

Freedom

JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM

VOL. XXIII.—No. 245.

SEPTEMBER, 1909.

MONTHLY; ONE PENNY

NOTES.

Practice better than Politics.

The Vacant Land Cultivation Society, which Mr. Joseph Fels has done so much to initiate, is achieving a remarkable success in bringing the landless man to the labourless land, and is showing what the nation might gain by this direct and simple process. The London County Council and some of the Borough Councils have lent the land, the Society providing seeds, plants and tools, and a little necessary instruction. Now let us see what can be done, given fair conditions, by the unemployed whom we are constantly told are mostly unemployable, and whom Mr. John Burns loves to deride as "wasters" and ne'er-do-wells. On wretched plots of waste land, the very appearance of which would break the heart of a pioneer of the Western States, these despised victims of our social system have produced crops to the value of £30 and even £60 per acre. Besides this, and even of more importance, is the fact, vouched for by the Society, that the *morale* of the cultivators has greatly improved. After all, it is only what any one with a grain of common sense might expect, and proves that the "dreams" of the Anarchists would be very substantial realities if property and government did not bar the way. For it shows that without these obstacles it would be very simple to provide food for all. And then, as we know, "Bread is freedom: freedom bread."

Health and Wealth.

There are 16,000,000 acres of cultivable land lying idle here in England, and if we take the lowest estimate of £30 per acre as value produced, it is clear that there is a possibility of a return of between four and five hundred millions per annum if these were put into cultivation. We will not attempt to estimate the number of persons who *might* be employed on the land, but it is quite evident that something more than the unemployed problem would be solved if such a state of things existed. Co-operation would rapidly develop amongst these agricultural communities, feudalism would disappear, and the socialisation of wealth would begin independently of the State. No wonder, then, that Parliament does nothing to help these movements forward, and that the Labour Party has nothing to show equalling in importance the work of this voluntary association. Politics are a hindrance, while direct economic action shows the way.

A Character "Stained."

Joshua Pollard, who was charged with robbing a gas-meter to buy food, told his tale of misery to Mr. Chester Jones at the Thames Police Court. His wife, he said, was nearly dropping to the ground through hunger, and one poor child, nearly blind, kept crying for food. He was out of work. He had tried to borrow money and failed. Five weeks' rent was owing, and the landlord was threatening. So he took 2s. 1d. from the gas-meter for food, and was arrested *on his own confession*. The police said his story was genuine and his character satisfactory. Now the significance of the case lies in this: Here is a man of *good* character who cannot find work. He owes rent, and his wife and child are starving. The only means to fulfil his "duty" to find them in food are in the gas-meter. He saves them from starvation, and Mr. Chester Jones tells him he has "stained his character." It seems impossible to please everybody! We should have thought the lives of his wife and child came before the 2s. 1d. of the gas company; we think even that a "society" that cannot find honest work for a man of good character not only owes him more than he has taken from it, but stands self-condemned by the very fact of his position, and is itself stained as a criminal. But Mr. Chester Jones administers the law, and the law knows nothing of humanity.

Another Case—only Different!

Side by side with the case of Pollard stands the report of a meeting of the Trades Council of Birmingham. There it was stated that land originally "stolen from the people" was needed for a school, and that the owners demanded a price equivalent to £2,420 per acre. The Education Committee, being helpless, had paid. Now those who robbed the community to this shameless extent are probably respected pillars of the "society" that starves poor Pollard. Will Mr. Chester Jones tell us what epithet to apply to these high-class thieves?

Briand's Little Joke.

Politicians frequently give exhibitions of their ability as quick-change artists, but the following cutting from the *Daily News* contains many points which make it worth reprinting:—

"A singular and amusing example of the irony of the world has been given to-day [August 30] by a jury at the Assize Court of the Seine. M. Vignaud, manager of *La Voix du Peuple*, the organ of the celebrated Fédération du Travail, has been tried for publishing an article inciting soldiers to refuse to fire when ordered to do so by their officers, especially when called upon to shoot down their fellow countrymen. The article in question, which was violently antimilitarist in tone, appeared ten months ago, and was exhibited at the military barracks in Paris and elsewhere.

"It first appeared in 1900, over the signature of a well-known journalist, but no proceedings were instituted either against the author or the publisher. Two years later the same article was reprinted word for word in a provincial paper at Auxerre. This time both author and publisher were prosecuted. Their advocate, however, an exceptionally eloquent young man, got them off on the general ground that to punish them for an honest expression of opinion would be an act of capricious tyranny unworthy of a humane and enlightened Republic.

"But to-day the jury of the Seine sentenced M. Vignaud to a year's imprisonment and a fine of 1,500 francs (£60). The eloquent advocate of Auxerre was none other than M. Briand, who is now Prime Minister."

M. Briand has a richer client now.

Art and Authority.

Whatever may be said about the Censor, one thing has been made perfectly clear by the Commission of Inquiry in its examination of witnesses, namely, that in spite of all the fuss and bother, Art has nothing to do with the questions at issue. There are two points to be considered. First, that in the interests of all the crass stupidity, and, one must add, hypocrisy of bourgeois morality, officialism would control what the drama shall have to say to the people. And secondly, that the fashionable theatre managers shall have a system of licensing whereby they can run the drama on a profitable basis. That is all. So we come back to the good old English maxims of the practical man: "Art be damned! Does it pay?" "Business is business," etc. Those wretched inanities that please the British public, and which are too sickly to be downright immoral, are just the sort of fare the Censor and his friends want to provide us with. Everything is varnished vulgarity or "goody-goody" make-believe; and dramatic art is dead. At present the Censor is a laughing-stock. He will only be a serious obstacle when Art revives.

KROPOTKIN'S MOST FASCINATING WORK.

Having secured a large number of copies of

MEMOIRS of a REVOLUTIONIST

We are now offering them at the wonderfully low price of

2s., postage 4d.

500 pages, well bound in cloth, with Portrait.

Orders, with cash, to Manager, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N.W.

EVOLUTION OF ANARCHISM.

By W. TCHERKESOFF.

Anarchism at present is passing through a period of self-examination and inquiry into the fundamental principles and tactics of agitation and struggle. A series of critical articles has appeared in the Anarchist press of all languages. One of these, "The Moral Factor in Anarchy," translated from *La Battaglia*, was reprinted in last month's *FREEDOM*. Our comrade Kropotkin is also dealing with the same question in the *Temps Nouveaux* and in the Russian Anarchist review.

* * * * *

Every scientific and social teaching, with time and practice, is compelled to undergo a certain modification in conformity with experience and fresh discoveries. It is quite natural that our social conceptions, formulated over thirty years ago as an ideal of human progress and well-being, should be subject to the same process of evolution.

Modern revolutionary Anarchist Communism—this Anarchism which has shaken all European State and capitalist institutions, and provoked from the Governments and bourgeoisie such hatred and persecution—is an outcome, or, to speak more exactly, the continuation of the great International Working Men's Association. This organisation, which existed from 1862 to 1870, reflected all the great generalisations and aspirations of natural science and democracy of that remarkable epoch of modern civilisation. Evolutionary philosophy triumphantly banished from the physical world, as well as from human society, the principle of authority and supernatural forces.

"The State," said Spencer, the philosopher of evolution, "is as useless a superstition as Papacy and the almighty Catholic Church in medieval times."

"The best Government," says the great evolutionist historian Buckle, "is that which destroys most of the existing laws and institutions."

"The individual in society," concludes Mill, the moderate social thinker of the same school, "must enjoy full liberty unless his actions interfere with the liberty of others."

One of the most talented amongst those philosophers, M. Guyau, formulated "Modern Morality without Obligation or Sanction."

The great martyr of French democracy, Auguste Blanqui, formulated at the end of his life, as a motto for the popular movement, "Ni Dieu, Ni Maître."

