

Freedom

JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

VOL. XXIV.—No. 260.

DECEMBER, 1910.

MONTHLY; ONE PENNY

Threatened Execution of Socialists and Anarchists in Japan.

A telegram from Tokio, which appeared in the Press on November 10, stated:—"Twenty-six Japanese, who were charged with being concerned in a plot to assassinate the Emperor, have been found guilty by the special secret Court which was constituted to try the case. The Court recommends the infliction of the severest penalty under the law, namely, capital punishment." We know that among those sentenced were Dr. Kotoku and his friend, Mme. Kano, but his comrades' names are at present unknown.

We immediately printed an appeal, which was distributed broadcast in London and the provinces. In response to this appeal, Socialists of all parties and Freethinkers have helped considerably to rouse public opinion, and a great number of letters and resolutions of protest have been sent to the Japanese Ambassador. The Press refused to take any notice of our agitation, but on December 5 they printed a statement from the Japanese Embassy saying that the report that our comrades had been sentenced to death was "inexact and premature." They had only been subjected to a preliminary examination. But the Embassy's statement is contradicted by the Japanese Consul-General in New York, who, when interviewed, said that the death penalty had been recommended by the special trial Court, but not yet approved by the highest tribunal at Tokio.

Some correspondents have requested us to supply the "facts" concerning the condemnation of Kotoku and his comrades. These friends fail to consider that facts are the very thing lacking in this case. The Government of Japan has absolutely suppressed all information in regard to the trial of Kotoku and others, and the Japanese Press has been forbidden to publish any report on the proceedings. It is because of this very situation that our appeal on behalf of Kotoku has been made: that is, to force the Government of Japan to produce the proofs upon which Kotoku and his comrades have been condemned for "plotting against the Imperial family."

It is therefore the more urgent upon all lovers of justice to make their protest felt before the planned legal murder has taken place. Energetic protests of the Western world will force Japan to terminate its secretiveness and give to the world the proofs of the alleged crime, according to the practice of all civilised countries.

It seems to us quite incredible that a man of Kotoku's type should have participated in "plotting against the Imperial Family." The very phraseology of the official charge sounds too vague. His spreading of the "Communist Manifesto" might very well be regarded in certain quarters as "plotting against the Imperial family."

Denjiro Kotoku is an intellectual who has devoted his abilities and energies to the spread of libertarian ideas in Japan. As editor-in-chief of the Tokio daily paper, *Yorozu Cho-ho* (Thousand Morning News), Kotoku enjoyed great popularity and appreciation. Subsequently becoming familiar with Socialist and Anarchist thought, he resigned his editorship and founded a monthly review, *Tatsu Kwa* (Iron and Fire). This paper, popularising the idea of Anarchist Communism, was suppressed by the authorities, in spite of the Constitutional guarantees of free press. Other magazines published by our comrade suffered the same fate. He translated works by Marx, Kropotkin, Tolstoy, and Bakunin, some of which were seized and destroyed by the police.

Systematic persecution of Kotoku forced him to go into exile in San Francisco. When he later returned to his native land the persecution continued, culminating in the arrest, secret trial, and

death sentence of himself, his friend, Mme. Kano, a brilliant translator and litterateur, and all his known comrades.

The condemnation of Kotoku and the others is a climax of the reaction inaugurated by the present Premier, Baron Komura, a man who was educated in Germany, imbibing the Prussian junker spirit. He is the direct opposite of his predecessor, Marquis Saonji, educated in France, whose regime was of comparatively liberal tendencies.

The present reaction in Japan is so absolute that all sociological works—including Marx, Engels and Tolstoy, not to mention Anarchist authors—are forbidden.

It is of the utmost importance that we protest against the intended outrage as emphatically and universally as possible. It may not only help to save the lives of Kotoku and his condemned comrades, but also prove of great significance to all the oppressed in Japan. It is the first time in history that the rulers of Japan are witnessing the universal solidarity of all friends of liberty and progress, irrespective of race or country. In this matter, as in the case of Tschaikovsky, Pouren and others saved by international protests, all men, regardless of party lines, can join hands in fraternal co-operation. We must not wait until Japan has martyred her Ferrer in order to analyse the "facts" upon which he was innocently murdered. Those whom the official cry of "plotting" is intended to mislead will regret their indifference when too late to save Kotoku.

Comrades should bring the question before the local branches of Socialist and Labour organisations, and protests against a secret trial should be poured into the Japanese Embassy, 4 Grosvenor Gardens, London, S.W.

A very successful protest meeting was held at the Communist Club last Friday, and every one who possibly can do so should attend at South Place Institute on Thursday evening, and make such a protest that the Japanese Government will be forced to give our comrades an open trial or release them.

A GREAT

PROTEST MEETING

WILL TAKE PLACE AT

SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE

ON

Thursday next, December 8,

AT EIGHT O'CLOCK.

J. F. GREEN in the Chair.

Speakers.

Herbert Burrows, S.D.P. John Turner.
Harry Dubery, I.L.P. A. Aladin. J. Tochatti.
Mrs. Murray. Harry Boulter.

DOORS OPEN 7.30.

ADMISSION FREE.

INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION.

A burnt child fears the fire. The Social Democrats and the various other politicians show a distinct inclination to "ask no further questions and use no further means." It is many months since any of them have accepted an invitation to get on our platform and justify their existence. They take it lying down. It is well; politicians must lie somewhere.

Not so, however, those whom we look upon as revolutionists, but with whom we do not agree. These show a keen though perhaps somewhat hostile interest, and continually put in questions regarding the attitude of Anarchy towards industrial organisation.

The reaction against Parliamentary tactics, which has swept through the whole revolutionary movement, has carried forward all who had any spirit of rebellion, while the leaders of Social Democracy and kindred parties vainly endeavour to hide from their flocks the fact that such a thing as real revolution exists. As Anarchists, we rejoice to see this, and to our revolutionary friends who are out for a straight fight with Capital we hold out our hands to shake in comradeship. We shall be there, but— This "but" is the subject I have to write about.

