

Freedom

JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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MONTHLY; ONE PENNY

SPECIAL NOTICE:

We hope that comrades and friends will push the sale of this issue of FREEDOM at the numerous meetings held all over the country to protest against the Tsar's visit. We have printed an extra number in anticipation, and will send them to any town at the rate of 13 for 9d., 26 for 1s. 6d. Cash with orders. Shall we send you some?

NOTES.

The Tsar's Visit.

It is a welcome sign of an awakening sense of shame amongst English workers to find them raising their voices in protest against the intended visit of the Tsar. It is also a sinister sign of the powers that control the Press to find three-fourths of the English papers ignoring the matter altogether or trying to pervert its real significance. It should prove to the party of progress that there is a great deal more to be done in the fighting of reaction than taking part in Parliamentary contests. The South Place meeting to welcome Vera Figner was also most encouraging and full of the spirit that was manifest in '86 and '87. If all this should prove the prelude to a revival of an agitation rousing the people to a sense of the dangers that are gathering on all sides to undermine such liberties as they have, and to tighten the chains of economic servitude, much good may come of this beginning. But so much depends upon whether the workers are only to be told to vote or whether they are to be awakened to think and to act. In any case, all who have any feeling for humanity, no matter on what other points they may be divided, should be up and doing, and prepared to add their voices to the cry of execration against this monster who maintains his power by resorting to the most infamous of cruelties.

The Crimes of Government.

A philosopher of old said: "Go forth and see with what little wisdom the world is governed." We would rather say: "See with what criminal stupidity men, in their lust for wealth and power, breed hatred and revenge against themselves." It is quite well understood that natural forces must and will have free play, and that what we call catastrophes, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, etc., are simply manifestations of this fact. It is the same with the evolution of humanity. Social forces, the aspirations of a nation as well as the physical needs of the people, cry out for development in the one case, for satisfaction in the other. The answer is the brute force of privilege and power. That is how India has been answered by the English Government. How easy it would have been to have treated her humanely. With what grateful enthusiasm the people would have welcomed any form of self-government. And our rulers know it. H. M. Hyndman told them years ago what India aspired to, and what might be expected if those aspirations were met with suppression. The *expected* has happened, and we English, after all we have inflicted on India, think ourselves an outraged people. What hypocrites we are, without even the courage of our crimes! Morley is supposed to understand justice, even if he does not understand humanity. But will he help India? No; like all his class, he only opposes the peaceful evolution of a nation. And hence these "crimes."

More Disappointment.

According to J. A. Seddon, M.P. (*Labour Leader*, July 2), the shop assistants are a body of workers who have "more claims for Parliamentary action" than any others. And yet we are told, "During the last three years, directly and indirectly, Parliament in debate and by committee has discussed the grievances of shop workers—alas! with little result." Three years' work, three years' cost of a "representative" in Parliament, and "little result"! Surely there is something wrong here, for,

as we know, so much was expected from political action, and nobody seems to be getting value for their money. For such respectable people as shop assistants, Direct Action would be a bitter pill to swallow. But there is no hope for them till it is done.

G. B. S. and Liberty.

Of all the humorous announcements made by G. B. Shaw, the one stating that he is prepared to start an agitation in favour of liberty is the most laughable. Since he proposed that Anarchists should be suppressed because of their opinions, he has himself experienced to some extent what suppression means. Well, sweet are the uses of adversity. But we wonder how this Don Quixote up-to-date will arrange his campaign. And then there is the Fabian Executive to be considered. Will they permit their bright particular star to rush about tilting at windmills in the name of Liberty? Who knows what it would all end in! It is even possible that a blot might be cast on the Fabian escutcheon by G. B. S. having to do time!

THE WHITE TERROR IN RUSSIA.

When a visit of Nicholas II. to this country began to be spoken of, the question of convoking a big meeting of protest was discussed; and Kropotkin undertook to write, with the aid of two Russian friends, a Statement about the present White Terror in Russia, in order to supply authenticated data to the speakers at the meeting. This Statement, it was thought, might be published in the *Bulletin* of the Parliamentary Committee for Russian Affairs—a private Committee founded at the time of the Reval visit by a few Members of Parliament in sympathy with the Russian liberation movement, in order to collect *reliable* information about Russian affairs. Their *Bulletin*, of which a dozen numbers have been published—edited first by D. Soskice, and next by F. Volkhovsky—contains already most valuable data and documents.

The Statement written by our friends grew, however, so bulky that the Committee refrained from publishing it without giving the author's name; and now it appears as a pamphlet, under Kropotkin's signature, issued by the Russian Parliamentary Committee. This bulky pamphlet, entitled "Prisons and Prosecution in Russia," covers 75 pages of compact type, and contains an Introduction which sums up its contents, and nine chapters. Part I.—The Prisons, Suicides in Prisons, the Exiled, the Interpellations in the I. and II. Duma about the above subjects. Part II.—Provocations by the Secret Police, etc., the Union of Russian Men, Repression, the Beating Out of Arrears of Taxes in Famine-Stricken Provinces, and Conclusion.

It contains no comments or deductions whatever. It is a mere statement of *facts* occurring now in the prisons and during executions, of repression grown mad; and such as it is, this picture reminding us of the Dark Ages lived through by Europe in times past, is sure to produce a deep impression in this country, in the United States, and on the Continent.

The price of the pamphlet is twopence, and copies can be obtained at FREEDOM Office.

THE ANARCHIST COMMUNIST ANNUAL PICNIC AND CONFERENCE

Will be held on

BANK HOLIDAY, MONDAY, AUGUST 2,

AT

Haddon Hall, Derbyshire.

1½ miles from Rowsley, 2 miles from Bakewell.

Tea at Bakewell at 4.30. Conference at 2 o'clock, between Haddon Hall and Bakewell, on the banks of the Wye. As the principal subject for discussion is propaganda, it is hoped that comrades will do their utmost to be present. An Excursion for Rowsley and Bakewell leaves St. Pancras (London) at 8 a.m. (9s.), and another at 12 o'clock (5s.). London comrades desirous of making up a party are requested to write to T. H. Keell at FREEDOM Office.

THE TRUE AIM OF EDUCATION.

It is to the perfecting of mankind by the thorough application of a true system of education that we must look for the development of the knowledge and the power of self-restraint which shall enable them, not only to protect themselves from much insanity in one generation, but to check the propagation of it from generation to generation. It is not probable that much progress can be made in one generation, for centuries are but seconds in the great process of human evolution; none the less is it a duty to do all we can to carry it forward, in the confident hope that the day will dawn although it is yet only the twelfth hour of the night. Unhappily we are not yet agreed as to what should be the true aim and character of education. Regarding the subject from a scientific point of view, the best education would seem to be that which was directed to teach man to understand himself, and to understand the nature which surrounds him, and of which he is a part and a product; so to enable him, as its conscious minister and interpreter, to bring himself into harmony with nature in his thoughts and actions; and so to promote the progressing evolution of nature through him, its conscious self. The highest evolution of which man's being is capable, physically, morally, and intellectually, through knowledge of, and obedience to, those natural laws which govern not only the physical world, but, not less surely, every thought and feeling which it enters into his mind to conceive—must be the aim of an education founded on a truly scientific psychology. But if this be the true aim of education, how vast a revolution remains to be accomplished! How many things are men yet taught which they ought not to be taught, and how many things are they not taught which they ought to be taught! To lay down the principles of mental hygiene on a scientific basis would, alas, be to offend many cherished beliefs, and to go counter to the convictions of all but a small minority of mankind. Nevertheless, I believe that the aims of a true education would, if sincerely recognised and earnestly pursued, do more than all the maxims of philosophy have done, and all the arts of medicine can do, to lessen the amount of insanity on earth.