The famous naturalists of that period, Darwin, Lyell, and others, eliminated from the life of Nature the existence of a God and other deistic superstitions.

On the other side, the democracy in France, that country of the Great Revolution and continual political and social agitation, published in 1862 a Manifesto declaring that political equality without economic and social equality is mere humbug, and that the emancipation of the workers must be the work of the workers themselves. When on the initiative of French workers supported by English Trade Unionists the International was organised, amongst those who elaborated the statutes were Varlin and Caesar de Pape. The first, with Tolin, insisted that in the statutes it should be stated that the economic and social emancipation must be the great aim of the working classes to which all political action must be subordinated. And Caesar de Pape in his famous lecture published in 1863 hailed Anarchism with the words: "O, Anarchy, liberator of humanity, may your reign soon arrive!"

The first Congress of the Association was held at Geneva in 1866 to consider the statutes; but already at the second, the first real working Congress at Lausanne in 1867, militarism and war formed the subject of discussion, and it was unanimously decided that in case of war the International should declare a general strike in order to paralyse it.

At the following Congress the land question was discussed, and the resolution declared that the land with all its riches and all means of production must be converted into collective property. Thus the Collectivism of Fourier's school, so brilliantly developed by Pequeur and Vidal, was adopted as a mode of future social organisation.

* * * * *

Such, in short, were the generalisations of science and democracy as expressed by the International. The great Association, initiated and developed mostly by French workers, was practically crushed when the Parisian proletariat and the French Internationalists were massacred during the bloody May week of 1871. Germany, triumphing on the battlefield, now took the lead of a general political, scientific, and social reaction.

Germany with its mediaeval class organisation, never having had a great revolution or a really revolutionary struggle as in Holland, England, and France; this Germany, consisting of thirty-six petty despotic States, where the working classes and the peasantry have not even Constitutional rights and are crushed under a heavy burden of taxation of £5 15s. per head, now began to impose its will on Europe.

This reactionary influence of despotism and militarism intimidated the great moderate majority amongst scientific and social thinkers. Preserving the former English and French terminology, they adopted the old dialectics and metaphysics instead of inductive revolutionary philosophy. Instead of the principle of the International, "that economic and social emancipation must be the great aim of the working classes," political and legal tactics were extolled, and the idea of a general strike and a revolutionary struggle were condemned; and in place of the great motto, "the social emancipation of the working classes must be the work of the workers themselves," was substituted the bourgeois-Radical "reforms by the State." This corrupted moderantism of philosophy and Socialism was adopted by the German Social Democracy.

The Anarchists, then known as Federalists, stuck to the original principles and statutes of the great Association. The division of the International was complete. During the years from 1871 till 1881 they passed under the name of Anarchist-Collectivists, and it was only at the Congress of the Fédération Jurassienne at Chaux-de-Fonds in 1880 that they proclaimed themselves Communists. From the motto, "the social and economic emancipation must be the work of the workers themselves," we have drawn our tactics of economic struggle by strikes, Direct Action, the General Strike, and Syndicalism.

In conformity with the above-mentioned antimilitarist resolution at the Lausanne Congress, we Anarchists began our propaganda of antimilitarism and antipatriotism. It is well known amongst the French workers, who have brought Direct Action and Syndicalism to such a splendid development, that from the regeneration of the Labour movement in France after the Commune, at the Labour Congresses at Marseilles in 1879, in Havre, 1880, etc., all the reports urging the economic struggle and Direct Action were presented by our Anarchist comrades.

But the State and the capitalists did not fail to begin a most atrocious persecution in France, Spain and Italy. Processes with condemnations for five years and more were falling on our comrades one after the other. The Lyons, St. Etienne, Monceau-les-Mines, and Levallois-Perret trials in France, the Mano Negra prosecution in Spain, and Il Malfetori process in Italy, claimed hundreds and thousands of victims amongst the workers. The police and employers started that abominable form of persecution, the black list, and it was made impossible for hundreds and hundreds of our comrades, often the best workers in their trade, to find work.

Then, and only then, the most energetic and bold amongst the Anarchist youth armed themselves with dagger, revolver and bomb. Police spies, ministers, presidents, and crowned heads fell by their hand. Exceptional laws declared Anarchists outlaws, a special International Anti-Anarchist Convention was held in Rome, a special international Anti-Anarchist police was organised.

Nevertheless Anarchism and Anarchists had gained their place in modern Europe. This struggle had left on the masses the impression that Anarchism means only and exclusively bombs and outrages, which idea was carefully fostered by the police, the bourgeois press, and all social reformers aspiring to Parliament and power.

But every impartial man will see from our short sketch that Anarchism is a synthesis, an embodiment of the best side of the Socialist teachings of the founders of Socialism in France and England, as well as of the great generalisations of modern inductive science.* The principles and tactics of the great International have been preserved, and modern antipatriotism and antimilitarism, and Anti-Parliamentary Revolutionary Syndicalism, with its Direct Action and the General Strike as means of social emancipation, have been conceived, developed and propagated by Communist Anarchists.

(To be continued next month.)

* As shown in Elisée Reclus' "L'Homme et la Terre," and P. Kropotkin's "Mutual Aid" and "Modern Science and Anarchism."

ANARCHISM.

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

With Six Portraits.

6s. 6d. net; postage 4d. extra.

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

G. K. Chesterton on Liberty and the Vote.

LIBERTY.

The mere love of liberty has never been at a lower ebb in England than it has been for the last twenty years. Never before has it been so easy to slip small Bills through Parliament for the purpose of locking people up. Never before was it so easy to silence awkward questions, or to protect high-placed officials. Two hundred years ago we turned out the Stuarts rather than endanger the Habeas Corpus Act. Two years ago we abolished the Habeas Corpus Act rather than turn out the Home Secretary. We passed a law (which is now in force) that an Englishman's punishment shall not depend upon Judge and jury, but upon the Governors and gaolers who have got hold of him. But this is not the only case. The scorn of liberty is in the air. A newspaper is seized by the police in Trafalgar-square without a word of accusation or explanation. The Home Secretary says that in his opinion the police are very nice people, and there is an end of the matter. A member of Parliament attempts to criticise a peerage. The Speaker says he must not criticise a peerage, and there the matter drops.

Political liberty, let us repeat, consists in the power of criticising those flexible parts of the State which constantly require reconsideration, not the basis but the machinery. In plainer words, it means the power of saying the sort of things that a decent but discontented citizen wants to say. He does not want to spit on the Bible, or to run about without clothes, or to read the worst page in Zola from the pulpit of St. Paul's. Therefore the forbidding of these things (whether just or not) is only tyranny in a secondary and special sense. It restrains the abnormal not the normal man. But the normal man, the decent discontented citizen, does want to protest against unfair law courts. He does want to expose brutalities of the police. He does want to make game of a vulgar pawnbroker who is made a Peer. He does want publicly to warn people against unscrupulous capitalists and suspicious finance. If he is run in for doing this (as he will be) he does want to proclaim the character or known prejudices of the Magistrate who tries him. If he is sent to prison (as he will be) he does want to have a clear and civilised sentence, telling him when he will come out. And these are literally and exactly the things that he now cannot get. That is the almost cloying humour of the present situation. I can say abnormal things in modern magazines. It is the normal things that I am not allowed to say. I can write in some solemn quarterly an elaborate article explaining that God is the devil; I can write in some cultured weekly an æsthetic fancy describing how I should like to eat boiled baby. The thing I must not write is rational criticism of the men and institutions of my country.

The present condition of England is briefly this: That no Englishman can say in public a twentieth part of what he says in private. One cannot say, for instance, that — But I am afraid I must leave out that instance, because one cannot say it. I cannot prove my case—because it is so true.—(*Daily News*).

THE VOTE.