We have said many times and fully realise that it is by our industry and daily work, and not by our votes, that we give the capitalist his power; and that we must fight him in the same arena where we create him—on the economic field. On the whole this is true, but it is not everything that can be said on the subject, neither is it absolute. It must not become a dogma.

Suppose we could prove that economics were the first and sole cause of the power of the capitalists. Yet it would not follow from this that the economic struggle was the only one necessary. If we swallowed whole that oft-repeated statement, that the political institutions are the reflex of the economic conditions of the people, yet we should not from this conclude that the best and quickest way to alter these political institutions was to begin by an economic change.

The platitude which says that to sweep away an evil we must first get to its cause and root that out, *sounds* all right, and, like most platitudes, it will succeed in its purpose of gaining applause; but, again like most platitudes, it is incorrect. We may often rid ourselves of trouble without being concerned as to the origin of that trouble, and this fact appears to have been overlooked by those who are inclined to place their faith in a new form of industrial organisation. Let me set forth my meaning in a parable.

We will suppose that my (*i.e.*, the landlord's) house is on fire and that this has been caused by a leakage of gas. We will, in fact, suppose that this happens three times over (having first supposed my furniture insured).

1. A slight leakage. In this case, after the fire has started the leakage is of no importance.

2. A jet of flame from a hole in the pipe. In this case, the flame melts the pipe and increases the size of the hole, and so increases itself. The effect, in fact, reacts upon the cause, and becomes, paradoxical as it may sound, the cause of that of which it is the effect, or, in other words, the cause of its own cause.

3. The main bursts under my house and sends up a roaring flame, consuming all things within its reach.

Each of these disasters has the same cause, and the disaster itself is the same in each case. The difference lies in the *relative importance of cause and effect*.

Case 1. I do not trouble to turn off the gas, but fight the flames, because the latter have become a self-supporting power, *i.e.*, I neglect the cause and rid myself of the effect by fighting it directly. Passing now to Case 3, my only hope is to turn off the gas, *i.e.*, get to the *continuous cause* and remove that. Now coming back to Case 2, it is difficult to say what line of action should be taken. If the fire has become self-supporting, it is little or no use to stop the cause. If the fire is still dependent for its existence on the escape, then indeed it is obvious that one method of extinguishing it would be to turn off the supply; but possibly it would be necessary to go through the fire to do this, and so we have first to extinguish the flames, which have become the protector and benefactor of that which caused them.

In this case it would be easy to bring arguments to prove that the first thing to be done was to fight the flame (the result), and likewise one could show with equal logic that the only reasonable course was to stop the leakage (the cause). Both sets of arguments, as arguments, might well be correct, and we are left to decide which line of action we shall take by the relative importance of the facts upon which they are based.

Allow me to leave the subject for a moment. I fear lest this paper may fall into the hands of some scientific Socialist (by which I mean a man who has learnt the words "evolution," "inevitable," "society," "organism," etc., and makes speeches by interchanging these with each other), and this fear forbids me pursuing my theme further until I have allayed the wrath that will be inevitably evolving in his organism. Let me explain, then, that it matters little whether or not my analogy can be applied to the growth of the capitalist class in society, since it is intended to illustrate nothing more than a matter of logic, the relationship between cause and effect.

Returning to the argument. We have now demonstrated that it is a fallacy to suppose that the most efficient way, far less the most

practical way, to root out an evil must necessarily be to find its cause and destroy that. Often as this may be true, so also often it may be untrue. By applying this, we are enabled to see what we stated above, that having accepted as absolute the doctrine that our political institutions are simply the result of economic conditions, we have by no means proved that the struggles dealing in a direct way with the political institutions will be second either in importance or in time to the struggle which is in a direct way an economic fight.

True, the Government is fed by the workers; true it is that its explosives and scientific instruments for spreading death and capitalist civilisation also are created by the workers. True, in short, it is that Government is dependent upon the economic exploitation of the workers for its existence; but true also it is that this same Government has made it its first duty to take up a position in defence of that by which it is kept in existence. We may have to overcome this defence before we reach the real cause. In any case, we shall certainly be compelled to fight it.

In other words, though economic conditions may be the foundation stone of State tyranny, yet it is possible that the best way to demolish this building will not be to place our trust in an organisation to remove the foundation stone, but possibly will be to batter the edifice that has been erected upon it.

However firmly, then, you may be convinced that all political power is merely the reflex of economic conditions, yet from this do not drift into the belief that once you can get people to trust in a new economic organisation, that political power will disappear.

(To be continued.)

THE SITUATION IN GLASGOW.

After years of somnolent inactivity, Glasgow Anarchists are at last making an effort to justify their continued existence. Twenty years ago a stronghold of revolutionary opinion, Glasgow, in common with the whole of the cities of Britain, has been of late years sinking deeper and deeper into a veritable quagmire, pursuing the alluring will-o'-the-wisp, Parliamentary representation. But yesterday anyone venturing to suggest that the salvation of the people must come by revolutionary action was immediately dubbed Impossibleist and laughed out of court.

Yet, in the early "nineties," Anarchist thought and influence was a strong and virile force in the advanced movement in this city. Here and there one still meets a sturdy old fighter who has succeeded in keeping bright the fire of his faith, whose sunny influence helps to dispel the damp fog, the thick atmosphere of opportunism and compromise which wraps us round. An Anarchist movement, however, is, or rather was, non-existent.

It is a curious thing that here, where Socialist activity in the last ten years has been greater than in any other city of the kingdom, Anarchist propaganda (apart from the work done by Jewish comrades among the people of their own nationality) has been conspicuous by its absence. It seems to me that it necessarily follows that with the ascendancy of the idea of an electoral campaign, the revolutionary idea must suffer temporary eclipse.

The seeming ease of the transition from the capitalist State to the ideal State, by means of a series of legislative enactments, led the steps of men away from the difficult and dangerous path of revolutionary action, to the apparently easy and safe highway called the capture of political power by means of the ballot-box. Backed as this idea was by the promulgation of so-called "economic laws," by the fatalistic followers of Marx and Engels, it presented an almost irresistible attraction.