It will be admitted that as regards a knowledge of the laws of his own nature and of their relations to the laws of external nature, man is yet in a position of ignorance very like that in which the savages of old were, or the savages of to-day are, in regard to a knowledge of the laws of physical nature. Like them, he feels their effects without understanding their nature; like them, he cherishes superstitious belief instead of systematically setting to work to enlighten his understanding; like them, he puts up prayers where he should exert an intelligent will; like them, he suffers from the stern and inexorable dominion of laws which he has not been taught to understand, which he does not even recognise when he suffers by them. No one can of course fail to testify, consciously or unconsciously, to the workings of natural laws in his being; he witnesses to them, though he cannot trace them, in his thoughts, feelings, and actions, and thus inevitably acquires crude empirical rules to guide him; but the misfortune is that he is apt thereupon to assign an immediate supernatural agency, and to prostrate himself in helpless fear when he ought to proceed reverently to enquire and then intelligently to obey. Is there any fundamental difference between the savage coming to destruction through ignorance of the law of gravitation, and the civilised European coming to madness through ignorance of the laws of his own nature and of the laws of the nature of things and men around him? Insanity is simply a discord in the universe—the result and evidence of a want of harmony between an individual human nature and the nature surrounding it, and of which it is a part. The marvel is perhaps that there are not more insane persons than there are, considering how blindly men are yet compelled to live in very complex relations, how much they depend upon the crude instincts of empiricism, how little they have yet systematically done to know nature in themselves and themselves in nature.

Let us not deceive ourselves with vain imaginations. The life of an individual in this age of civilisation is assuredly not a life in which the best use is made of his physical, moral, and intellectual capacities. When we search into the causes of disease, how many diseases are directly or indirectly traceable to breaches of those laws which govern the development and the health of the body! I have already laid stress upon the disastrous effects of intemperance, and what I have said must suffice now as an illustration of disease caused by ignorance or disdain of the laws of health. But when we pass from the consideration of the management of the body to the

consideration of that of mind, we shall discover as little evidence of a sincere desire and resolution to bring the feelings and thoughts into harmony with nature, and to develop the powers of the mind to the utmost. There is hardly any one who sets self-development before himself as an aim in life. The aims which chiefly predominate—riches, position, power, applause of men—are such as inevitably breed and foster many bad passions in the eager competition to attain them. Hence, in fact, come disappointed ambition, jealousy, grief from loss of fortune, all the torments of wounded self-love, and a thousand other mental sufferings—the commonly enumerated moral causes of insanity. They are griefs of a kind to which a rightly developed nature should not fall a prey. There need be no disappointed ambition if a man were to set before himself a true aim in life, and to work definitely for it; no envy or jealousy, if he considered that it mattered not whether he did a great thing or some one else did it, nature's only concern being that it should be done; no grief from loss of fortune, if he estimated at its true value that which fortune can bring him and that which fortune can never bring him; no wounded self-love, if he had learned well the eternal lesson of life—self-renunciation.

But men exhibit a marvellous facility of deceiving themselves; while professing to esteem those worldly aims as of little account, as infinitely trivial in comparison with the momentous concerns of the life to come, they at the same time concentrate all the real hopes, aspirations, and energies of their lives upon the pursuit of them. Thus their nature is an inconsistency; it is a house divided against itself, and how can it stand when trouble comes? How can a nature be strong which is at war with itself, whose faith and works are in discord? A decrease in the amount of insanity in the world would probably take place in a generation or two, if men were to cease to deceive themselves, and were to make their natures strong by making a real harmony of them—if they would learn to be sincere to themselves in examining rigorously the foundations of their beliefs, and in estimating the quality of the aims which they actually pursue, and of the means by which they pursue them.—From "*Responsibility in Mental Disease*," by Henry Maudsley, M.D.

DEATH OF W. D. FAIRBROTHER.

I regret to announce the death of our comrade William Dumville Fairbrother, aged 23 years. He died at his lodgings on June 21, after an illness which lasted over three weeks. He was confined to his bed with pneumonia, which developed into rapid consumption.

The funeral took place at Anfield, Liverpool, on June 23, several comrades being present at the graveside. Although our comrade intimated that he wished, in the event of his death, that he should have a secular funeral, and that comrade Percy Ward, should officiate, this was not done. We did our best to carry out his last request, but this was not to be; the parson had to be on the scene, and Will was buried with the religious cant which he loathed so much. It was a mean advantage, typical of the Christian element. Will could not object this time, and the cowardly act was proceeded with. The Christians were very anxious that he should be buried in consecrated ground with the usual flummery. They were anxious to know if he recanted, and were disappointed when they knew otherwise. However, this did not deter them; and I could have laughed out loud when the parson mumbled his lamentations. We have consolation in the fact that he has bobbed their brains more than they have beat his bones.

Our comrade's death is a sad blow to the Communist Sunday School and to the movement in general. A young man of exceptional abilities, a fluent speaker, and a clever writer. Latterly his appearances on public platforms were very few, for he used to complain that he felt exhausted after a speech of any length, and very often he was in a state of collapse. When we started the Sunday School, our comrade threw his energies into making it successful. He was bent on having a good school, and was looking forward to a grand picnic for the youngsters on August 7 at Halewood. He loved the children, and they in their turn loved him. Their anxious inquiries about him were enough to convince one of their sincerity. One could see him on a Sunday afternoon with a nipper on his knee and a cluster of children about him. His lectures to them were educative and full of interest, and the youngsters never failed to appreciate them. We of the Liverpool Communist School have lost a comrade whom we can ill afford to lose—one of the best.

JAS. H. DICK.

ANARCHISM.

By DR. PAUL ELTZBACHER. Translated by S. T. BYINGTON.

With Six Portraits.

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FREEDOM Office, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N.W.

HOW WE ARE GOVERNED.

Were we to be visited by some wiser Gulliver, or, as in the "Micromegas" of Voltaire, by some inhabitant of another sphere, his account of our political institutions might run somewhat as follows:—

"I found that the English were governed by an assembly of men, said to embody the 'collective wisdom.' This assembly, joined with some other authorities which seem practically subordinate to it, has unlimited power. I was much perplexed by this. With us it is customary to define the office of any appointed body; and above all things to see that it does not defeat the ends for which it was appointed. But both the theory and the practice of this English Government imply that it may do whatever it pleases. Though, by their current maxims and usages, the English recognise the right of property as sacred—though the infraction of it is considered by them one of the gravest crimes—though the laws profess to be so jealous of it as to punish even the stealing of a turnip; yet their legislators suspend it at will. They take the money of citizens for any project which they choose to undertake; though such project was not in the least contemplated by those who gave them authority—nay, though the greater part of the citizens from whom the money is taken had no share in giving them such authority. Each citizen can hold property only so long as the 654 deputies do not want it. It seemed to me that an exploded doctrine once current among them of 'the divine right of kings,' had simply been changed into the divine right of Parliaments.