Writing on "The Suffrage Campaign" in the *Daily News* of August 30, G. K. Chesterton says:—

My article [on Liberty] may have been right or wrong; but its whole object was to prove that Englishmen, who have got votes, have not got liberty. Why, in the name of wonder, should I deduce from this that Englishwomen will have liberty if only they can get votes? My complaint precisely was that the spirit and system of our whole Constitution is such that a vote is very little use in procuring a person practical freedom. The exact extent of my freedom is this: that I can vote either for Lord FitzGalahad, the Tory candidate, or for Mr. Binks, the Radical or Socialist candidate. I may vote for them; but I must not speak about them. If I make the quite obvious remark that Lord FitzGalahad is a foreign Jew, I am jumped on. If I comment on the manifest fact that Mr. Binks is a bankrupt aristocrat (fifth son of Lord Binksley), I am jumped on again. Good taste (that idol of mud), the party system, the great newspaper trusts are all in my way if I seek to say any such evident things. If I say them very plainly, I am proceeded against for libel. I say darkly to the clerk who serves the writ, "I have a vote," and he remains unmoved. I go before a Judge, who can put me in prison without a word of explanation or even accusation, because he chooses to say that the elevation of my eyebrows is contempt of Court. And since I happen to know that the Judge is a low Tory hack—since, in fact, I know that it was only by being so very partisan that he became so very impartial—it

is very possible that my eyebrows do express contempt of Court. Nevertheless, the impression I produce when I say, "My lord, a word more of your insolence, and I use my vote," is decidedly inadequate. I am sent to prison. And though I allude to my vote upon every opportunity, not a warder trembles. When I am let out I rush vengefully to use my vote. Suppose (what is very unlikely) that I find a candidate to express my wrongs, and that I persuade some thousands of people to vote for him. My Member rises in Parliament to complain of my Judge's conduct. He is at once told by the Speaker that the House must not criticise a Judge's conduct. Suppose that some sensible editor sees that this is rather unreasonable and remonstrates with the Speaker in a leading article. He is instantly convicted of breach of privilege and made to apologise. That is the existing law of England; I have literally no outlet of complaint. It comes to this, that I may vote, but I must not speak. Give women votes to-morrow and they are in the same box; they can vote, but they must not speak.

"Woman does want," cries Mr. Richmond with ardour, "to pillory the tied sweater and receiver of rack rents." I hope she does; but she won't be allowed to do it. I have a vote, and I am not allowed to do it. It was this and no more that my article on Liberty was meant to show, that in the modern English atmosphere a very few people may tyrannise, even though very many people may vote. I went out of my way to say, "Liberty is the living influence of the citizen," precisely because I knew that there are simple people like Mr. Richmond who are satisfied to say, "Liberty is a vote." Liberty is a spirit, without which votes are useless; as they are useless in England to-day.

BOOK NOTES.

Theorie du Salaire et du Travail Salarie. Par Christian Cornelissen. Paris: V. Giard and E. Briere, 16 Rue Soufflot.

Here we have a bulky volume of a most conscientious and extensive research of the relations between Capital and Labour. The very rich descriptive part dealing with the conditions of the working class of France, Germany, United States, England, Holland, and Australia, is based upon inquiries of the sources and original documents, as it is evident from the text that the author is master of all these languages.

The Labour organisations in those countries and their struggle for economic and social ameliorations are admirably sketched; at the same time, the theory of the wage system of the different schools of economists is fully analysed in four chapters (pages 99—173), so that the reader can obtain a clear idea of the theories of the Utilitarians (Walker, Leroy-Beaulieu, Von Thunen, Böhm-Bawerk, Jevons, Marshall, etc.), and the School of the Cost of Production (Turgot, Adam Smith, Ricardo, Mill, Lasalle, etc.).

The spirit in which this excellent work has been carried out may be seen from the following words of the author:—"This is not the place to approve or disapprove what exists, my research is purely scientific; the true state of the economic relations and their evolution is the object of my study."

This volume being in reality the second instalment of Cornelissen's large work on the theory of value, the author gives as the conclusion the general statement in the following formula:—"The exchange value and the market price of labour have a tendency to conform with the cost of living of a limited category of workers who claim the highest standard of living, and among whom the capitalist employers nevertheless are obliged to recruit the necessary hands in order to complete their personnel to assure the good technical progress of their enterprise."

In this short notice we cannot enter upon an analysis of all the rich material which the book contains. In our opinion, every student of the movement of organised Labour for the raising of the standard of wages and living will find in Cornelissen's "*Theorie du Salaire et du Travail Salarie*" a truly inexhaustible source of arguments and facts for the cause of social and economic emancipation of the working class.

The Seven that were Hanged. By Leonid Andreieff. 6d. net. London: A. C. Fifield, 44 Fleet Street, E.C.

The callous disregard for human life engendered by that form of legal murder known as capital punishment has a terrible reflection in this powerfully written little book. It is sad beyond all words to describe: the black shadow of death hovers over every page. But one reads for the deep interest aroused by the wonderfully touching and tender relations that spring up between the men and women—some of them strangers to one another—in that tragic journey to the scaffold so vividly described. Comrades should read this last sad tribute to the martyrdom of the Russian people.

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*.

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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

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

Wholesale price, 1s. 6d. per quire of 26 post-free in the United Kingdom.

All communications, exchanges, &c., 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.

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

Is Communism Necessary?

The question is frequently asked: "Is it necessary to discuss Communism? If we call ourselves Anarchists, is not that sufficient? Let us insist that every individual has the right to freedom; and that once gained, the economic problems will solve themselves."

To us it seems the question cannot be disposed of quite so simply. We must not rest content with preaching freedom alone, not because we do not care enough for it, but rather because it is so vital a part of our ideal that we cannot leave to chance whether it shall be built on rock or on sand—it *must* be built on rock, it must be secure; and even when secure, it must be guarded by that "eternal vigilance" which, as we are truly told, is the price of its existence.

This being so, we cannot evade the question as to whether we shall advocate Communism or Individualism when preaching Anarchism; a definite position must be taken up, because these two sides of the great problem of the future of society cannot be divorced. We are Anarchists and stand for individual freedom, but we do not intend that this precious thing shall remain a mere abstraction, as it has been with the poets and philosophers of the past. We want to make it a reality, to bring it down from the stars to *terra firma*, so that man shall grasp it and make it his own.

How can it be done? In the first place, there can be no solidarity in social life without equality. It is natural and it is good in itself that men should object to find fallible mortals assuming superior positions, whether by right of mental, moral, or physical strength. For the beginning of social and economic inequality is the beginning of exploitation in some shape or form. And we have here at least one argument in favour of Communism as securing to all that equality of conditions which will do most to ensure the harmonious co-operation of free groups of individuals working for the advancement of the community and not for mere personal ascendancy.

After a century of unbridled capitalism, during which the people have been saturated with all the anti-social influences of competition with its heaven-sent message of "devil take the hindmost"—after such an orgie of rapacious Individualism (so-called), it may sound Utopian to talk of "working for the advancement of the community." But this leads to a question that some day will have full and fair treatment, but which at present is not at all understood in its real significance. It may be put affirmatively by stating that *mankind never has lived without Communism*. All modern research goes to prove that from the earliest days of tribal Communism to the present time the recognition of communal rights in various ways has never ceased to exist. Some of these habits have, as G. L. Gomme states in his "Village Community," kept in check "even the forces of political economy which we have been taught to look upon as so irresistible, and it is worth bearing in mind that some of the traditional features of the village community are not very far removed from the Socialism of to-day."

It seems almost too obvious to point out that even to-day, with all the outrages against human equality, every one, from the weakest to the strongest, can freely use the public library, the museum, the picture gallery, or the park. This is what may be called the Communism of everyday life, and is so much taken for granted that the unimaginative Britisher does not even pause to consider the principle from which it springs. We should just as surely have "free bread," were it not that such would mean a deadly blow at capitalist exploitation, and would be the beginning of the end of the present system. So we come round

to the point from which we started: that Communism protects all from the danger of having to sell his or her labour-force for a wage-existence, which means also the sacrifice of one's personal liberty, and is therefore a bar to Anarchism.