Such formulas as "The capitalist system contains within itself the force which will ultimately burst it asunder," or "the concentration of capital into fewer and fewer hands," formed the basis of a structure which was to be crowned by "the capture of the Parliamentary machine by the people." The result of the supposed dog-eat-dog tendency of the capitalist was to facilitate the buying-out, by the "direct representatives of the people," of the few almighty plutocrats who had survived the process, and—hey presto! the revolution was accomplished. It seems such a delightfully simple idea—if only it were true.

There has been of late, however, a reaction from the idea of Parliamentary conquest; the dearly-bought experience of the last few years has shown how true it is that nothing worth getting can be had without fighting for it. The effects of the stupefying drug—Parliamentary representation—which has for so long dulled the senses and clouded the vision of the workers, are passing away; thinking men are casting about for means of escape from the bog in which they are wallowing, and it remains for Anarchists to point the way.

That the comrades here are at last thoroughly awake may be understood from the fact that they have already succeeded in throwing the "guardians of the peace" into a state of panic. It has been left to a Scottish "bobby" to immortalise himself, by discovering that it is quite *illegal* for a newsagent to exhibit a notice advertising an Anarchist group meeting. The Glasgow police aspire to emulate their German confreres. At an Anarchist meeting, held in the rooms of a Socialist organisation, three most interested listeners were "minions of the law," in plain clothes and regulation boots. How long will it be, I wonder,

before we have the police functionary presiding over our meetings, in the manner of the German Social Democrats? "Auld Scotia! Land of the free!" It will not take very long for the Glasgow comrades to prove to these jackals of the capitalist that they are not to be intimidated by their foolish and ignorant display of Caesarism. In proof thereof, mark the undernoted propaganda meetings.

On Sunday, November 27, a lecture was delivered in the Brass-finishers Hall, 36 Main Street, Gorbals, at 7 p.m. The speaker was Comrade G. Barrett, and his subject "The First Person." It is intended to run a series of propaganda lectures on alternate Sundays, the second meeting being held on December 4, and the third on December 25. Speakers and their subjects will be advertised by means of handbills. On the intermediate Sunday evenings meetings will be held on Gaol Square, as usual. On December 6 a group meeting will be held in the Clarion Scouts Rooms, 26 Elmbank Crescent, at 8 p.m., when a paper will be read by Comrade Mackay. Group meetings will be held on the first and third Tuesdays of each month, at the above address. At these meetings all in sympathy with our aims will be heartily welcomed.

We are at last getting under weigh, and it only remains now for Anarchists to rally round and bear a hand with the capstan. Workers are chiefly wanted; the work lies before us, and the hands are few; let all of us strive to lessen the burden. *Now!*

JOHN PATON.

WHY MEXICANS REBEL.

If we compare unhappy Argentine with the land of the Tiger-Kaiser of Mexico, or, in other words, the Caesarean Emperor Porfirio Diaz, we shall find that the former is a paradise in comparison with the latter, as is shown by the editorial article entitled "Barbarous Mexico," and another by Alexander Powell, F.R.G.S., entitled "The Betrayal of a Nation," both published in the October number of the *American Magazine*, a New York monthly review:—

"Scarce twenty men," writes Powell, "hold in their hands the finances and the future of Mexico. The local name for them is *cientificos*, not, as a diplomatist assured me cynically, because they rob the people scientifically, but rather because they are the intellectuals of the Mexican body politic; for science, if you consult your Webster, is synonymous with knowledge. The all-powerful faction known as the *cientificos* is composed, then, of a group of wealthy and educated men—some in office and some out—who surround the President, hold his confidence, and, by the enormous influence thus gained, control the affairs of the nation. All great financial deals in which the Government is interested pass through their hands and are moulded by them, their friends as well as themselves sharing in the profits of these transactions.

"How did the Mexican politicians get the land away from the Mexican people? By countless methods, chief among them a land law which President Diaz fathered. *This law permitted any person to go out and claim any lands to which the possessor could not prove a perfect title*, at the same time so defining a 'perfect title' that it became practically impossible for a small landowner of limited resources, and in a country of lax laws, to obtain one. Now, in Mexico possession had always been regarded as nine points of the law, and possession of land through many generations as ten points. Even the most meagre education being the exception rather than the rule, the people had never been accustomed to resort to legal forms in their property transfers. When a man possessed a home which his father had before him, and his grandfather before that, and which had been in the family as far back as they had any knowledge, then he considered that he owned that land, and all his neighbours considered that he owned it, and all the Governments of Mexico up to the time of Diaz tacitly recognised such ownership. Then came the Diaz land laws, which I count among the cruellest and harshest measures that any Government has forced upon its people. For sheer injustice they take rank with the Russian laws which delimited the Jewish Pale. No sooner had they been passed than a number of prominent citizens, among them Romero Rubio, the President's father-in-law, formed land companies and sent out agents. These agents selected the most desirable lands in the Republic—and they were not modest about it either—ascertained that the holders of them were unable to furnish titles which would hold under the new law, 'denounced' and duly registered them in the names of their principals, and then proceeded to evict the occupants, in whose families they had been held for generations.

"Of course, such bandit methods as these were bound to meet with resistance, even from so thoroughly cowed and terrorised a people as the Mexicans; and so we find numerous instances in which whole regiments of troops have been called out to enforce the collection of unjust taxes or the eviction of protesting landowners. The secret history of Mexico for the past twenty years is red with the stories of massacres which had their causes in this condition. Here is a case in point:—Almost in the centre of the State of Vera Cruz lies the little village of Papantla. Manuel Romero Rubio, father-in-law of President Diaz, discovered hereabouts a rich tract of land which was being worked as small farms by several thousand Mexicans, nearly every family having held its property for generations. Ascertaining that their titles would not hold under the law, Rubio 'denounced' the

lands, and the owners were ordered to move off. Quite naturally, they refused; and when a squadron of rurales appeared to evict them, they armed themselves and drove the troopers away. Two days later a battalion of infantry, with machine guns, descended on the luckless community, and the slaughter began. Four hundred seems to be the estimate generally placed upon the number of men, women, and children who lost their lives defending their homes in the massacre of Papantla.