"I was at first inclined to think that the constitution of things on the Earth was totally different from what it is with us; for the current political philosophy here implies that acts are not right or wrong in themselves, but become one or the other by the votes of law-makers. In our world it is considered manifest that if a number of beings live together, there must, in virtue of their natures, be certain primary conditions on which only they can work satisfactorily in concert; and that the conduct which breaks through these conditions is bad. In the English legislature, however, a proposal to regulate conduct by any such abstract standard would be held absurd. I asked one of their members of Parliament whether a majority of the House could legitimise murder. He said, No. I asked him whether it could sanctify robbery. He thought not. But I could not make him see that if murder and robbery are intrinsically wrong, and not to be made right by decisions of statesmen, that similarly *all* actions must be either right or wrong, apart from the authority of the law; and that if the right and wrong of the law are not in harmony with this intrinsic right and wrong, the law itself is criminal. Some, indeed, among the English think as we do. One of their remarkable men (*not* included in their Assembly of Notables) writes thus:—

"To ascertain better and better what the will of the Eternal was and is with us, what the laws of the Eternal are, all Parliaments, Ecumenic Councils, Congresses, and other Collective Wisdoms, have had this for their object. . . . Nevertheless, in the inexplicable universal votings and debates of these Ages, an idea or rather a dumb presumption to the contrary has gone idly abroad; and at this day, over extensive tracts of the world, poor human beings are to be found, whose practical belief it is that if we "vote" this or that, so this or that will thenceforth be. . . . Practically, men have come to imagine that the Laws of this Universe, like the laws of constitutional countries, are decided by voting. . . . It is an idle fancy. The Laws of this Universe, of which if the Laws of England are not an exact transcript, they should passionately study to become such, are fixed by the everlasting congruity of things, and are not fixable or changeable by "voting!"

"But I find that, contemptuously disregarding all such protests, the English legislators persevere in their hyperatheistic notion, that an Act of Parliament duly enforced by State-officers, will work out any object: no question being put whether Laws of Nature permit. I forgot to ask whether they considered that different kinds of food could be made wholesome or unwholesome by State-decree.

"One thing that struck me, was the curious way in which the members of their House of Commons judge of each others' capacities. Many who expressed opinions of the crudest kind, or trivial platitudes, or worn-out superstitions, were very civilly treated. Follies as great as that but a few years since uttered by one of their ministers, who said that free-trade was contrary to common sense, were received in silence. But I was present when one of their number, who as I thought was speaking very rationally, made a mistake in his pronunciation—made what they call a wrong quantity; and immediately there arose a shout of derision. It seemed quite tolerable that a member

should know little or nothing about the business he was there to transact; but quite intolerable that he should be ignorant on a point of no moment.

"The English pique themselves on being especially practical—have a great contempt for theorists, and profess to be guided exclusively by facts. Before making or altering a law, it is the custom to appoint a committee of inquiry, who send for men able to give information concerning the matter in hand, and ask them some thousands of questions. These questions, and the answers given to them, are printed in large books and distributed among the members of the Houses of Parliament; and I was told that they spent about £100,000 a year in thus collecting and distributing evidence. Nevertheless, it appeared to me that the ministers and representatives of the English people pertinaciously adhere to theories long ago disproved by the most conspicuous facts. They pay great respect to petty details of evidence, but of large truths they are quite regardless. Thus, the experience of age after age has shown that their State-management is almost invariably bad. The national estates are so miserably administered as often to bring loss instead of gain. The Government ship-yards are uniformly extravagant and inefficient. The judicial system works so ill that most citizens will submit to serious losses rather than run risks of being ruined by law-suits. Countless facts prove the Government to be the worst owner, the worst manufacturer, the worst trader: in fact, the worst manager, be the thing managed what it may. But though the evidence of this is abundant and conclusive—though during a recent war the bunglings of officials were as glaring and multitudinous as ever; yet the belief that any proposed duties will be satisfactorily discharged by a new public department appointed to them seems not a whit the weaker. Legislators, thinking themselves practical, cling to the plausible theory of an officially regulated society, spite of overwhelming evidence that official regulation perpetually fails.

"Nay, indeed, the belief seems to gain strength among these fact-loving English statesmen; notwithstanding the facts are against it. Proposals for State-control over this and the other have been of late more rife than ever. And most remarkable of all, their representative assembly lately listened with grave faces to the assertion, made by one of their high authorities, that State workshops are more economical than private workshops. Their prime minister, in defending a recently established arms-factory, actually told them that at one of their arsenals certain missiles of war were manufactured not only better than by the trade, but at about one-third the price; and added, '*so it would be in all things.*' The English being a trading people, who must be tolerably familiar with the usual rates of profit among manufacturers, and the margin for possible economy, the fact that they should have got for their chief representative one so utterly in the dark on these matters, struck me as a wonderful result of the representative system.

"I did not inquire much further, for it was manifest that if these were really their wisest men, the English were not a wise people."—*Herbert Spencer.*

SONNET TO LIBERTY.

Dream of all Ages, Hope of ev'ry Race,
Goal of each Unit, Liberty, thou art.
For lack of thee Life sickens, yet apart
And few are they who yearn to see thy face.
Against thee, in their lust of power and place,
Priest, king and lawyer hurl the venom'd dart;
But nought can daunt thy glorious flaming heart,
And victory thine arms shall yet embrace.

The fetter'd giant, Labour, in his swoon
Turns, and essays to ope his drug-clos'd eyes,
While Church and State and vile Monopoly
Renew the sleeping-draught of fear-born lies.
Stream on his lids thy piercing light and he
Shall wake inspir'd and burst his chains right soon.

T. S.

G. F. Watts on Kropotkin.

"He [Watts] had a certain amount of sympathy with 'extreme people' as having freed themselves from conventional grooves of thought. One evening in 1886 he sent me in an account of Prince Kropotkin, a man, he thought, we should hear more of. He could not help feeling that these 'extreme people' have an instinctive feeling about art which the *dilettanti* quite ignore."—(*From "Reminiscences of G. F. Watts," by Mrs. Russell Barrington.*)

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The Present Condition of Russia.*

Never were the conditions of Russia so desperately bad as they are now. Neither during the depressing years of the reign of Alexander III., nor during the wild reaction of the last years of Alexander II., nor even during the mad despotism of Nicholas I., did the orgies of the defenders of autocracy reach the climax they have attained now. Even that little, that microscopically little, that had been obtained in Russia for some protection of the individual from the bureaucracy, is now wiped off from life as something unworthy, useless, harmful.

