Anarchist. Then there's that political 'shyster' Maloney. I'll spoil his little game. He's just been to Japan."

"Rats," interjected a bystander.

"Yes," continued Mr. Fleming, "he saw rats. That's why he came back." Quotations from Emerson and Spencer, Byron and Shakespeare, Kropotkin and Karl Marx, interspersed with tirades against existing institutions and denunciations of his adversaries, made up the staple of Mr Fleming's speech, which was delivered with a certain rough readiness which held the attention of the crowd.

Norway.

In the Scandinavian countries Socialism is eagerly discussed among the young, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, each having its own "Alliance of Socialist Youth." Each group (Union) publishes its special organ, well printed and, as in the case of the Swedish *Brand*, illustrated. The Danish union has recently announced that it belongs to no political party; it also accepts Anarchist articles for its review, *Ny Tid* (New Times), although as a body the said union is Marxist. The Swedish union is yet more advanced, denouncing superstition in the shape of religion, militarism, and authority. At congresses its delegates have openly declared their disbelief in Parliamentarism, and have not been afraid (as are English Socialists) to discuss the merits of the General Strike as a labour weapon, although, paradoxically, they suggest its utility as a means to gain manhood suffrage. Hinke Bergegren, their best speaker, and editor of *Brand*, frequently lectures, and has enthusiastically acclaimed Anarchistic idealism, while contending that much can be done by the Social Democratic party, whose conservatism he fights hotly. There are also several large Revolutionary-Socialist unions in Sweden, meetings being constantly held. Owing to this and *Brand's* circulation of 9,000 copies, their influence tells widely among the workers. There are Anarchists in these unions. The S.D. party has also founded an Alliance for its youth, whose meetings, however, appeal more to the social side of the movement, dances being frequent. The Norwegian Alliance, although influenced by does not belong to the S.D. party, and permits both the inclusion of Anarchist members and the free discussion of Anarchism in its clubs. Its review, *Det 20th Aarhundrede* (The 20th Century), is edited in a Social-Democratic spirit, yet Comrade Hansteen, who edits the Anarchist paper *Til Frihet*, hopes to write an article for it. This duly shows the fraternal and generous spirit that controls Scandinavian libertarian literature. We much regret to state that Kristofer Hansteen, who sent us the matter for this note, lies on a sick bed in very fragile health. He has been ailing more or less for some time, and his strength no longer permits him to carry on the work of his paper. Single-handed, and with indomitable Anarchist courage, he has worked for freedom and *Til Frihet* till he dropped. Now, amid great bodily weakness and the loneliness of a wage-earner's sick bed, he rallies to greet his English comrades through *Freedom*, and to say a word on the Scandinavian movement. None who knew him when in England some few years since forgets the frank, courteous, clear-hearted comrade who found his way into *Freedom* office one day, and from that moment for some eighteen months helped to "comp" and bring out the paper, assuming the labour in that spirit of true comradeship of which we write and read much, yet far too seldom meet in practice. Heartfelt greetings, then, to our ailing friend, and best wishes for his recovery.

As yet the Socialist forces of Norway are not powerful enough to wholly bias the nation's policy under its present severance from Sweden. Between the choice of becoming a republic or remaining a monarchy the popular voice seems for the latter, while of its leading spirits some are for the retention of the Union, others for its dissolution. As to the fear that Russia will gain the ascendancy in the two countries in course of time, the permission of Europe would doubtless have to be first gained. Meanwhile, both Socialists and Anarchists will be educating the people to nobler ideals than are rife under monarchies.

Russia.