"It is no exaggeration to say that by such methods as I have mentioned hundreds of thousands of industrious and peace-loving Mexicans have been deprived of their homes and their means of livelihood. By such means has the small farmer been destroyed, and the sullen, hopeless, apathetic peon class increased. Thus has an Indian population of six million been driven to a condition of appalling poverty, hopelessness, and serfdom. Thus has the Mexican nation been systematically degraded, debauched, shorn of its strength and ambition, and transformed into a starving and tatterdemalion people."

P. V.

Rising Prices, Syndicalism, and Communist Production.

In the September *FREEDOM*, attention was called to the greatly increased cost of living in France. This accretion in the prices of the prime necessities of life is not confined to France; in Argentina and elsewhere there has been a similar increase in the cost of living. Especially is this so in those countries where a revolutionary Labour movement has resulted in a general improvement in wages. There is something very significant in this steady upward tendency in the cost of the common necessities of everyday life, something we would do well to ponder upon. Both in France and Argentina there have been very successful Syndicalist movements, and both are now suffering from dear food and high prices generally. It seems that what has been achieved in one direction is to be lost in another. What does this argue? Simply that Syndicalism alone is futile to achieve permanent betterment. Just as high finance has (owing to its superior organisation and economic resources) disciplined and subjected the so-called political power of the workers, so in a short time it can undo the work accomplished by the Syndicates. We have so confined our attention to the struggles with the industrial capitalist that we have scarcely noted the rise and consolidation of the world-wide power of the financial capitalist, to whom Governments, political leaders, and industrial capitalists are but puppets or tools.

To-day, the real social power lies with those who control and manipulate the money market. Humanity is indeed crucified upon a cross of gold. As there is not enough gold in existence to pay one-twentieth of the obligations contracted in its coins, those who hold in their hands a large balance of that very scarce commodity, which interested persons have made the only legal tender, command and direct the credit, the commerce, and the politics of the world. Prices can be raised, a crisis can be manipulated—as was done some two or three years ago in the United States, to serve the interests of a group of financiers—and the efforts of a genuinely Socialistic Government could be thrown into confusion and defeated, simply by the plutocracy and bankers agreeing together to withdraw a large portion of gold coin from circulation. If the people had free land and tools, but the present currency was adhered to, they would soon be subjected to the dictates of the money lords and plutocrats.

However, the outlook is not so black as it first appears. After all, the few are only able to dominate the many so long as the many are ignorant, divided, and without trust in each other. Let them unite and they are free. Syndicalism *working in conjunction with a genuine Co-operative movement* could achieve the Social Revolution in spite of high finance. It is possible for a well-organised and energetic minority to initiate the new order. It has been pointed out that there is ten or twelve times more than enough wealth in the country to supply the needs of the whole population, if it were economically and scientifically organised upon a Communist basis. Our Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies collectively own a good deal of capital. If the wealth at present owned by these organisations were utilised to start Communistic centres, based upon the principle of *production for use*, a large number of the best workmen could be withdrawn from the capitalist system and emancipated from gold-slavery. With modern machinery and methods they could in a short time double and multiply the wealth they started with, and become the nuclei of the future Communist society. Syndicalism helped by productive organisations of the workers could effect vast and permanent alterations in the conditions of the workers. Besides, the great whip of the capitalists, employment, will have been abolished; and, in fact, Labour would in time be in a position to dictate to Capital the terms of its employment, and then the end.

I did not intend to take up so much space with this question. However, I hope that these lines will lead to the study of financial capital and its growing influence, and also to a discussion of the possibilities of groups of workers ceasing to produce wealth for the capitalists, and of Trade Unions adopting some better method of using their funds than investing them in capitalist concerns.

S. CARLYLE POTTER.

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A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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

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

Wholesale price, 1s. 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.

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TOLSTOY.

(AN APPRECIATION.)

Tolstoy is dead, and with him the world has lost not only the greatest peaceful rebel of modern times against State and Church, and a great artist, but what is rarer and more precious for humanity, a truthseeker, one of those sincere friends of mankind who could truly say that the sufferings and joys of all human beings without distinction of creed and nationality were his own, and that he really suffered and rejoiced with the humblest peasants as well as with the greatest thinkers and artists.

Yet in the beginning of his literary career he showed himself the friend of the humble and oppressed. In his masterly "Sketches from Sebastopol," he brought out the brutal and cruel side of war, as well as the heroism of the poor, illiterate soldiers who did not even realise their own heroism. The same repulsive side of war and the part which the masses are playing in the world's battles were developed in his masterpiece, "War and Peace." These great works and his famous "Anna Karenina" were written by Tolstoy in the first period of his literary career. This period, which ended towards 1880, may be characterised as the career of a great talent, of a benevolent aristocrat who tried to introduce modern elementary instruction in his village and which he advocated in the periodical which he published at the time.

But the great Tolstoy, the wonderful prophet of modern times, whose personality imposed itself on people of all parties and creeds, appeared only during the last thirty years of his life. In his deep soul we see all the great changes Russia was and is still traversing in her regeneration.

Western Europe cannot imagine the social and political standard of life which existed in Russia at the time of the liberation of the serfs. In the whole country there were about a million of nobility and bureaucracy, who had a superficial polish of civilisation. The bulk of the nation was in serfdom; the middle class without education or political rights; no idea of independent organisation of the industrial class; an orthodox Russian could not change creed without deportation to Siberia; no schools or public libraries—it was a state of affairs as hopeless as it was crushing.