From the very first day of his accession to the throne, Nicholas II. permitted himself, in virtue of his own personal will, surreptitiously to alter the established Constitution of Finland. In his very first manifesto, issued on the day of his father's death, he ordered the words, "Grand Duke of Finland," to be taken out of the title of the Emperor of Russia. By a stroke of his pen he thus abolished the ninety-year old autonomy of a nation which peacefully followed its own development; he tore to pieces the treaties of annexation of Finland; he gave the lie to the oath taken by his father and grandfather.

His first act was thus to put himself above the binding laws of the country. And now, for fourteen years in succession, he patronises those who trample under foot all the concessions that give however slight a guarantee to the individual's personal safety against the outrageous attacks of the rulers of Russia—the gangs of hooligans who find their immunity by entering the ranks of the present rulers of Russia.

Sure of the protection of Nicholas II., they have simply undertaken the rooting out of all the best forces of the Russian nation. Such a bacchanalia of savagery and cruelty Russia has not seen since the times of the half-mad Tsar, John IV.—also surrounded by fortune-tellers—the murderer of his own son. Thus it is that in the twentieth century Russia has again to live through that shameful page of her history.

The abolition of the old-established rights of the nationalities allied with Russia in the Caucasus and Finland; the sending of hundreds of students as soldiers to Port Arthur, as a punishment for disturbances; the surrender of the schools into the hands of the illiterate priests, church cantors, and bellringers; the bribing of the army by doubling the pay of the officers in those parts of the Empire where the state of siege was introduced; the surrender of the most vital parts of the State organisation to all sorts of adventurers, like Bezobrazoff and Stoessel, provided they would grovel at the feet of "our father the Czar" and "our mothers the Empresses"; and finally, the handing over of all the life of Russia to the adventurer Von Plehve and his secret agents, because that man had promised Nicholas II. in 1903 to maintain autocracy by secret police rule for another ten years—this is what Russia got during the first ten years of his reign from Nicholas II., whom the plunderers of Russia now call their father.

And now, after the defeat of the first efforts of the Revolution, Russia has been given up to a band of thieves, murderers, and criminals against all the moral conceptions of mankind.

The prisons are overcrowded; many of them contain three and four times more inmates than they were built for. And such an overcrowding is bound to continue, because the present rulers of Russia are prosecuting now, before their packed Courts, thousands of persons, for all they have done and said during the

years of relative liberty, 1905 and 1906. All that was considered then as necessary and desirable for the renovation of Russia, is prosecuted now. A book issued at that time, a meeting convoked to discuss the strike which compelled Nicholas II. to make his first concessions, a speech delivered at a meeting, or even in Court by a lawyer, or in the Duma by a Deputy—all this is now prosecuted.

And in these prosecutions they have returned to the ways and habits that were dear to the mad Tsar John and his pet, Basmanoff—they have reintroduced torture.

Yes, they torture now in Russia—it is an established fact; and when a Court in Warsaw, in Riga, or in South Russia has condemned, no matter how mildly, some of these torturers to imprisonment, it is sufficient for one of the modern pets of the present Tsar—that is, for Dr. Dubrovin, the president of the Union of Russian Men—to ask Nicholas II. to pardon the condemned torturers, and these wild beasts are pardoned at once; and the Prime Minister is not ashamed to hurry to wire to the respective Governor this new token of the Tsar's solicitude for his subjects.

Friends, these are not tales that I tell you! This is what stands in black upon white in all the daily papers published in Russia itself. This is said openly in the Duma; this is the matter of decisions of the Russian Courts. Just quite lately it has been disclosed before a Court in Finland that the murderers of the two members of the Duma, Hertzenstein and Yollo, both, please mark, most pacific men, whose great crime was to be specialists in financial matters and matters concerning the misery of the Russian peasants—it appears now that the murderers of these two men were members of the secret police staff, and at the same time were in the service of that same Union of Russian Men whose badge the Tsar has been wearing till quite lately, whom he declared to be his most loyal subjects. The president of that Union, that same Dr. Dubrovin whom Nicholas II. receives personally, and to whom he lately again handed £1,000, is now prosecuted by a Finnish Court—the murder of Hertzenstein took place in Finland—as an accomplice to the murder and as the paymaster for it; and his accomplice Kraskovsky has already been arrested a few days ago in Russia. These are the men whom the Tsar describes as his only loyal subjects.

The prisons are overcrowded. Typhus—hunger typhus, eruptive and recurrent typhus—ravages the prisons of thirty-five provinces, and therefrom spreads amongst the soldiers of the garrison and the warders in the cities. In the Lukoyanoff prison, 2,500 prisoners have already died from typhus, 1,300 in the main Kieff prison, and so on all over Russia. These are the official figures. Persons ill with typhus, with wandering minds, and a temperature of 104 degrees, are brought in Court—there were three such cases—and the jurors are compelled to refuse to act, and the president of the Court-martial says to the prosecutor: "But look yourself at the man; you will see he cannot be tried!"

Worse than that. Men wandering in mind from typhus are brought to the scaffold in that state and hanged, under the very windows of one of the Duma Deputies detained at Moscow, who has described it in full in a letter to the Duma. As to the scenes that take place at the executions, of which they need such a number to maintain their scandalous rule—and for which they hire assassins in the prisons—these scenes are so horrible that I will not describe them. Tolstoy has told some of them to the world. Have these horrors been stopped by M. Stolypin or his master? No! They continue! They have grown worse!

Friends, it is with a bleeding heart that I describe to you these horrors. They are not mere horrors for me. They tell me the tale of how low Russia has sunk to tolerate them—to find men to give them support. But I will ask you—Has ever anything worse happened in Turkey while it was under the rule of that man whom Gladstone had the courage to call in the eyes of Europe, "the Assassin"?

Turkey has shaken off the rule of the assassin. That will be done in Russia as well.

It certainly will. It is a fact that Russia is no more what it was before the movement of 1905-6. You will not find now at St. Petersburg 70,000 men willing to go to the Tsar with a petition, carrying his portrait and ikons, as they did on Bloody Sunday, when for a whole week before it everything was organised, with the full knowledge of Nicholas II., by his uncle and cousins, to massacre thousands of these much too confiding men. Now you will not find, even in the remotest villages, men so simple as to trust the Tsar.

That has been won by our martyrs.

A new Russia has been born during these three or four years, a Russia which has tasted liberty and will never more return

* Part of a speech by Peter Kropotkin, delivered on June 23rd at the South Place Institute, at a meeting to welcome Vera Figner.

under the old yoke. It looks very quiet now; but it is no more in the circles of the intellectuals, it is in the factories, it is especially in the villages amidst the peasants, that the spirit of revolt is growing. That spirit they will not kill by hangings and shootings. By the blood they make flow, they only prepare rivers of blood; and surely the day is not far off when not only the "loyal" subjects from Dubrovin's gangs, but all those who are supporting the present régime by their slavish attitude or indifference, will have to repent their present slavishness or their indifference.

CAN A GENERAL STRIKE BE SUCCESSFUL?