Still the bitter struggle continues between the dying autocracy and its risen captive—the people. Events follow events; every day a fresh massacre of women and children leads to some fierce reprisal on the part of the students or workers. Who, on Plehve's death, on July 28th last, would have imagined that within one year of the fall of that keystone of oppression the whole edifice of bureaucratic power would crumble in pieces over his grave. Yet this and much more is what has happened. Not only is bureaucracy in the melting pot, but blood shaken to its foundations. And all within twelve months. So is the Tsardom of the countless political martyrs of the fortresses and Siberia avenged. For never again is it possible that an autocrat can reign over Russia, never again will ministers and police have the power to stamp on the rights of the people as they have done for two centuries. The old order under Time's relentless hand changes for the new; the Russia that was dead; a new Russia, baptised in tears and blood rises to face the world, its future brilliant with possibilities. Who cares what the fate of the Tsar may be! Who but is touched to the quick with profound sympathy, interest, and solicitude for the young nation that has broken its bonds and is fighting its way to freedom with such sublime contempt for death, such fierce determination to win! Even the the phlegmatic English workman is stirred. It was the day after Red Sunday when a worker in a tram turned to his fellow and began in the writer's hearing to read football details from a sporting paper. "Drop that," said the other, shortly, "think of yesterday in Russia and what those poor devils are fighting for!" When an English workman can forget football to ponder over the sorrows of an alien people, it means something is passing that has roused the heart of the world. But Red Sunday pales before the Cossack atrocities in Poland of the past few days. The list of killed during one week's conflict amounts to 561, the wounded over 700—all workers, many being women and children. But the more brutal the Tsar's soldiers, the more dogged the resistance offered in the open or behind street barricades. There is no downing the fierce Polish spirit now thoroughly roused, the one misfortune being that the revolutionary committees are not united as to their plan of campaign. However, between them things are made unpleasant for the authorities, and neither bullets nor Cossack whips can now stay the wave of rebellion sweeping across the country. As soon as the insurrectionary movement seems suppressed in one place it breaks out in another; silenced there, it revives in the old. In Georgia the peasant movement grows daily stronger, the Caucasus seethes, the whole huge fabric of once independent countries that forms the Tsar's empire totters to its base, and unless he chooses to fall with it, every concession demanded by the people must be granted. The Georgians are willing to forego separation, but they intend to regain their once autonomous existence and restitution of the Georgian language in the schools and law courts, all of which were wrested from them about fifty years ago. Whether there is to be a Constitution or not in Russia—for as yet the leaders of public thought are divided in opinion as to its desirability—this is certain, that every Government department will see its power modified if not rescinded. The thousand petty restrictions, the police regulations, that fettered every step of free speech or thought in the schools and homes of Russia are even now passing. Soon they will be dead. Even now the Government drops the projected persecution of Maxim Gorky. They dare not bring him to trial. From every corner of the world young Russians are hurrying homewards, sacrificing their prospects, sinking their property, intent only on getting back in time to put in a blow for freedom. Is there a single heart in the universe but responds to the indomitable determination of these men at all odds to win this fight against oppression and autocracy, or that fails to reverence the unselfish devotion that prompts men, women, and children alike to face bullets and a savage soldiery with the stoical courage of veteran troops? Their blood will not be spilt in vain as far as the regeneration of their country goes, and as for those who counsel and permit such butcheries—from the Tsar downwards they will be called to account. For the Revolution is come.

South America.

In our May issue a few words were said as to the *Protesta* of Buenos Ayres. We regret to learn from a comrade that the paper has since been worse handled than was thought. No copy has reached us later than May 26th, and we learn that the office has been definitely closed by the authorities, and for a time, at least, our contemporary is suppressed. To refer to our informant: The work that *La Protesta* was doing on behalf of the downtrodden and its undreamt-of results became a compromising affair for the authorities. Its issue of nine to ten thousand copies daily, exposing the robbery carried on by the Government, as well as its exposure of the capitalist creed, became too strong for the "big bugs" to stand. After a succession of partial strikes in every trade throughout the country (this at Rosani being an excuse for shooting down the workers), *La Protesta* organised a General Strike of two days as a protest against the aforesaid outrage. This was completely successful, and the Government then understood the power of the paper. Then it was that a pretended political plot was simulated. Warrants could thus be issued for the arrest of all "dangerous persons." Albert Ghirardo, the brave, outspoken editor, and other comrades were at once captured and sent as prisoners on board a man-of-war. It is feared that every lying pretext will be seized to connect the leaders of Socialist and Anarchist thought with the pretended plot, so that they may be incarcerated for years. Prison is invariably the lot of outspoken men, and though one may grieve over their sad lot, is it not thus that Socialism spreads?

RELIEF FUND For Russian Revolutionists.

	£	s.	d.
Previously acknowledged	2	17	0
S. C. Potter	5	0	0
Collected by Leeds Comrades	0	1	0
	£3	3	0

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.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—Anon 1s. 4d., H. Glasse (May) 15s., (June) 15s., "Nupkins" (South Africa) 10s., A.W. Stirling 1s., Rjececk 1s. 6d., H. Taylor 1s., P.K. 20s., "House Party" 17s.
FREEDOM Subscriptions.—Mrs. Hyde 1s., J. Holland 2s., McLoughlin 2s. 6d., Bedford 3s., W. Jago 1s. 6d., F. W. Lear 2s., E. L. Gillett 3s., H. H. Knolle 1s. 6d., F. Thompson 1s. 6d., M. P. Cabezon 1s. 6d., B. Moritz 4s., Rjececk 3s., R. Gunderson 1s. 6d., C. C. Cotterill 1s. 6d., Mrs. Overton 1s. 6d., Y. Gybels 9d., M. Lubineau 1s., L. Aleonard 4s.
Sales of FREEDOM.—L. Withington 3s., J. McAra 10s. 8d., W. Ford 2s. 8d., A. B. Howie 4s., T. Melinsky 1s. 4d., D. Davies 1s. 4d., H. Taylor 3s., Alvan Marlow 3s., R. Malcome 10s. 8d., Josephs 5s.
Pamphlet and Book Sales.—W. E. Fisher 1s., Ruderman 5s. 2d., J. McAra £2 0s. 6d., F. Weeks 2s. 2s., J. Doody 2s., S. C. Potter 1s. 6d., E. L. Gillett 2s., W. Walling 2s., C. A. Sharples 1s. 7d., T. Sweetlove 1s. 6d., R. Gunderson 2s. 2d., D. Greenblatt 3s., K. Morleit 2s. 4d.