Against these conditions the younger generation—the "sons" so vividly depicted by another great Russian writer, Turgeneff, in "Fathers and Sons"—revolted. Few they were at the beginning; amongst them were people of high education, of aristocratic family, as well as artisans and peasants. This revolted generation, in accordance with their lofty standard of social morality and democracy, renounced privileges and titles; many sacrificed their fortunes to the movement, and fearlessly faced prison and scaffold. Amongst them were men and women of such purity of character that even their gaolers could not help admiring them. Later, those types were described by Tolstoy in the second part of "Resurrection." But at the time he heard of them he did not believe that such complete self-denial and devotion existed. In 1878 he met three of those men who were living in full accordance with their principles, by working on terms of equality with the workers and peasants. This was a revelation for Tolstoy, and a great moral revolution began in him. Every stage of this evolution is known to the world by his works, and "The Kingdom of God is Within You," "On Patriotism," "My Faith," and "Master and Man" are known and read in all languages.

In order to be true to his new convictions, he also renounced his titles and possessions, he declared his literary works the

property of the public, and in his old age he began to work and live as the simplest peasants, helping them in their labour in fields and forests.

Every event in Russian life of the last thirty years touched a chord of his large heart, and he expressed in his wonderful, simple words the feelings of the dumb millions of the Russian people. A teacher of non-resistance, of kindness and love, he disapproved of terroristic and revolutionary acts; but at the same time it was he who dared to raise his voice against the Government of Nicholas II. and their wholesale hanging, imprisoning, and deporting, asking them to take also his life rather than he should be a witness of the terrible suffering of the people.

Even his death is a symbol of his life-long struggle for truth. Old traditions and prejudices are swept aside in his desire to follow his principles; eighty years old, he leaves his ancestral home and dies in a wayside station, surrounded by peasants blessing his memory.

The whole civilised world mourns him. Only official Russia and its State Church dare not approach the humble deathbed of their great opponent, in whom they recognised the incarnation of an awakening and new Russia.

THE GENERAL UNREST.

When in the slow-grinding routine of dreary everyday life we see most things around us go from bad to worse, a slight consolation is offered by the unquestionable fact that the absurdity of the present system spreads discontent in rapidly increasing proportion, and all the so-called foundations of society are looked at critically and sceptically in our days; nay, often are openly attacked. The rise in the cost of living is an automatically acting lever in the production of discontent and vague yearnings for revolt. What are the primary causes of this international phenomenon, the continual increase of prices, which far outbalances the occasional rise of wages, and which reduces also the standard of living of considerable sections of the middle classes?

At least two causes co-operate: *the ever-increasing cost of the State and the present state of agricultural production.* Productive labour not only has to keep in costly luxury the nominal proprietors of almost everything, the rich and the enormous number of their unproductive hangers-on and parasites, but also the whole personnel of the State, bureaucracy, Army, Navy, police, etc., none of whom ever lifts a finger to do some useful work, but all of whom live in comfortable security, sure of their income and removed from all cares which are the daily lot of the real worker. A wonderful fiscal system, with all the means of coercion at its disposal, extracts hundreds of millions of pounds from the people of each country; and millions upon millions of State servants live and thrive upon them and never felt better, for everything comes their way. Liberals and Conservatives, of course, strengthen the State; and Social Democrats, in their tremendous stupidity, whilst professing to defend the working class, also strengthen the State and its cunningly disguised substitutes, municipal and other local bodies. Social Democrats even, in various countries, under the watchword of organisation, create a new hierarchy of party officials, unproductive as all officials are, the network of their future State!

In our days this State folly seems to attain such proportions that people begin to see that the thing is being overdone, and some day they may pick up sufficient common sense to put an end to it. If some slight part of the hundreds of millions paid in rates, taxes, duties, etc., goes towards useful purposes—education, sanitation, the maintenance of public roads, etc.—these few services of the State are paid for twenty times over and more, as the rest of the money is absolutely wasted, and they are done in a mechanical, inefficient, and reactionary way. Moreover, money for useful objects is never willingly given up by the State, so much being always wanted for guns, ships, and officials. These last two years the French Deputies raised their own salaries from 9,000 to 15,000 francs; the Emperor William raised his by several millions of marks; John Burns, starving on £2,000, works now for the moderate living wage of £5,000; and so on. These are useful public servants for whom the people work with pleasure and delight! Other politicians are admired for the pluck with which they demand to spend yet more scores of millions on battleships, etc. There was never such a waste of public money in all countries, and all their Budgets are either upset or strained to the utmost by all these non-productive requirements. If some one thinks that the construction of a big warship gives work to thousands of workers, he need but consider that not only are all these thousands prevented by this from doing useful engineering work of which they are well capable, but that every farthing of their wages is wrung from other workers in the form of taxes, etc., paid by them or by their employers, but always out of the result of their own work. The productive worker bears the burden of the rich and the burden of the State, and yet some are so blinded by the fraud of which they are victims, as to believe that the rich give them work and the State protects them! In reality, their own earnings are taken away from them by the State-protected industrial and fiscal system; they receive in return a spurious education, keeping them in social ignorance, plenty of police bludgeoning or soldiers' bullets if they dare to stir a

little, and they have the honour to maintain the rich in splendid luxury and the State officials in busy idleness.

But all this goes on legally, under the control of Parliament, the people's representatives; and some, Social Democrats of course, even believe that it may be altered and mended by Parliament. This fallacy is exploded by many welcome object-lessons in our day, which show that Parliaments are much less powerful than most people believe. State power preceded Parliaments, and in reality only tolerates them as the machinery to make people willing to pay taxes. Parliaments are the result of compromises between ancient State power and a gradually increasing objection of people to be governed and exploited by the State, without wishing or being able to go to the root of their slavery by fighting and making an end of the State. This struggle has never yet been fought out, and all forms of Parliamentary Government are tried in vain to create a semblance of freedom—an impossible task, as the State, the brute power existing unbroken for ages, vetoes all approach to freedom. To-day, Parliamentarism works nowhere in a satisfactory way; proportional representation, the referendum, women's suffrage, and other remedies proposed only show how hopeless is its situation.