Anarchism should receive the greatest attention just now when the insufficiency of Syndicalism becomes more patent. So many things happen which ought to set our friends thinking. Too many things are taken for granted which require continuous fresh examination, e.g., the General Strike, in the light of recent French experience. Will an *effective* strike of this kind be possible before immense masses are filled with indignation and enthusiasm to such a degree that they might, and would, just as well straightaway make a revolution and not stop at a passive strike? I think that either nothing serious will happen or a revolution will be the outcome. Strikes, the immediate stopping of work and business, are the obvious accompaniments of all revolutionary outbursts, but are, it seems to me, not nearly of such decisive effect as revolutionary action is and will be.

I mean this. Each trade comprises men of most different opinions and character. To make this mixed crowd, or the greater part of them, act almost unanimously, to strike for a general purpose (not for a trade dispute only, which *easily* creates trade unanimity)—this seems to me more difficult and a longer way than that the revolutionary-disposed and like-minded men of *all* trades should meet and unite and act in common for some purpose which is revolutionary action. It seems more logical that these energetic and spirited elements of *all* trades should be roused to common action than that the dull majority of *one* and *each* trade should strike for a purpose with which many have no touch and no sympathy, or have these in an insufficient degree.

Extremely few trades are really important to society or cannot be replaced to some degree by military or private effort or dispensed with for a time. Even Pataud's electricians can but annoy some theatres, hotels, restaurants, etc.; there are other ways of lighting up. The postal distress was met by private organisations (the Chambers of Commerce, couriers, etc.) The telegraph is replaced to some extent in France by military wireless telegraphy. Railways could be opposed by immense numbers of motor cars. Ships could be manned by sailors from the Navy, as just now in Marseilles. Bakers—there are military bakers and small owners and their sons.

I think that society is organising for resistance, and that the time when it could have been successfully rushed by a general strike of some substantiality is *already gone*—five or ten years ago might have been the right moment. To-day people are familiarised with the idea, and are mentally and materially prepared for it.

My conclusion from all this is, that whilst many small reforms (the shifting of burdens from the shoulders of the strong to those of the weak) are continually obtained by the usual Trade Union and Syndicalist methods, nothing of importance can be won by larger masses without revolutionary struggles as of old. Anarchists have more reason than ever to hold their ideas before the people, who, by so many object-lessons, are more than ever prepared for their views, only these views must be brought up to date, which is not always the case.

N.

ANARCHY.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal.—*Century Dictionary*.

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MEETING TO WELCOME VERA FIGNER.

On Wednesday evening, June 23, a meeting was held at South Place Institute, under the auspices of the Herzen Circle, to welcome to London Madame Vera Figner, who had spent twenty-three years as a political prisoner in Russia. Though not elaborately advertised, the hall was crowded, and many were unfortunate enough not to be able to gain admission.

The meeting was of such a nature as to leave a deep impression upon the minds of those present, for in it was the breath of an actual revolution, the reality of which seemed grandly tragic, above all things inspiring to an Englishman who is accustomed to hear the word as a lifeless political expression, or, still worse, as one of the wares of the Parliamentary party organiser, who knows how to appeal to the wretched and hungry people.

The chairman, F. V. Volkovsky, opened the meeting by bringing the English portion of his audience bluntly to face the responsibility of their situation. "The Tsar is coming to England!" he said, and the announcement was received with groans; and he declared that the Russian people considered it an insult that "this man" should be received as their representative. "We have here to-night a true representative of the Russian people," he added, pointing to Vera Figner, and the audience cheered enthusiastically.

Kropotkin, who was then called upon, briefly related the story of Vera Figner's life—how when a girl she had been conscious that there existed something beautiful and satisfying not to be found in the "successful" career that opened up before her, and how, pursuing this higher happiness, she arrived at the inevitable position of a revolutionist. The great movement "Towards the People" carried her away. She went to Zurich—the only University then open to women—to study medicine, with the intention of becoming afterwards a doctor in some Russian village. To live with the people, to suffer their misery, to help them in finding a way out of their misery, and a suggestion how to achieve it, was then the ideal of the Russian youth. But the Tsar's Government, seeing how the Russian students were soon imbued at Zurich with Socialism, ordered them to return home at once, under the menace of deprivation of all rights. So Vera Figner was compelled to return. She passed the examinations of a medical attendant, and went as such in a village. When the Terrorist movement began in 1879, she immediately joined it, and always claimed to be, and was, at the most dangerous posts. She was arrested in 1882, at a time when she was busy making propaganda in the Army. She was tried with thirteen of her comrades and condemned to death, which sentence was afterwards commuted to hard labour for life. They were imprisoned in the terrible Schlüsselburg fortress. "Nobody has yet walked out of this prison," said the governor; "all were carried out dead."

Kropotkin spoke of the noble and inspiring influence that her presence lent to her unfortunate comrades, and told of the heroic efforts that she had made even in that home of despair to sacrifice her life to better the conditions of her fellow victims of the Czar. He then gave a short sketch of the present conditions in Russia, and concluded by reminding the audience that the Russian situation was part of the universal fight between the rich and the poor, the Government and the people.

Vera Figner, who was received with a splendid enthusiasm, spoke distinctly and with a slight melancholy intonation. Her speech, which was delivered in Russian, was afterwards translated into English by Kropotkin. She said that having once directed her thoughts towards reform, she was forced to the conclusion that it was impossible to stop short of the revolutionary position; and relating briefly the story of the betrayal of the members of her society by one professing to be a comrade, she went on to tell of her experiences as a prisoner of our national guest—the Tsar. Having passed the portals of the fortress of Schlüsselburg, she spent there twenty years in a solitary cell, the absolute monotony of life being broken only by a walk in the prison yard, where a square patch of sky was the sole piece of Nature visible that had not been moulded into prison walls. The condition upon which even this slight privilege was granted was the prisoner's good conduct, a difficult virtue, since to tap upon the wall to learn if a neighbouring comrade was yet alive was accounted bad conduct. Those in the prison were dying at the rate of one a month. The corridors and cells were painted black, so that to still exist was but to live in a tomb the awful silence of which was occasionally relieved by the still more awful cries of some poor wretch at length gone mad, or dying groans followed by the shuffling steps in the corridor as the corpse was borne away. The jailers were men apparently as emotionless as the walls of the prison themselves. They did not answer any questions that might be put to them, and so absolute was their coldness that not a muscle of their faces moved to indicate even that they had heard them. As to the governor of the prison, he was the true embodiment of cruelty. Upon one occasion he told them: "If I were instructed to call you 'Your Highnesses,' I should do so; if I were ordered to strangle you, I should obey." Two comrades were executed for breach of discipline towards this brute, and one, Grachevsky, burned himself upon his straw mattress, leaving a full statement of the horrors they endured, before this brute was removed. Living here, Vera Figner would have thought it a bitter jest if any one had suggested that twenty years hence she would be addressing a London audience. But there came a ray of light when in 1902 Karpovitch came to join them, full of hope in the rapidly approaching revolution.

This was the substance of her speech, but it is impossible to render

the impression it produced. Though it was delivered in Russian, and half of the audience understood not a word of it, yet the intonation of the voice, the sad and dignified face of the martyr, bearing traces of the sufferings she had undergone, and at the same time of the infinite goodness combined with the firm will of the speaker, kept all the audience under the spell of her words.