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. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
- No. 6. ANARCHIST MORALITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
- No. 8. ANARCHY AND OUTRAGE. By C. M. WILSON. 1d.
- No. 9. ANARCHY ON TRIAL—George Etiévant, Jean Grave and Caserio Santo. 32 pages; 1d.
- No. 10. ANARCHISM: ITS PHILOSOPHY AND IDEAL. By P. KROPOTKIN. 1d.
- No. 11. THE STATE ITS HISTORIC RÔLE. By P. Kropotkin. 2d.
- No. 12. RESPONSIBILITY AND SOLIDARITY IN THE LABOR STRUGGLE. 1d.
- No. 15. THE COMING REVIVAL OF SOCIALISM. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

Other Pamphlets.

MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONIST.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

2 vols., 12s. post free. Published at 21s.

- WHAT IS PROPERTY? By P. J. PROUDHON. 2 vols, 2s. post-free 2s. 4d.
- EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION. By E. RECLUS. 1d.
- FIELDS, FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS. By P. KROPOTKIN. Paper cover 6d., post-free 9d.; cloth cover 1s., post-free 1s. 3d.
- WAR. By P. KROPOTKIN. 1d.
- MUTUAL AID: A FACTOR OF EVOLUTION. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 3s. 6d., post free.
- CHICAGO MARTYRS: SPEECHES IN COURT. 1s. Post free 1s. 3d.
- SKETCH OF MORALITY WITHOUT SANCTION OR OBLIGATION. By M. GUYAU. 10d. post free.
- PAGES OF SOCIALIST HISTORY. By W. TCHERKESOV. 1s. 3d.
- HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By C. L. JAMES. 4s.
- MORIBUND SOCIETY AND ANARCHY. By J. GRAVE. 1s.
- DIRECT ACTION VERSUS LEGISLATION. By J. BLAIR SMITH. 1d.
- AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
- LAW AND AUTHORITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.
- A DIALOGUE AND HUMOROUS POETRY. By I. S. B. 1d.
- CHANTS FOR SOCIALISTS. By WILLIAM MORRIS. 1d.
- USEFUL WORK VERSUS USELESS TOIL. By WILLIAM MORRIS. 1d.
- SOCIALISM THE REMEDY. By HENRY GLASSE. 1d.
- SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY. By GUSTAV LANDAUER. 1d.
- ORGANISED VENGEANCE—CALLED "JUSTICE." By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
- ESSAYS ON SOCIAL PROBLEMS. By H. ADDIS. 2½d.
- GOD AND THE STATE. By MICHAEL BAKOUNINE. 4d.
- THE ORIGIN OF ANARCHISM. By C. L. JAMES. 2d.

All Penny Pamphlets (unmixed) 1s. 6d. for 24. Post free.

* This pamphlet is 1s. 9d. for 24.

"FREEDOM" MAY BE OBTAINED OF

London—W. APPLEYARD, 108, Shoe Lane, Fleet Street (Wholesale).
 W. REEVES, 83, Charing Cross Road, W.
 O. MATHIAS, 20, Little Pulteney Street, W.
 HEILIGENSTEIN, 29, Charlotte Street, W.
 "NEW ORDER" Office, 26, Paternoster Square, E.C.
 B. RUDERMAN, 71, Hanbury Street, Spitalfields, E.
Birmingham—W. ROSENBERG, 60, Ashby Street.
Hull—FREE COMMUNE PRESS, 11, Brigham Terrace, Adelaide Street.
Leicester—A. GORRIE, 2, Brazil Street.
Norwich—A. JORDAN, Bridewell Alley.
Glasgow—D. BAXTER, 126, Trongate.
 A. B. HOWIE, 91, Aitkenhead Road.
Dundee—L. MACARTNEY, 184, Overgate.
U.S.A.—N. NOTKIN, 1332 S. 6th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
 K. A. SNELLENBERG, 127, Centre Street, Roxbury, Mass.
New Zealand—P. JOSEPHS, 17, Revan Street, Wellington.

Printed and published by J. TURNER, 117, Old London Street, London, N.W.