There are in reality two reasons why Communism is regarded with suspicion by many who have a sincere desire to revolutionise our social life. The first is because Communism has been used (and abused) by authoritarians. The second is that it has never yet been universal enough to bring home to mankind the immense and really endless advantages it affords in the development of social and individual life.

The advocacy of Communism by authoritarians, and their various experiments in that direction, have done much to prejudice popular feeling against that method of social organisation. And in this we Anarchists have always seen a healthy and promising sign. It is good that the people should prefer the hardships of capitalistic competition, which gives them at least the liberty to choose their associates, rather than they should sacrifice all freedom for the mess of pottage that compulsory Communism may afford. It is the same spirit that induces the poor to suffer starvation rather than accept the indignity of the workhouse.

At the same time, people generally, at least in England, and Individualist Anarchists everywhere, have too readily confused the real issue as to Communism with the evils necessarily arising from compulsory, authoritarian organisation. There is no reason why this should be. For us, Communism is only *real* Communism when it is free: to enforce it is to destroy it. So the "Individualist" can have his existence outside the commune if he chooses; but we suspect that after all, like the comets, he will only succeed in rotating round it in an ellipse of extreme eccentricity.

As to the objection of Communism being a means for the weak to exploit the strong—this has arisen, as it seems to us, simply because Communism has never had a full and free extension. Even Proudhon, in one of his analyses of property, falls into this error. And that it is an error seems to be beyond all question. For it can be seen at once that the division of mankind into the "strong" and the "weak" puts us into a false relation at the very beginning, since there are all degrees as well as all kinds of "weakness." And the same with "strength." So we may well ask: If you desire to have such a mathematical precision in apportionment of reward to effort, how do you propose to adjust it? Do you not see for one thing that to meet the never-ending gradations that will arise you must expend more time and trouble than the results will justify? And at the end of it all justice will not be done, because it is not to be attained in that direction. If the "weak" man is free—and he *must* be free in an Anarchist commune—he may find his strength in a direction where the "strong" man has failed. On the other hand, if an individual is weak in every sense—morally, physically, and intellectually—are we to inflict on this unfortunate the additional hardship of a more restricted satisfaction of his needs? We then fall below the standard of sporting men, who have at least the fairness to "handicap" the strong and not the weak. So finally we find ourselves accepting the formula which so far has never been improved upon: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Emerson on the Land Question.

"If I am born into the earth, where is my part? Have the goodness, gentlemen of this world, to show me my wood plot, where I may fell my wood, my field where to plant my corn, my pleasant ground where to build my cabin."

"Touch my wood, or field, or house lot at your peril," cry all the gentlemen of this world, "but you may come and work in ours for us, and we will give you a piece of bread."

"And by what authority, gentlemen?"

"By our law."

"And your law, is it just?"

"As just for you as it was for us."

"I repeat the question, is it just?"

"Not quite just, but necessary."

"I will none of your law, it encumbers me."

"I find this vast network which you call property extended over the whole planet. I cannot occupy the bleakest crag of the White Hills or the Alleghany range, but some man or corporation steps up to me to show that it is his. Now, though I am very peaceful, and on my private account could well enough die, since it appears there was some mistake in my creation, and that I have been missent to this earth where all the seats were already taken, yet I feel called upon, in behalf of rational nature, to declare to you my opinion that if the earth is yours so also is it mine."

DIRECT PURPOSE.

It is an obvious truism to say that action takes place because a purpose exists. Action often fails to satisfy this purpose, and the failure is due to one of two things: either (1) it does not go far enough—there is not enough of it—or (2) the relationship between purpose and action is not direct.

It is with this latter case that this article deals.

The Anarchist believes in direct action; but just as society does not take any given form because logicians have proved that form to be the best, but only because it is the one in which the spirit of the people finds expression, so direct action will not be adopted because it has been scientifically and logically proved to be the most efficient mode of reform: it must spring spontaneously from the thoughts and emotions of the people. This can only be when the people think directly and act with direct motives, which, unfortunately, we are not in the habit of doing at present, our purposes generally being quite indirect, and, indeed, quite irrelevant to the action.

To illustrate this indirect motive, here are two examples:—

(1) A gentleman offers his chair to a lady because it is polite to do so, thus sacrificing himself for his principle; (2) some men take part in the Revolution because they deem it their duty, again sacrificing themselves for their principle. These motives are indirect. The man who acts prompted by duty, by principle, by morality, by the fear or love of God, is merely a relic of the old religions which taught men to mutilate themselves and murder their children because such was in accordance with their religious beliefs.

The man who thinks directly says—Do not give your chair to a lady so that you may be polite, but only because you would prefer that she were resting. Do not murder your children because it is in accordance with some religion; the only sane cause for murder is that you would prefer your intended victim were dead rather than alive. Do not revolt in order to feel that you have done your share in bringing about the emancipation of the race; revolt simply because you want the Revolution. To sum up, do not act because it is your duty, because of your principles, or because you wish to do right (in each case it is for God disguised), but act simply to obtain the end of that act. The difference between these two attitudes of thought is essential. The former, the "good" man, sacrifices himself in acting; the latter, the man who is simply a man, develops himself in all his actions.

Turning now to the organisations which exist to-day, there is one startling characteristic common to almost though not quite all. They are working for the negation of the principle upon which they were founded. Christianity started as a movement of the people despising those in authority; the word is now adopted by the authorities, and the movement is one of their greatest assets. Those who style themselves Liberals are organising the "new Toryism." Socialism was originally a movement of the people against those privileged to exploit them; the word is now adopted by an organisation which would control all the functions of the life of society from the very source of the privilege it set out to destroy.

Whence, then, comes this mad contradiction, this dream-like series of failures? Let us proceed to trace it from start to finish, and we shall find its source in the attitude of mind indicated above. The immediate purpose of the organisation has in each case no direct bearing upon that which it sets out to ultimately accomplish. Everything that is done is to the glory of a god—duty, principle, or Jehovah. This is the starting-point. The individual unit having sacrificed to his principle his desires, his inclinations, and his wealth, and so his life (just as formerly man sacrificed to his god), he must go further. The enterprise has been undertaken with the philosophy of superstition, and it is necessary to go through the old story.

Just as the representatives of God, the churches and the priests, sprang up and in the name of God received the sacrifices and exercised power in his name, thus becoming parasites preying upon the highest aspirations of the ever-striving people, so to-day the self-styled representatives of principles and ideals are gaining power by receiving the sacrifices that were intended for the ideal itself, in their turn forming a parasite class trading in the noblest thoughts and the most splendid struggles of which our race is capable.

This, then, is the first change, and has been stealthily accomplished as the result of our indirect purpose; but the contradiction is not yet complete.

The organisation and its M.P.'s or its leaders or its priests having taken the place of the principle, the people now transfer their allegiance to it and them. To be loyal to it and increase

its power and that of its leaders becomes the sole ambition of its members, and from this position inevitably we reach the next step in the contradiction.

Whereas the only logical excuse for the existence of the organisation was to spread some idea, it now spreads that idea to maintain itself. Instead of existing to distribute literature, it sells literature to assist it to exist. Instead of existing to hold meetings, it holds meetings to maintain its existence and increase its power.

Now we reach the final change, a subtle and necessary consequence of the foregoing position. The object of selling literature being to increase the power of the organisation, the chief thing in selecting that literature is that it shall accord with the tastes and instincts of those outside the organisation. But the original motive of the movement was to propagate an idea that did not accord with these tastes.

Again, the object of its meetings being to extend the organisation and increase the power of its leaders, the tone of those meetings will have to be such that it will appeal to the sympathies of the audiences and gain their support.