Parliament is everywhere permitted to increase State power and to vote the money for it—that is, to reduce the remnant of freedom that may exist here and there; but it is powerless to take the smallest particle of State power away, and this is more clearly illustrated just now than for some time past. Whether Briand, the Socialist Minister, tells the Deputies of the French Republic that he would not hesitate a moment to overstep all laws—that is, to break the Constitution—when the interest of the State seemed to require it; whether the German Emperor proclaims that his power over Prussia comes from "God" alone (thus ignoring the Constitution which he swore to uphold); or whether the English Parliamentary machinery is held up by a few hundreds of Lords—the same object-lesson can be gathered from these and many similar events. The State, an immense number of persons allied by their common interest, armed to the teeth and rich in money which every day comes in fresh—the State, then, is an obstacle to all progress, an encumbrance, wasteful and useless, and, as the financial situation of most countries shows, capable of ruining by its insatiable greed even the most prosperous country. But this beginning material ruin and the growing impudence of the pampered parasite are calling attention to the real state of things, and sooner or later the struggle between freedom and the State, which the shallow compromise of Parliamentarism could not decide one way or the other, will be fought to the bitter end; and Anarchists, few as they are, can explain to people the interests which are at stake, and help the Anti-Statist cause, which is their own cause.

* * * * *

The other primary cause of the present distress by the increase of prices is the industrialisation of agriculture. By this I mean that the production and distribution of food has to an unheard-of degree become an object of speculation for profit exclusively. Of course, it has been so for a long time, and no commercial production takes place for the benefit of the consumer only; still, it took many years before all the cynical methods of industrial speculation were familiar to agriculturists. To-day they are, and the average peasant or farmer can give points to any usurer or Stock Exchange speculator. Even then the ordinary equilibrium between supply and demand would not have been totally disturbed, had not the agriculturists, in the Continental countries especially, made a shameless bargain with the State. They guaranteed to the State, by their votes, reactionary majorities; and the State repays them by closing the frontiers at their demand against imports of cheaper food, and in an infinite variety of other ways, the greed of the agrarian blackmailer having become proverbial. In this way the food supply is at the mercy of these monopolists, and the people simply have to lower their standard of living, or, where this is impossible, gradually starve themselves. "Agrarians" are not supposed to exist in England; but what is the whole Tariff Reform movement but a move in absolutely the same direction, to grant power to a reactionary Government and in return to make use of State power to raise prices?

Modern life, however complicated and locally different it may be, is yet in its main features the same all over the globe—only the pill is gilded in another way to make the English, French, German, or other public swallow it. The breakdown of Parliamentarism, the rise in prices, the financial strain by outrageous squandering of the State—all these are international events, and so is the enormous discontent which they provoke.

* * * * *

I shall not dwell here on the various forms which this discontent takes of late. One needs but open a paper to find some new and unthought-of example of popular unrest. Be the immediate cause large or small, people will be up and doing. The Portuguese political and anti-clerical revolution—one of the blows struck in reply to the murder of Ferrer—the French railway strike, the Moabit street demonstrations at Berlin, many incidents of the South Wales miners' strike, the Russian students' street processions after Tolstoy's death, even that curious example of Direct Action so promptly adopted by sailors as the warships' mutiny at Rio de Janeiro, these and similar events show the amount of discontent ripe everywhere. They also show that Direct Action was not propagated in vain, and lies nearer to people's hands and minds than many would have thought. Leaders and committees even, those inevitable requisites of former days, are at a discount, as some boilermakers in the North could further explain,

not to mention the discussion now going on as to the causes of the partial failure of the French railway strike.

In short, authority and monopoly have, at last, become the right points of attack, which they always ought to have been. If our propaganda emphasises this and tries to help it on, it ought at the same time to be so thoroughgoing that the creation of new authorities and new monopolies could be prevented. This danger must be guarded against, and this cannot be done by compromising with popular feelings which, after all, are just feebly groping their way towards freedom, but by upholding our ideas in their broadest, unsectarian sense. Anarchism pure and simple should be more heard of at this present juncture than ever, because it would meet with a greater number of people eager for an uncompromising doctrine, if clearly and fully explained.

THE INDUSTRIAL SYNDICALIST CONFERENCE AT MANCHESTER.

It was my first conference, and I must say I came out with a feeling of boredom and thoughts more or less chaotic. The main resolution was that a Syndicalist Educational League should be formed to propound the principles of Syndicalism throughout the Unions, with a view to merging all existing Unions into one compact organisation. With regard to this resolution the majority of speakers endorsed the idea.

Comrade Kerry, of Brighton, asked Tom Mann and the promoters of the conference whether they intended to form another group of officials, who are as bad, if not worse, than the political tricksters we have heard so much about. He contended that the members of the Trade Unions were in advance of their "misleaders," and that there was practically no need for educational leagues of this sort, whose ultimate object was undoubtedly to form another exploiting body. Comrade Becker, of the Industrialists, supported in a large degree those sentiments, adding that the Industrial League would answer the purpose effectively. The I.W.W. representative and organiser made a violent speech in opposition to the proceedings, which, to me, seemed to lose its efficacy in its violence. However, the resolution was carried unanimously. The need for organisation on "class" and not "craft" basis was plainly made manifest by the majority of the delegates. There is a gleam of light on the horizon!

The resolution upon the futility of Parliament was discussed by many of the speakers; but few, indeed, declared for an *anti*-political programme. Their speeches were in the main non-political, which seems to me a hybrid sort of a position to be in. The Atheist says that an Agnostic is an Atheist with a "top hat on." Similarly it can be applied to the non-politician, that he is a Direct Actionist with a "top hat on." It was obvious that the general feeling of the meeting was to shake off the political element, but they were like the slaves of all superstitions, who hate their chains yet madly cling to them.

Mark you, the resolution, declaring the *futility* of Parliament and pronouncing themselves non-political, was carried with unanimity, save one individual, whose speech impressed one with the idea that a fitting peroration would be—"And so, my fellow countryman, send me to Parliament, and all else will be added unto you, especially levies." The promoters declared emphatically that this proposal had nothing to do with the voting attitude of the members. That sounds very nice and very liberal; but how, in the name of common sense, can the workers declare this aristocrat-cum-plutocrat club, by which they have more or less endeavoured to gain so-called reforms, to be absolutely *futile*, and yet not attack it. The position, to me, is absurd. How are the workers to defend the position "that Parliament is *futile*" without attacking it? What other object can the workers have in view, save their economic emancipation? A man who subscribes even to the non-political Industrialist programme, and votes at the next election, must have a mentality that is twisted a trifle.