D. Soskice, who spoke in English, pointed out that a great change had come over the Russian Government during the last few years. The vans which carried the Tsar's victims to the prisons were formerly driven in the dead of night, and the executions were accomplished secretly; but now the Government had been aided financially by the European Powers, and the Tsar was the honoured guest of monarchs and presidents. Wholesale imprisonment was a mode of government now officially recognised among the European Powers, murder was respectable, and barbarism was now carried on openly and unashamed in Russia. But a change had come over the Russian people too. On Bloody Sunday 70,000 men and women waited trustfully to hear the answer of the "Little Father" to their petition; to-day not 70 men in that same city could be found to trust the perjured Tsar.

Our friend Tcherkesoff spoke next. He dwelt mainly upon the moral beauty and force of the women of the generation to which Vera Figner belongs. The leading feature of all of them—what sustained them in the terrible ordeals they have lived through—was their unbounded attachment to the highest humanitarian ideals.

Aladin, who arrived as the meeting was breaking up, made a short speech, finally assuring Vera Figner that the young men and women of the movement would be true to the cause she had so nobly sustained, and were ready to continue the work and to die for it.

Thus ended a meeting which was a source of inspiration to those who were fortunate enough to be present.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Spain.

Salvador Moreno, condemned to perpetual imprisonment in chains, has just died after twenty-seven years of suffering. In 1882 the feeling between the landowners and the agricultural population of Andalusia ran very high. The people were heavily taxed, and the landed proprietors very tyrannical. Mysterious conflagrations and outrages being frequent, the police invented a secret society which has been heard of often since—the *Mano Negra*, Black Hand. A gamekeeper at length met a violent death, and this was the opportunity the police had waited for. They terrified the landowners and bourgeois with tales of a vast conspiracy among the peasants and organised workers to annihilate the wealthy owners of country properties and to destroy their estates. Arrests were made wholesale. Numbers of innocent persons were kept months in gaol without being brought to trial. Torture was resorted to, and false denunciations and confessions wrung from frenzied men. In the end, seven were garrotted for the murder of the gamekeeper, six condemned to perpetual prison in chains, of whom Moreno was one, various sentences of hard labour were passed on others, and one poor wretch went mad before trial owing to ill-treatment in prison. Most of the evidence against these unfortunate people was concocted by the police at the instigation of the then Governor of Cadiz, who was determined to destroy an active organisation, the Workers' Association, affiliated to the Labour Federation of the district, and which was putting new ideas and life into the downtrodden peasants. In 1902, on the initiative of a generous-hearted woman, the *Tierra y Libertad* began a crusade for the liberation of those still lying incarcerated. Twenty years had passed—the prisoners were forgotten. Labour meetings and protests were held throughout Europe, and finally, impressed by this show of public opinion, the Government unwillingly released a few of its victims, but Moreno was not one of these. He has won his way to peace by the stronger and kinder hand of Death. Twenty-seven years in chains. Think of it!

Switzerland.

There has been of late a strike of printers in Geneva and Nyon, and those of Lausanne showed a true spirit of comradeship by refusing to set up an advertisement in their papers for blacklegs. This act of "insubordination" has greatly impressed the masters as a new form of revolt with far-reaching consequences! It foreshadows the right of the producers to control the production, and could, if skilfully engineered, become as formidable a weapon as the General Strike. "One knows," says a Swiss Labour journal, "that all shoddy goods, materials of inferior make, etc., are destined for the poor and the worker, for the producers. That death-dealing engines, weapons for vengeance or brutality—militarism, tribunals, prisons—are all forged and erected by us, their victims; while the Press, that immense power in the hands of the oppressors, is upheld by our own hands. Surely this needs pondering over." In some quarters the anomaly has been pondered over. In Italy lately masons refused to build a prison, and in Zurich there was a discussion whether a certain church should be erected. The Geneva strike failed, unfortunately—the rise in wages was not granted—and incidentally it led to the arrest of a well-known comrade, Bertoni. With a friend, he was pasting up a poster naming the sums made by the respective owners (Jews) of the *Geneva Tribune*,

and calling attention to their refusal to improve the condition of those to whom they owed their prosperity—the wages having been increased by only 3 francs during thirty years—when he was pounced on by the police. His assistant escaped, but Bertoni was roughly handled, locked up, and falsely charged with attempting to wound one of his captors. Bertoni is now fighting the matter out. He had no weapon on him, and the scratch on his captor's hand was probably made by the latter's own sword scabbard when making a violent arrest—but if lies suit the purpose of the magistrate, lies will send Bertoni once again to prison.

Italy.

The Congress of the workers' organisations that had seceded from, or refused to join, the Italian Labour Confederation duly took place at Bologna a few weeks since. It was named the Congress of Direct Actionists, and represented a total of some 99,000 Trade Unionists. The vital question of the day was whether independent action was wise at this juncture. In spite of the feeling against the political bias of the Confederation, it was decided to formally affiliate with it, in order to (when possible) influence it towards revolutionary measures. The policy of Direct Action was endorsed after keen discussion, while a suggested proposal to form secret committees in each Union, in order to arrange and control acts of terrorism and sabotage when general strikes render such acts necessary, was accepted by a majority of the delegates, which is somewhat to be deplored. The first member elected to such a committee is sure to be a spy, in spite of all his credentials. It is the fate of all secret committees nowadays, because with a stronger and more unscrupulous organisation than ever, the police power of the world is treated with a contemptuous indifference by revolutionaries. The Congress recognised the urgency of antimilitarist propaganda, and with cheers carried a resolution to reply to a declaration of war with a general revolutionary strike.

Belgium.

The trial of the so-called Anarchist, Hartenstein, is at present proceeding at Ghent. There seems to be some mystery over the affair. Early in February the Brussels police claimed to have unearthed a well-constructed bomb in a half-built house in the suburbs. Shortly after, they received information that an expropriation of 3,000 francs had been levied the night before on a merchant in the centre of the city by Anarchists. Anarchists and bombs being synonymous, of course their treasure trove belonged to these, and had been used to intimidate the shopkeeper. The Press then took up the cry and published what purported to be a manifesto signed by the International Anarchist Group, stating that the bomb had in effect once been intended for the Minister of the Interior, was the work of a chemist in the group, and had been useful in extracting 3,000 francs for the benefit of propaganda. This was very opportune. Hartenstein—a young Russian known by various names—was "suspect," and being found in Ghent, was at once arrested. He made a desperate resistance—which was all in favour of the police theory, of course. The innocent don't resist, but go like lambs to the slaughter—it can only be a wicked Anarchist who shows fight. So much only is known at present. Some maintain the man is another Azeff. Time will show.

Germany.