Thus is the transformation complete. The Christian stretches the eye of the needle to avoid the slightest inconvenience in passing. Liberalism forgets its principles in its anxiety to use the State to oblige its supporters. The revolutionist explains that really after all he is not dangerous, he is only scientific.

The slight humour of the failure only makes the intense pathos more complete. The old revolutionist, as he stands before his vast audience, exulting in the great movement that has been built up during his lifetime, does not perceive that he is a traitor to all the hopes and aspirations of his youth; that he is flattered with the applause of the very thoughts and instincts he set out to fight. A more pathetic figure than this successful man it is difficult to conceive. A great triumphant so-called Socialist demonstration is the most depressing experience a revolutionist can undergo. There is nothing succeeds like failure, and no such utter failure as this success. Such is the inevitable fate of organisations depending for their energy on indirect purpose.

First, then, let us as Anarchists think directly. Love what is beautiful, and hate what is ugly. We hate the present form of society; we are choked and we would live; we are governed and we would be free. The struggle has become a reality; vague political theories mean nothing. We are stifled and we will breathe the air of the revolution. Our purpose is direct and our action will also be direct. It is better to die fighting than never to have lived at all. The peace-loving middle class rely on their prisons and churches and dynamite and politicians to fight us, but most of all upon the starvation of women and children.

This is not peace, but a bloody tragedy to which each day's work contributes. We are keeping this system going; kings, priests, and politicians depend on us for their existence. In our daily walk to work we are marching in a great army that is trampling on the liberty of the people more than all the armies of all the tyrants that ever lived. All tyrants, all Governments, all armies we keep, *we*, this deadly army of workers.

From such thoughts action is born, and with it spontaneously an organisation springs into existence born of mutual interests, existing only so far as our interests are mutual, responsive to our thoughts, expressing by its deeds our wills and emotions. The medium of our action, but never the dictator. The effect, not the cause, of our unity. Living only so long as that unity exists. All other forms of organisation are merely tyranny ill-disguised. This is the organisation that no powerful man, no Government can exploit or fight. It is Freedom, it is Anarchy.

G. P. B.

ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA IN LONDON.

Conferences to consider ways and means of propaganda in London were held recently, and as a result meetings were arranged to take place regularly at the times and places mentioned below. Comrades are requested to turn up and help to make them a success.

Sunday—Edmonton Green, 11 a.m. Enfield (The Chase), 7 p.m.

Canning Town (corner of Beckton Road), 7 p.m.

Monday—Battersea (Prince's Head), 8 p.m.

Wednesday—Walthamstow (Hoe Street), 8.30 p.m.

Southwark (St. George's Circus), 8 p.m.

Friday—Tooting Broadway (outside Baths), 8 p.m.

Edmonton Green, 8 p.m.

C. H. Kean returns to London about the 15th of this month, and he will speak at the following meetings:—

Wednesday, September 22, Walthamstow (Hoe Street).

Friday, September 24, Edmonton Green.

Monday, September 27, Battersea (Prince's Head).

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Sweden.

The union of employers, a movement which has been making progress in all countries, has also in Sweden come to the front. The English workers will not yet have forgotten the prolonged struggle between the great Engineers' Union and their employers in 1898, which was one of the first occasions when united Capital opposed united Labour.

We Anarchists from the very beginning understood that by peaceful and legal tactics the workers never could hope to get the better of their economic masters. A strike with folded arms cannot bring emancipation to the workers.

The workers' organisations in Sweden sooner or later were bound to come to a struggle against the Employers' Federation, which under various pretexts had imposed several reductions of wages, had employed non-union labour, and now at last threatened the existence of the Trade Unions themselves.

Driven to take a stand, the Labour Unions decided to declare a general strike in all branches of industry. This strike has been in progress for the past three weeks, but now it seems to be slowly weakening. Though hostilities between the Trade Unions and the employers have not yet ceased, nevertheless it is evident that the movement which the Swedish Unions started has not had the hoped-for success, in spite of all the sacrifices which the workers' families have borne. All the discipline, which has been praised so much, has not been able to prevent work being resumed in several industries.

We think that the cause of their failure lies greatly in the tactics of the Trade Unions, which in Sweden, as in Germany and generally in the Germanic countries, rely too exclusively on their strike funds and the discipline of its members, and are too careful to remain within the limits of "legality." To use a classical expression of the International Socialist movement, "It is legality which kills the movement."

The Social Democratic Deputy, Hjalmar Branting, who kept the International Socialist press informed on the course of events, wrote in one of his messages: "The authorities show more and more a scandalous partiality in favour of the employers. Notwithstanding the irritation caused by this attitude, order is preserved, thanks to the wisdom of the workers and the strength of their organisations."

This phrase—similar to so many others which we read every day in the press—perfectly characterises the general aspect of the movement, and at the same time points to its fundamental mistake which has prevented its being successful.

Order has been maintained, and the workers remained quiet in spite of all provocations. Worse even. Whilst the masses of the workers remained quiet and proud of their "orderliness," the bourgeois, students, merchants and manufacturers armed themselves with the thousands of revolvers which the gunsmiths sold during the strike.

No "sabotage" of railway, telephone and telegraph lines; no encounters or riots, as during the recent strikes in Spain, in France and the United States.

And yet the Swedish comrades had numbers in their favour; never has a general strike been supported by such numbers or so full of enthusiasm and hope. Out of a population of 5,380,000 distributed over an enormous area, 300,000 out of 500,000 workers were on strike, which means that in the few large centres the movement was general. Not only the railway men could not be persuaded to join the strike, but even the shops in Stockholm were never obliged to close for lack of goods; and the great European press, which anxiously followed the events, could state triumphantly that there was such an abundance of vegetables, butter, eggs, etc., on the market of Stockholm that prices actually were lower than usual. In the first days of the movement the carts going to market were escorted by soldiers, but this precaution was superfluous, the strikers remaining perfectly quiet. They did not understand that under such conditions this movement was condemned to failure, and that to reduce the strike to a struggle between the strikers' funds and the money bags of the employers would soon exhaust the workers, notwithstanding all financial help and their tenacity and admirable solidarity.

Spain.

The dissatisfaction with the Clerical and reactionary Government in Spain, which in return for the heavy State burdens does not give the people even the most elementary Constitutional rights, had reached already a very high pitch and needed only a rallying cause for the Republicans, Liberals, Radicals, Socialists, and Anarchists to break out openly, when the Spanish Government decided to punish the Moors of the Riff country who had dared to oppose two mining companies which had obtained concessions from one of the Pretenders. With the exception of a very few who are financially interested in that enterprise, the Spanish people were unanimous in their detestation of the war. And this unpopularity grew in intensity when the Government found it necessary to call out the reserves.

An article of the veteran Anarchist fighter, Lorenzo Anselmo, in the *Daily News* graphically describes what followed:—"See the simplicity of it all. There had been already two or three departures of reservists for Melilla. At the last of them heart-breaking scenes took place on the quays of the port, when parents parted from their sons, wives from their husbands. On board the ships there was some insubordination. The crowds who witnessed these things remained sad at

heart, and, to a certain extent, ashamed of not having sufficient energy to try and put a stop to them. The movement of protest against the war took shape. The 'Solidaridad Obrera,' or Federation of Trade Unions, called an assembly of delegates to discuss the situation with a view to organise a mass meeting of protest. The Governor forbade their coming together. This was the 23rd of July. The delegates accordingly did not discuss; no proposal was put forward. But in departing, in wishing one another good night, hands gripped with more energy than usual, eyes shone, and, one having added to the traditional 'salut, noy' (good health), 'dilluns, la general' (Monday the general strike), the word went round, and, *sotto voce*, was repeated by all. Saturday, the 24th, passed quietly. Sunday was equally calm, and on the Monday, 26th, at the usual time, the hooters of the factories went off as on every other day and all the workers answered their call. But half an hour later, in a factory at San Martin de Provencals, a voice shouted: 'Stop, everybody in the street!' Instantaneously work came to a standstill. The workers crowded through the exits and went to the other factories in the neighbourhood, where on their appearance work also stopped. Like a train of powder the news spread from one factory to another, and at nine o'clock every machine, every wheel in every factory was still. As the works were deserted a wonderful activity began to be noticed outside. Very soon it was announced that the railway service was dislocated, that the postal service was interrupted, work in the port stopped. Men in the streets pulled up the tramway rails. The general strike was as complete as it could be. The small workshops had been invaded by groups of women who compelled the men to leave work. It was in a great measure due to these women that the strike was so successful."