My good comrade, Fred Bower, of Liverpool, was indignant because of the violent attacks of Jim Larkin and others upon the political fakirs now representing (?) the workers. Fred declared that it does not follow that, if these men are "fakirs," others would be. "What are we to do if we lose faith in our fellow man?" Fred ought to be aware that there is not one who has not deceived us. Once you raise your fellow man on the pedestal of privilege, he at once becomes corrupted and is in another class, that of the *privileged class*.

Jim Larkin plainly pointed out their indifference to the South Wales miners, the damping attitude they took over the Belfast strike. The position of the Labour Party was disgusting, to say the least of it. When the Gatling guns were turned on the strikers, was there a storm of protest in Parliament by these "fakirs"? No! They are too smug and respectable, and I have no reason to believe that there is any advantage in sending our fellow man to a corruptive body. We have ample proof that these fakirs exist in *all* countries. We have faith in our fellow man, but not when he is in a privileged position. I do not care whether he be a Kropotkin or a Jesus Christ, that corruption will surely follow!

To the most optimistic of our comrades the representatives' views upon the Parliamentary business showed a distinct tendency of once more veering round to the position of the Anarchist—that is, the straight fight on the economic plane.

DICK JAMES.

The agitation on behalf of our Japanese comrades has compelled us to hold over several interesting contributions.

TO THE MINERS OF SOUTH WALES.

Dig, miner, dig! Your master claims the wealth this rich earth holds for all.

Who dares deny his right—he's rich? And you—what are you but a thrall?

So hew, and earn your "living wage"—if such it be; and if not so, Well, hew and live as best you can. His life's above and yours below!

Be quiet! You've no right to think, to talk things over, agitate. His profits need that you should toil. Ask no more questions; bide your fate.

You dare to strike! You dare to think that life for you might brighter be!

You ask for leisure, pleasure, joy? You brand yourselves with infamy!

Back to your living tombs and toil; face death by fire or death by flood.

Your master's house, his wife, his child, his very stables, need your blood.

No angry frowns, no bitter cries; thank God you've work to do at all. No riots! For the laws of State are on his side; you're but a thrall.

For why should you have hearts to break, and why should you have tears to shed?

Dumb creatures in the mine are spared; *you're* worth the same alive or dead!

You cost no price; you're soon replaced, for other starving men galore Will fill the gap. It's sad but true: it's happened many times before,

'Twill happen many times again. He knows his power: you know not yours.

So, miner, think the problem out; the strike will give you many hours.

Hours to ponder why this life has laid a heavy hand on you, To toil a wretched wage to win, and heap up treasures for the few.

Hours to feel the cruel wrongs you suffer now on every side; Hours to feel that brutal force, the only "cure" the laws provide.

Hours to dream what justice means, to crave for bread and liberty; Hours to sing of Brotherhood—ah, what a hideous mockery!

And if you men have hearts to break, and if your wives have tears to shed,

If little ones with famished looks are hungering now for crusts of bread,

Then let these cries of wife and child at last but urge you on the more To end this curs'd inhuman state that ever keeps the worker poor.

So, miner, hew with might and main to end the wrongs that beat you down.

Rise up and be a slave no more. Be just and free, and claim your own.

A. M. *Ward*

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Russia.

The persecution of workers' unions and associations continues without any diminution. Members of unions are arrested and by administrative order are deported and their funds sequestrated. This persecution is especially severe in Moscow, Warsaw, Lodz, Ekaterinoslavl, and Tiflis, the places where executions by military tribunals are still being carried out daily.

This incessant harassing seems to break the courage of the workers and intellectual Radicals. It is not astonishing when one remembers that over 24,000 persons perished during the revolutionary movement, and that, according to recently published official statistics, during the last five years 6,273 persons were condemned to death, and 363 during the first nine months of this year. That the Press did not escape the attention of the Government's vindictiveness is shown by the same statistics. During the last five years 1,259 prosecutions were carried out against the Press; 406 editors were imprisoned or deported, one even sent to hard labour. These numbers only cover the condemnations by legal courts, whilst over 4,000 cases were decided in an administrative way. Besides all this, 1,375 books and pamphlets were put on the Index, amongst which were twenty of Tolstoy's works, the Encyclopaedic Dictionary, the bulletins of the Hygienic Society, the report of the Moscow Society in aid of the starving, and even the works of Russia's greatest poet, Pushkin, who died eighty years ago.

Not only were the editors prosecuted, but the papers were fined to such an extent that many, especially in Poland and Georgia, had to suspend publication. In September alone over 5,000 roubles were paid in fines imposed by police and Governors, whilst during the last nine months 41,000 roubles in 152 fines were paid by the Press. And yet there is liberty of the Press, according to the Constitution!

But the vindictiveness of the Government is not confined to present "crimes" only; the records of the revolutionary days of 1905 are being searched, and people suspected of having taken part in the movement of that time are now, five years afterwards, dragged before military tribunals. A few months ago, in Frauenburg (Riga province),

several hundreds of persons accused of having participated in the movement of October and November, 1905, were brought before the military tribunal. Of the 224 accused, 62 were condemned to hard labour, many of them for life; 71 to long terms of imprisonment. In another part of Russia, in the Don province, 108 Cossacks were tried by the military tribunal for insubordination; 22 were condemned to 20 years of hard labour, two for life; 58 to disciplinary battalions. Only four days before, on October 20, the same tribunal had condemned 6 men to hard labour for life, and 24 to disciplinary battalions.