We know that the German Trade Unionists as a body are not revolutionary; still, it is disheartening to find the Metal Workers passing a resolution like the following at their National Congress at Hamburg, when the question of May Day celebrations was discussed: "That noting the decision of recent International Congresses of workmen that a general cessation from labour should not take place on the First of May, except when the results would not jeopardise working-class interests; and seeing that in the steel trade to cease work on that day is no longer considered a proper way by which to obtain better conditions of labour; those among them who in future desire to celebrate May Day must do so at their own risk." Even the *Vorwaerts* of Berlin remarks that such a resolution is nothing less than a warning against keeping the First of May at all; that German Social Democrats prefer to talk about the holiday rather than celebrate it in the name of Labour; and that the Hamburg decision is one of the most deplorable that has ever been voted by a German Labour organisation. So much for the result of long years of struggle for freedom!

There was a sanguinary fight last month at Kiel between the striking municipal employees and the police. Some 5,000 persons, many being women and children, had collected around the electric lighting shops as a manifestation against the city fathers, when the police were ordered to clear the ground. Eighty armed men at once rode into the tightly packed throng, but the people quickly formed again; and then the charge was made with drawn swords, numbers being wounded in the struggle, which lasted over three hours.

Bohemia.

Under considerable difficulties, an Anarchist Congress has just been held at Prague. Amongst the results was an agreement to found autonomous groups of Young Anarchists and a federal commission whose task would be to facilitate initiative and action. We wish the Czech Anarchists better luck than has befallen their Socialist comrades. The Government has dissolved all the organisations of the Young

National Socialists because of their antimilitarist propaganda. All the property of these political groups has been confiscated and the officials arrested. This Young Party is an independent autonomous body of some 15,000 within the Socialist Party. Antimilitarist trials are shortly to open.

France.

There were 125 strikes in this country during April alone, of which only 23 proved finally successful. Most of them were for higher wages. The starvation wages of the women who make the beautifully embroidered underwear of the great ladies of the world has often been referred to in FREEDOM. The question is again being investigated by the authorities, but nothing comes of it any more than it does of Sweating Commissions in England. The facts are made clear and then pigeonholed, no "authority" caring to cut at the root of the matter, since it only affects *women*, and these, poor souls, don't break windows or start menacing strikes like their stronger brothers. The official statistics show that the average sum earned by the French seamstress in this trade is £16 a year, or about a shilling a day, the workday being one of frequently twenty hours.

Australia.

A letter from Comrade Fleming, of Melbourne, gives graphic details of how May Day was kept in that city. As the Socialists ran the affair this year, our comrade with his historic banner (which the police would not allow him to carry unfurled through the streets) did not take part in the procession, but arrived late at Flinders Park, the popular recreation ground of Melbourne. As soon as he got there, the fun began. Directly he commenced to speak, a gang of rowdy youths, mostly Roman Catholics, tried to break up his meeting—he is known as an Anarchist orator, and is therefore, in the eyes of the multitude, a fair target for its missiles. That he stood alone to brave their malice was not likely to appeal to the hooligans of Melbourne, who from jeering turned to stone-throwing, until a small battle was raging round the banner and an old white-haired preacher, who for some reason had also aroused the enmity of the crowd. When things began to look serious, it was a woman who first came to the rescue: "She sprang on to the platform, and holding up her baby, called to the cowards to stone *that*, adding, 'You are too ignorant for our scorn, we can only pity you!'" Finally, when danger seemed imminent, the police arrived and escorted Melbourne's Anarchist off the ground, an immense and threatening crowd following to his home. There is only this to say, that probably most of it was composed of Irish Catholics, and to such one word against their priesthood or religion is like waving a red rag before a petulant bull—the bull goes for the rag, and the bigot for the man.

Tom Mann, recently arrived after his Broken Hill trial and acquittal, received a great ovation at the Socialist celebration. Some words of his are well worth repetition: "Let me add a word *re* the immediate duty in front of us. It is to bring about working-class solidarity. . . . To concentrate on industrial organisation *entirely irrespective of political action*." Harry Holland, General Secretary of the Socialist Federation of Australasia, who was also arrested in connection with the Broken Hill strike, has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment. An active agitation has already begun for his release. The strike has been declared off after a five months' struggle.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

[Reports of the Movement are specially invited, and should be sent in not later than the 25th of each month.]

LEEDS.

The propaganda in Leeds has been livened up by the visit of our comrade Charlie Kean, who started addressing meetings on May 13. Of course, previous to Kean's visit the propaganda had been pushed forward by other comrades. Old Matt Sollitt is able to deal with any subject owing to the wide experience he has gone through personally, and thanks to his travels in various countries in his younger days; he is very well able to combat all comers against Anarchist Communism. Comrade Levy, with his knowledge of modern science, proves to be the greatest opponent of so-called "scientific Socialism," and is more bent on combatting Democracy and Parliamentary action, always putting forward the idea of Direct Action and the General Strike. He is a terror to Democratic lecturers, especially with his arguments in favour of Anarchist Communism, and there is not a politician who can overcome him. Comrade Goldberg also does good work in pushing the sale of our literature. Still, we often felt the need of a fresh Anarchist speaker, and therefore Charlie Kean's visit came like a ray of sunshine to the movement in Leeds. As it will be impossible to give a descriptive account of each meeting he addressed, I will take them all together, and I can safely say that they were a success all through, and we feel certain that he has sowed the seed wherefrom a good and healthy Anarchist movement will grow. If it is well looked after and well nourished, we are sure of seeing its fruits in due course. A speaker whose stay in a town is limited to a few meetings cannot by any means establish a movement there; but he can lay the foundation stone of a movement which can be built up afterwards according to the merits of the comrades who remain in that town.

It would be of some interest to comrades if I mention an incident which took place in our town. During Kean's stay last year there was a great unemployed movement here, and the unemployed made his educational open-air meetings very successful, so far as numbers are concerned; they were counted in thousands. Before Kean came to Leeds, the unemployed movement was exploited by the politicians; but on his arrival they fled. When Kean left Leeds, the unemployed went in for charity and begging (grinding organs in the street), which broke their revolutionary spirit, and finally broke their movement, as in all other towns in England. The organiser of the S.D.P. in Leeds, knowing that the Anarchists are opposed to his party as well as to every other coercive institution of to-day, wanted to "slate" the Anarchists, so he stated in public that the Anarchists broke the unemployed movement by their Direct Action propagandist, Charlie Kean; and he also threw out a challenge to debate with any Anarchist. When Kean came back this year, we sent a letter to the S.D.P. man (Killip), saying that our comrade was anxious to refute his statements and to debate with him; but this honourable Social Democrat did not reply, showing the weakness of his position, and also that he was afraid to debate with an Anarchist Communist.

A few weeks ago our old comrade Matt Sollitt was invited to the police-court for "using bad language," as they termed it, but in reality for "slating the overfed bobbies, condemning the ruling classes, and educating the masses," as Matt Sollitt termed it. His defence, conducted by himself, was so successful and straightforward that the magistrate could not do otherwise than release him.

On June 16 Comrades Levy and Sollitt held a very successful meeting on Woodhouse Moor, at the conclusion of a debate between Sollitt and a certain weather prophet who poses as a modern Christian. The "prophet" was beaten on every point.