Most of our readers are familiar with the subsequent events of the revolt—the street fighting, the barricades, the burning of the convents and churches, and how the Government, by the use of artillery and mounted troops, gained the upper hand, and for the time being "peace reigns at Barcelona."

At present the press brings news of numerous prisoners in the ill-famed Montjuich fortress; the military tribunals have ordered many to be shot. The Anarchists, who are of course considered the instigators of the movement, though even the most casual observer must recognise that this time it was a popular revolt, are specially hunted down, and our comrade Ferrer, who created the splendid rational schools in Barcelona, is eagerly looked for; but according to the *Labour Leader*, he is now safe in England.

In Barcelona all popular clubs and rational schools are closed by the authorities. A Spanish comrade in the *Temps Nouveaux* says that this revolt has cost the Government, besides thousands of francs for the transport of troops, 55 policemen and 70 civil guards killed, double the number wounded, 70 convents and churches completely destroyed.

The people count also hundreds killed, wounded and imprisoned. But it has once again been shown that the revolutionary spirit in Catalonia is far from dead, and that the working classes are ready to make any sacrifice in their fight against Clericalism and Militarism.

Switzerland.

From Switzerland comes the welcome news that our courageous comrade Bertoni, the editor of *Le Reveil*, has been acquitted by the Court of Geneva. During a strike an encounter with the police took place, Bertoni was arrested, and accused of having wounded a gendarme with a dagger. The police and the Public Prosecutor used all possible means to get our comrade convicted, but the jury having heard all the lying and contradictory evidence from the side of the prosecution, unanimously pronounced Bertoni innocent, which verdict was received with great applause by the waiting crowd outside the court house.

At the arrest of Bertoni, as well as on many other occasions, comrades have been ill-treated by the police even when at the police station. This cruel practice of course is always denied by the perpetrators, and all legal means to stop it having proved quite ineffective, some workers decided by direct action to put an end to this practice. At Saint Denis some navvies, armed with revolvers and pickaxes, at night time attacked the policemen who had made themselves famed for their brutality. The attack was so well planned and carried out that the police had to take their punishment quietly. Since then the police at Saint Denis are remarkably polite with the workers—especially navvies! When the workers make it a rule to treat the police as the police have treated them, they will keep a little quieter at meetings and demonstrations.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CAN A GENERAL STRIKE BE SUCCESSFUL.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—Surely it is of the first importance for Anarchists to have clear ideas as to what can and what cannot be obtained by the General Strike. "N." is quite right, I think, when he says that "too many things are taken for granted which require continuous fresh examination." An Anarchist must not only be critical of his opponents: he must also be critical of his Anarchism. It is because this is not always done that we have what one may call the present "mix" over Syndicalism (Revolutionary Trade Unionism) and its methods of Direct Action.

Let us frankly admit that a General Strike is not always revolutionary, and does not even always succeed in winning the small concessions it sometimes starts out to conquer. All this is true. But, on the other hand, it is a fact that the General Strike encourages the workers to rely upon their own organisation; to avoid the politician; to employ their own initiative in tactics of defence or attack connected with the strike; and last, but not least, it always carries with it the probability of producing a revolutionary situation.

Again, the workers are only just beginning to learn the meaning of the General Strike. And if they make blunders, if they often fail, that is, after all, what happens in all our efforts in life, especially when we are new beginners. At the same time, while recognising all this, and acknowledging this form of Direct Action as an outcome of Anarchist teaching, we have to guard against the possibility of its being taken as sufficient in itself to gain all that we are struggling for. This is, in my opinion, the fatal error of those who are working for Industrial Unionism. If they could overthrow capitalism by their organisation, we are entitled to ask if we shall then find ourselves in a free society, or if the old superstition of government is to crush us again. It is because Anarchist Communism compasses both the material well-being of the individual and assures him the fullest freedom for the development of his moral and intellectual nature that I for one regard the propagation of the Anarchist conception of life as of the first importance, even while at the same time doing what one can to encourage Direct Action, and, above all, to develop that solidarity amongst the workers—both national and international—which may at a given crisis prove the turning-point in the future of the world.—
Fraternally yours, ANARCHIST COMMUNIST.

ANARCHISM AND THE SITUATION.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

SIR,—I think that it would be instructive and interesting if we had some more expressions of opinion on the subject of "Anarchism and the Situation," which was dealt with by Malatesta in the June issue. I differ from the concluding portion of the article where it is supposed that we may have to suffer from military persecution. I do not see that it is inevitable.

Some comrades call themselves Individualists and others call themselves Communists; but I think that it is quite immaterial which we call ourselves. Like a child with a toy, we grip at things like an Individualist one minute, only to fling them at the crowd like a Communist the next. But assuming that we are Communists and that what we want is Communism, then I do not see that there is any danger of military repression. If property depends on government, and government rests on military force, military force in its turn is only controlled because it is organised on a Communistic basis. When a person agrees to military service, it is on the understanding that food, clothing, and shelter will be assured to him, or, as I say, that the service is organised on a Communistic basis.

If Communism is practicable, as we believe it to be, then by offering a superior form of it we should be able to disarm and dissolve the military forces. Government having nothing then to rest upon, and Communism becoming combined with Anarchism, the military will be assured of perfect freedom in place of their present brutal State Communist servitude.

The people, I believe, have the means to do this without even incurring any illegality. The greatest obstacle, it seems to me, which prevents them from seeing and feeling the significance of this is the faith and trust they still have that Parliament can and will do it for them.—Yours,
A. H. HOLT.

S. M. HIRST.—The extract from Kautsky quoted last month in the article on "Socialists and Socialism" can be found on p. 32 of "The Socialist Republic," published by the Socialist Labour Press, 28 Forth Street, Edinburgh, price 1d.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

EDINBURGH.

So many years have elapsed since a report of the movement in Edinburgh appeared in FREEDOM that readers may be freely forgiven if they are now under the impression that "Scotia's Darling Seat" has come under the influence of an earthquake, and all connected with Anarchism been swallowed up. Should there be any of such opinion, let me assure them that no such catastrophe has occurred, and the Anarchist flag is still waving in the breeze. True, there is no group, properly speaking, as of old; but the propaganda has never been allowed to die out, for just as Hall and Godfrey took up the work after the collapse of the original group, so McAra took it up after Hall left the city, and has carried it on ever since practically unaided, with wonderful success.

On Sunday, July 18, C. H. Kean opened his week's campaign here with two good meetings. One in the afternoon in the Meadows, the other in the evening at the Mound. Kean proved such a rousing speaker, with such an amount of staying power, that McAra was allowed to slacken a trifle, contenting himself with little more than

opening and closing the meeting. A goodly number of questions were asked and answered; also a good sale of "Terror in Russia." Monday night brought together the largest meeting of the course. McAra opened in his own humorous way, and Kean spoke for an hour and a half in magnificent style. Some rather trifling questions were then put, two members of the S.D.P. fairly carrying off the palm, one suggesting that obedience meant freedom! He did not say whether he meant obedience to the law of equal freedom or not. The other got on the stool and vehemently maintained that Kean was a political actionist from the fact that he (Kean) was there discussing the matter with his fellows! We will have to be careful how we define ourselves, comrades.

It was rather unfortunate that Tuesday and Thursday, the two nights laid out for Musselburgh, were both wet. Still, wonderfully good meetings were held, many questions being asked by the leading Socialists of the "honest toon." In fact, it looked a regular set-to between Kean and the big guns. Indeed, when we consider the amount of literature sold, including "Terror in Russia," the meetings were a decided success. Bad luck, though, to that big tipsy miner who wasted the time.

Two capital meetings were held on Wednesday and Friday at the Mound, the "Terror" still selling splendidly. Sunday, the 25th, was set off for a regular field-day in the Meadows, especially for disposing of Kropotkin's book; but, alas! "man proposes and God disposes." The rains descended and we had to seek the tree with the leafiest branches and there shelter for a time. Ultimately, we were completely "washed" from the scene without striking a single blow. The evening looked hopeless until about 8 o'clock, when a rattling good meeting was held. McAra opened briefly, and Kean spoke till after 10. This was his best effort, I think. His lectures were greatly appreciated here.

Howie was here on holiday, and gave great assistance with the literature. Goldberg, of Leeds, is here also, and besides selling literature is doing a little speaking. Considering the bad weather and holiday week into the bargain, a better eight days' campaign could hardly be accomplished by two speakers. Our only regret is that such work cannot be continued for want of funds. Let us hope on.
G. R.

KILMARNOCK.

Charlie Kean arrived here on July 27 and started propaganda that night. Good meetings were held throughout the week at St. Marnock Corner and Laigh Kirk. A noticeable feature was the number of intelligent young men who were always awaiting our arrival at the meeting-place. Owing to the holidays, the local I.L.P. had refrained from holding their usual meeting on Sunday evening in the Howard Park, so we occupied their pitch. An advertisement in the local paper that, under the auspices of the Kilmarnock Truth-Seekers' Society, C. H. Kean, of London, would lecture on "The Failure of Political Socialism," brought a large audience, who listened intently to the arguments advanced by our comrade. Several questions were asked, but no defence was put up by the State Socialists, their leaders adopting their strongest weapon, "the conspiracy of silence," and others adhering to the mistaken idea that Anarchism would have to pass through the State Socialist incubator before reaching maturity.

On Monday, August 2, Kean held a meeting on the Low Green at Ayr. As usual, he helped to break down prejudice and to show the workers their true position as wage-slaves. We also met with several comrades and disposed of a quantity of literature. We parted with regret, and Kean will be sure of a cordial welcome next time he returns. The seed has been sown.
J. HOSE.

PAISLEY.

Despondent comrades who vegetate in what may seem hopeless districts, please note. Charlie Kean, in response to a half-hearted invitation that meant "Don't come here," has visited Paisley; and when he saw the large crowds at his meetings, he must have marked me down as either a liar or a Jeremiah. His audiences were attentive, and what opposition there was, intelligent. Much interest was aroused among the younger members of the political Socialist bodies as to the Anarchist position. Kean paid a return visit on August 3, and held a bumper meeting under the shadow of Paisley's old abbey. A drizzling rain fell all the time, but the large crowd was so interested in his description of "Real Socialism" that they would hardly disperse at the finish, a good sale of literature dealing with the subject of the lecture being the immediate result. Besides holding the attention of his audiences, Kean sold about £2 worth of pamphlets at his four meetings, and created a feeling in favour of Anarchism that future fighters will benefit from.
J. MASON.

Kean's last night in Scotland was spent in debate with the I.W.G.B. The hall was overcrowded. No opposition of a serious nature was raised against the Anarchist position; most of the audience purchased literature.

On August 5 Kean opened up the return journey at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Six meetings were held, and all were well attended. The local S.D.P. hall was taken for Saturday night, and our comrade lectured on "Knowledge and Belief." The last night was reserved for a recital of Ibsen's "Enemy of the People."

Two meetings were held in Darlington; subjects, "The Failure of Political Socialism" and "Thoughts of a Fool." Kean returns to this town shortly to give four lectures.

The next stop was Hull—a new venture. The first meeting,

Sunday afternoon, August 15, was very poorly attended. The S.D.P. made room for our comrade in the evening to a much larger audience. The Socialist Crusade, whose leader is Claude Taylor, offered their platform for the remainder of Kean's stay, and he was able to give four lectures, including "Crime and Punishment" and Ibsen's play. Hull's reception to our comrade was beyond expectations, and he will return in the winter to lecture in a hall.

On Saturday, the 21st, he moved on to Leeds. His remaining visits are Darlington, Leeds, and Birmingham; then on to London, where he expects to arrive about September 14.

LEICESTER.

Still the people of Leicester are having a mixture of politics, etc. On going into the Market Square the other Sunday morning, in one part there were the Anti-Socialist platform with its usual chloroformers, the I.L.P., the S.D.P., and, as the *Midland Pioneer* stated, "that Anarchist Pollard." We have also had of late a German speaking on food reform, who states that if the people would only eat natural food they would then all come to one way of thinking. I may say for the benefit of others that this person will state to Anarchists that he is an Anarchist, and to S.D.P.ers that he is an S.D.P.er. I have addressed three meetings this month, and have had fairly good crowds of interested people. Will be speaking on Sunday, September 5, at 11 a.m., on the Market Square, Leicester; subject, "Monarchy versus Anarchy." Also Sunday, September 12, at 6 30 p.m.; subject, "Direct Action versus Legislation." G. POLLARD.

BATTERSEA FREEDOM SOCIETY.

We held our first meeting on Monday night, August 23, at 'Prince's Head,' Battersea. Despite the bad weather, our comrade Barrett addressed an enthusiastic audience, and showed them the folly of Parliamentary action, also the difference between Anarchists and so-called Socialists. Several questions were asked, and ably answered by our comrade, who asked for opposition, but none was forthcoming. Meetings will be held at the same spot every Monday evening at 8.

EMILY HOLDEN, Secretary,
107 Durham Buildings, Battersea, S.W.

LIVERPOOL COMMUNIST SUNDAY SCHOOL.

During the hot weather the Sunday School has been closed until some future date, probably the end of September. I am pleased to state that the children enjoyed themselves immensely at Halewood on August 7. We had a glorious summer's day, and thanks to the generous support of comrades, a good tea, to the satisfaction of the youngsters, who took full advantage of the opportunities offered and came home much happier for their day's outing. One jarring note of the proceedings was the absence of our late comrade, Will Fairbrother. If ever a comrade has been missed by children, their late teacher has. I thank my comrades for their help in the financial affairs of our picnic.

BALANCE-SHEET OF OUTING.

Subscriptions.—Per our late Comrade Fairbrother: W. D. F. 2s, J. S. 2s, B. 2s, F. M. 2s, A. A. 2s, L. P. 2s, Wm. T. 3s, J. C. C. 1s, E. B. 1s, A. R. 1s, J. S. 3d, W. J. 2s, W. O'H. 2s, R. R. 2s, 6d, J. C. 2s 6d, E. C. 2s 6d, D. Q. 1s, E. T. 1s, total £1 11s 9d. Per J. H. D.: E. G. S. 5s, J. H. D. 2s, B. M. D. 1s, M. 10s, F. T. 2s, School 1s, Wm. J. 2s 6d, A. M. 2s, J. C. Q. 1s, E. D. 6d, S. 2s, L. P. 2s, H. 6d, T. G. B. 2s 6d, S. 1s, H. K. 1s, Miss H. 9d, total £1 16s 9d. Tickets for Visitors 13s. Total cash received £4 1s. 6d.
Expenses.—Waggonettes £2 12s 6d, Tea and Refreshments £1 11s, Games and Gratuities, etc. £1 7s. Total expenses £5 10s. 6d.
Deficit due to self £1 9s.

JAY H. DEE.

Notice to Lecture Secretaries.

G. Pollard, 65 Dover Street, Leicester, is open to speak for groups in any town. Letters direct to his address.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(August 1—August 31.)