Meanwhile the Yiddish group are busy finding money for various objects, such as for the Russian imprisoned comrades, for speakers, literature, etc. There are some comrades in Leeds who say that they cannot work with this group as it is Yiddish, but we would draw their attention to the fact that it will remain a Yiddish group as long as the English comrades keep outside of it. Comrades, if you wish to show that you are cosmopolitans, join the group and help us in our work. Many comrades in Leeds are not to be seen. We would ask those who cannot attend our public or group meetings to help us in our work of propaganda by remitting subscriptions to me by post either weekly or monthly, as opportunity will afford. All communications should be addressed to

E. Fox.

9 Well Close Road, Leeds.

LEICESTER.

After disturbing the peaceful citizens of Leicester, I took myself off to London for the Whitsuntide holidays. On Whit Sunday morning I spoke at the Green Gate, Plaistow, to the disgust of the I.L.P., the large crowd being much interested. At night I addressed another large gathering at Beckton Road corner, Canning Town, on the subject of "Direct Action v. Legislation," some very sensible questions being asked. Returned to Leicester on Tuesday morning. On Friday, June 4, Comrade F. Sibbitt and I held a meeting at Infirmary Square. On the Saturday, Mabbs, of Northampton, held a meeting in the same place (he was holding a week's mission here for the S.D.P.). We attended, but were told our questions were ridiculous. As they would not allow any opposition, we obtained a box and held a meeting.

On Sunday, June 6, held meetings in Market Square at 11 and 6.30. I was arrested at the evening meeting for taking up a collection. On Monday was fined 5s. or five days. A comrade paid, and we addressed a very large gathering in the evening, my subject being "Crimes, Criminal Courts, and their Cure." Also held meetings to large crowds at various places in the dinner-hour during the week.

On Sunday, June 13, while addressing one of the largest gatherings in Market Square, I was again arrested. During the trial of my case, when I was allowed to put questions to the inspector, I asked him if he had special instructions to attend my meetings and arrest me if possible. After considering a bit, he refused to answer, showing quite clearly his answer should have been in the affirmative. Sentence, 10s. or seven days. Did the seven days. All this has caused people to become interested, so we have no trouble to get a hearing, crowds waiting long before the meetings, which has ruffled the fur of the I.L.P. and S.D.P. rabbits, the I.L.P. speaker last Sunday, June 20, stating to his small audience that I was receiving 10s. a week from the Tariff Reformers. Poor things!

On the following evening Comrade Sibbitt and I held a meeting in Market Square from 8 to 10.30. Comrade Sibbitt is in rare form, but in my opinion is straining his throat too much; in fact, both of our throats want seeing to. Literature going well at all our meetings, and we are getting hold of a lot of young folks and women. We could do with help here by way of speakers to give us a rest, so if any may be passing through Leicester, or can manage to come, they should by all means try to help us.

G. POLLARD.

C. H. KEAN ON TOUR.

As the June issue of FREEDOM went to press, C. Kean was on the way to his return visit to Manchester. Good meetings were held there for the week-end, but a debate with a local speaker of the S.D.P.—"Anarchism v. Social Democracy"—was abandoned owing to rain.

The next stop was at Leeds for two weeks. Meetings were well attended. (See Leeds report.) From Leeds a second visit was paid to

Liverpool, the Direct Action League again making room for our comrade at their meetings.

From there by boat to Glasgow, where meetings were held on the Green and at the Square on Sunday and during the week.

Kean's next trip was to Newcastle-on-Tyne for the Race Week. Good meetings were held in the Bigg Market and Haymarket. On Sunday, June 20, we had a rare time on the Moor. As the local paper reported: "The crowd which gathered around the platform from which the Anarchist Communist speakers intended to set forth their convictions refused to listen. The disturbing element quickly took the upper hand, and 'rushed' the platform in ugly fashion. Fortunately, the speakers were able to beat a safe retreat, but their banners were seized and torn to shreds, and poles and canvas were smashed before the police restored order." Comrade Despres came through from Liverpool on his cycle, and assisted at the meetings both on the Moor and during the week at the Markets. His description of the Direct Action League in Liverpool was interesting both to comrades and audience. Being requested to speak on Trade Unionism and Industrial Unionism, he dealt with same at a subsequent meeting; and judging by their questions, the audience saw some advantage in the new tendency. Despres having to attend meetings in Liverpool on Sunday, June 27, a prolonged visit was out of the question. On Friday, 25th, Kean addressed the Communist Club on "Decentralisation." Rain interfered with the Sunday meetings a little, but we were able to hold two during the day. The meetings arranged for Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday evenings concluded our comrade's visit to Newcastle.

On July 1, Kean returned to Glasgow to complete engagements. Notice of future arrangements—Glasgow, July 1 to 15; Edinburgh, July 16 to 28; Kilmarnock, July 29 to August 9; Glasgow, August 10.

Comrade Kean is willing to lecture at any town on his way from Glasgow to London. Groups or comrades desirous of arranging dates should write before end of July to FREEDOM Office or to C. Kean, care of A. B. Howie, 165 Rosebery Street, Glasgow, S.S.

MANCHESTER.

A lively scene took place at the County Forum on Sunday night, June 20, when Comrade Winter opened a debate on "Woman and War." The hall was packed despite the fine weather, and a large number of Feminists of both sexes were present. His boundless humour succeeded in maintaining equanimity among the audience by withering repartees directed against any would-be disturber. The culminating peroration to a splendid speech ran: "Who are these weaklings crying '*Pax vobiscum*'? *Bellum bonum est!* Glory to war in the highest. From conflicts shall arise the Superman!" This may appear a curious sentiment from an Anarchist, but when it is remembered that in his opening remarks he said he wished to convey by war, not its general interpretation, but conflict as is manifest throughout Nature, his remark does not appear so strange. There were three grades in the psychological evolution of man. The lowest form manifested a Will to Be, although an easy life may cost them their liberty and nearly all they possessed. The second class desired danger, and manifested the Will to Power; they were divided into two sub-sections—the lower, who enforced their will by physical force through Governments and other methods; and the higher, who dominated through their personality. The third and highest form was the Superman, who was power and needed no authority—such a being had not yet been born. Our comrade showed from Bax's "Legal Subjection of Men" that the statute law was unfairly balanced in favour of women, even if one believes in the possibility of "just" laws.

WOOLWICH.

Comrade Ray and myself took up a vacant pitch in Beresford Square at 11 and 7 o'clock on Sunday, May 30. In the evening I lectured on "Slaying and Saving the Worker," while Ray spoke on Revolutionary Unionism. At 8 o'clock the police ordered us away to make room for the I.L.P., who had asked permission of the police to speak on the spot. Having the crowd with us, we refused to move, and the I.L.P. had to find another place. Throughout the evening two police-sergeants and constables harassed us, refusing to allow Ray to speak owing to his referring to police morality. We closed the meeting by thanking the audience and explaining that officials do not like the truth.

J. R. PAIN.

Notice to Lecture Secretaries.

G. Pollard and F. Sibbitt are prepared to speak at Sunday or week-night meetings, or would exchange places with other speakers. For particulars, address G. POLLARD, 11 Fennel Street, Bedford Street, Leicester.

East London Anarchist-Socialist Sunday School.

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