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund—H. Glasse 15s, A. Sympathiser £1 10s, Anon £2, T. Lehan 1s, F. Goulding 3d.

FREEDOM Subscriptions—W. H. 1s 6d, S. Simons 1s 6d, F. Mozzanini 1s 6d, W. Anderson 1s 6d, G. Teltsch 2s, A. Withers 4s, F. M. 2s 6d, Lagsding 3s, T. P. L. 1s 6d, W. M. M. 1s 6d, W. G. 1s 6d, L. C. 2s, J. Klein 1s 6d.

FREEDOM Sales—A. Goldberg 4s 6d, Marlaw 1s 6d, Maisel £1 3s, Stroud 5s 7½d, Silverman 1s 6d, J. Drake 1s 6d, T. S. 1s, C. Kean 5s 3d, J. McAra 7s 6d, Goodman 1s 2d, T. Little 1s 4d, D. Lindsay 1s 6d, F. Goulding 2s 3d, G. Pollard 1s.

Pamphlet and Book Sales.—Sivin 1s 3d, Maisel £1, W. Stroud 2s 6d, J. B. 1s, S. Hirst 5s, J. Hose 2s 4d, A. B. 3s 6d, T. Little 1s 3d, Lindsay 9s, J. C. S. 14s, D. Baxter 10s 2d, A. G. 1s 2d, A. Goldberg 3s 2d, L. Carter 2s, G. O'D. 1s 6d, J. McAra 7s 6d, M. Silverman 8s 6d, Moll 9s, W. H. 1s, J. Drake 3s, C. Kean £4 1s 6d. These amounts do not include "Terror in Russia."

KROPOTKIN: THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE.

By TOM SWAN.

A dainty and artistic little booklet, giving a short and sympathetic summary of Kropotkin's teachings.

Price 1d., post-free 1½d.

"Freedom" Office, 127 Ossulston Street, N.W.

JUST REPRINTED.

ANARCHIST MORALITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 36 pages. 1d.

ANARCHY. By E. MALATESTA. 36 pages. 1d.

MOTHER EARTH.

Published by EMMA GOLDMAN.

Offices: 210 East 13th Street, New York City, U.S.A.

Can be obtained from FREEDOM Office. 6d. monthly, post-free 7d.

Back numbers supplied.

PAMPHLET AND BOOK LIST.

ANARCHIST MORALITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

ANARCHY. By E. MALATESTA. 1d.

THE WAGE SYSTEM. By P. KROPOTKIN. 1d.

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM: ITS BASIS AND PRINCIPLES. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

A TALK ABOUT ANARCHIST COMMUNISM BETWEEN TWO WORKERS. By E. MALATESTA. 1d.

ANARCHISM: ITS PHILOSOPHY AND IDEAL. By P. KROPOTKIN. 1d.

THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.

EXPROPRIATION. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

THE PLACE OF ANARCHISM IN SOCIALISTIC EVOLUTION. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

DIRECT ACTION v. LEGISLATION. By J. BLAIR SMITH. 1d.

THE PYRAMID OF TYRANNY. By F. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS. 1d.

ANARCHISM AND OUTRAGE. ½d.

LAW AND AUTHORITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.

THE SOCIAL GENERAL STRIKE. By ARNOLD ROLLER. 2d.

THE BASIS OF TRADE UNIONISM. By EMILE POUGET. 1d.

WAR. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

SOCIALISM THE REMEDY. By HENRY GLASSE. 1d.

EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION. By ELISEE RECLUS. 1d.

THE KING AND THE ANARCHIST. 1d.

MONOPOLY; OR, HOW LABOUR IS ROBBED. WILLIAM MORRIS. 1d.

USEFUL WORK VERSUS USELESS TOIL. By WILLIAM MORRIS. 1d.

THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CONGRESS, 1907. 1d.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY. By GUSTAV LANDAUER. ½d.

ANARCHISTS AND ESPERANTO. 1d.

ANARCHY v. SOCIALISM. By W. C. OWEN. 2d., post-free 2½d.

WHAT I BELIEVE. By EMMA GOLDMAN. 2d., post-free 2½d.

PATRIOTISM. By EMMA GOLDMAN. 2d., post-free 2½d.

THE TRAGEDY OF WOMAN'S EMANCIPATION. By EMMA GOLDMAN. 2d., post-free 2½d.

THE MASTERS OF LIFE. By MAXIM GORKY. 2d., post-free 2½d.

THE GOD PESTILENCE. By JOHN MOST. 1½d.

WAR PICTURES by EMILE HOLAREK. Coloured plates. 6d., postage 1d.

THE CONQUEST OF BREAD. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 3s. 6d. post-free.

ANARCHISM. By Dr. PAUL ELTZBACHER. 6s. 6d.; postage 4d.

MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONIST. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2s.

MUTUAL AID. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 3s. 6d. post-free.

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM. By P. KROPOTKIN. 1s.

FIELDS, FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS. By PETER KROPOTKIN.

Paper cover 6d, post-free 9d.; cloth 1s., post-free 1s. 3d.

NEWS FROM NOWHERE. By WILLIAM MORRIS. 1s. 6d.; postage 4d.

A DREAM OF JOHN BALL. By WILLIAM MORRIS. 2s., postage 3d.

WHAT IS PROPERTY? By P. J. PROUDHON. 2 vols. 2s., postage 4d.

PRISONS, POLICE AND PUNISHMENT. By E. CARPENTER. Paper 1s.,

cloth 2s., postage 3d.

ENGLAND'S IDEAL. By EDWARD CARPENTER. 2s. 6d. and 1s., post. 3d.

A VINDICATION OF NATURAL SOCIETY. By EDMUND BURKE.

1s. and 6d., postage 2d. and 1d.

WALDEN. By H. THOREAU. 1s. and 6d., postage 2d. and 1d.

and 1s., postage 3d.

LOVE'S COMING OF AGE. A Series of Papers on the Relations of the

Sexes. By EDWARD CARPENTER. 3s. 6d., postage 4d.

THE RIGHTS OF MAN. By THOMAS PAINE. 6d., postage 3d.

THE SLAVERY OF OUR TIMES. By LEO TOLSTOY. 6d.

All orders, with cash, should be sent to

Manager, "Freedom" Office, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N.W.

"FREEDOM" MAY BE OBTAINED OF

London.—HENDERSON, 66 Charing Cross Road, W.C. (Wholesale).

NEW AGE PRESS, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

W. REEVES, 83, Charing Cross Road, W.

O. MATHIAS, 20, Little Pulteney Street, W.

B. RUDERMAN, 71 Hanbury Street, Spitalfields, E.

J. J. JAKES, 191 Old Street, City Road, E.C.

QUICKFALLS, 238 York Road, and 61 High Street, Battersea, S.W.

T. LITTLE, 13 Cliff Street, Canning Town, E.

Liverpool.—E. G. SMITH, 126 Tunnel Road.

CHAS. J. GRANT AND SON, 8 and 9 Lord Street Arcade.

Leeds.—A. Goldberg, 14 Millwright Street.

Leicester.—G. POLLARD, 65 Dover Street.

Manchester.—J. BURGESS AND CO., 15 Peter Street.

Newcastle-on-Tyne.—H. KARPIN, 11 Ravensworth Terrace.

COMMUNIST CLUB, 77A Blackett Street.

Glasgow.—D. BAXTER, 32 Brunswick Street.

D. G. LINDSAY, 173 West Nile Street.

Dundee.—L. MACARTNEY, 203, Overgate.

U.S.A.—N. NOTKIN, 1332 S. 6th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

M. MAISEL, 422 Grand Street, New York, N.Y.

New Zealand.—P. JOSEPHS, 64 Taranaki Street, Wellington.

Printed and published by T. H. KEELL, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N.W.