The same reaction is carried on in all branches of government. For instance, the Minister of Education, Schwartz, whom even Stolypin was obliged to dismiss the other day, had taken a series of measures fundamentally attacking the national system of public instruction. Without giving any reason, he closed hundreds of elementary schools organised by Zemstvos and private societies; public schools, gymnasiums, and colleges were brought under the supervision of the local political police, and he rendered it obligatory that no less than five per cent. of the school servants, administration, and teachers should be in the service of the police. No teacher, whatever his qualifications, can be appointed in a State school, whether university or village school, without the consent of the local secret police. In the case of universities and high schools, those establishments so heartily hated by the Government, in every twenty-five students a spy in the guise of a student is introduced. These spies, who have even formed a society, the Union of Academicians, follow the lectures for appearance sake, and go up for examinations. To the honour of the Russian intellectual youth, it must be said that no intelligent young man has accepted such a degrading post. Consequently, those who do this spying are often so absolutely unfit for university studies that they have been expelled from the university, as happened the other day, when four were put out of the University of Odessa and one out of the Medical Academy of St. Petersburg. The latter case created quite a scandal. A spy-student, Opotsko-Sirokomla, received very bad marks from his professor and was put out of the Academy. He complained to his protector, M. Stolypin, the Prime Minister, who ordered a public inquiry into the conduct of—the professor, and obliged the latter to readmit the spy. A few days ago this Union of Academicians (spies) held a banquet in the name of the universities and academies, but not a single honest professor nor a student delegation took part in the festival, only the members of the Union being present with their guest, the Prime Minister, Stolypin.

These measures against Russian universities, however, are not considered sufficient by the Government to stem enlightenment and progress. By a private circular of the Prime Minister, who is at the same time Minister of the Interior, Governors were ordered to suppress all national societies for educational purposes, and not to allow any new ones to be organised. In conformity with this order, Poles, Georgians, Letts, Lithuanians, Little Russians, and Jews have been deprived of their national societies, whose only crime consisted in trying to enlighten sixty millions of the Tsar's subjects in their respective mother-tongue. Another circular by Stolypin—circulars by the Ministers have supplanted the laws and are abolishing all liberties obtained by the Revolution of 1905—lays down that foreigners, naturalised Russians or not, as well as Russians not belonging to the Greek Orthodox Church, may not buy land or settle in a village in the whole south-west of Russia. A third circular practically abolishes liberty of conscience, which was granted by the Tsar's manifesto. It prohibits Old Believers and sectarians—twenty-five millions—from holding any religious service without the authorisation and presence of the police.

A very striking detail of Tolstoy's state of mind during his last hours has come to hand. On his desk were found three books which he had been reading. One was a work of a well-known Russian author, Korolenko, on capital punishment; the second was a volume of an encyclopaedia, opened at the page on "Socialism"; and the third was a book "What is Anarchism?"

Tolstoy's death was the occasion of a sudden outbreak of public indignation against Clericalism and the Government's continued policy of executions. "Down with capital punishment!" was the cry of the numerous street demonstrations which were held in most university towns, especially in St. Petersburg, Moscow and Kieff. People of all classes took part in the demonstrations, but especially students. In St. Petersburg the demonstration began at eleven o'clock in the morning and was continued till four o'clock, in the most central part of the town; the number of the demonstrators was estimated at over 100,000. So spontaneous and general was the outbreak of revolted public opinion that even the hangman Stolypin dared not suppress the manifestation too brutally. Only 48 were arrested, and these were liberated on the following day after paying a fine of 25 roubles. These demonstrations are the first defeat of the present Government, the most oppressive and sanguinary Russia has ever had.

Brazil.

The news of the proclamation of the Republic in Portugal was received here by the people with the greatest enthusiasm. It also served to open the eyes of the majority of the public. Nearly all those who were indifferent as to the question of religion, and even many Catholics, took great advantage from the attitude of the new Republican Government towards the priests and friars. Soon after the news arrived that these were being expelled, meetings were held in nearly every city in Brazil, and especially here in Rio de Janeiro, in sympathy with this decision of the new Republic, and also to protest against their coming to Brazil. Almost all of the speakers dealt with the alleged

separation of the Church from the State in Brazil, saying that, notwithstanding this law, the priests were still being favoured by the Government, and still exercised the same influence over the people. The people also went to the President's palace to ask him to take steps in order to prohibit the entry of the expelled priests from Portugal, as well as to recognise the Portuguese Republic. As might have been expected, the President took no notice whatever of their requests. He did, however, order the chief of police to take severe steps in order to prevent the mob attacking the churches. At the end of the first meeting held in Rio de Janeiro, the people smashed the windows of nearly all the churches and convents. The police were on the scene, but too late to prevent the damage. The churches were from then onwards, and up to the present date, guarded by the police armed with rifles, ready to fire. During a whole week not one priest was to be seen in the streets of Rio de Janeiro, which are usually full of them. I might mention that the comrades out here had nothing at all to do with this movement, and that it was organised exclusively by the public.

A Ferrer memorial demonstration was held in Rio de Janeiro on the 13th inst. It was well attended, and many enthusiastic speeches were given. In Sao Paulo (where, as I have already stated in a previous issue of *FREEDOM*, the Anarchist movement is stronger) a large memorial demonstration was also held. More than 10,000 people were present, and splendid speeches were delivered. After the meeting the people marched through the streets of the town singing the "Marseillaise," "International," and "First of May" hymns. The anti-clerical paper, *A Lanterna*, published a special edition devoted exclusively to the murder of Ferrer.

M. FELDMAN.

Rio de Janeiro, October 24.

Australia.

At present, Labour out here is jubilant over the awards granted it by the various Wages Boards. One Union will succeed in getting a slight increase in wages; the others at once follow suit in bringing their affairs before the Boards as well. The result is that the Wages Boards have been working at high pressure in turning out all the awards, and contentment is the universal rule. The *Age* and *Argus* and other capitalist papers, and even Labour papers, help to keep the workers in their illusion. Labour has now become fully united with Capital, and a harmonious order prevails.

Not long ago the Trade and Labour Council of Victoria passed a resolution prohibiting all discussion against Labour in politics in the various Unions. I, however, tried to ignore this resolution, and on one occasion when a visiting politician praised his wares I thought I was justified in opposing him, but was strictly put down and told that I had no right to speak against politics. Thus the Trade and Labour Council has become the tool of the capitalistic system.

The Unions have no sympathy with Direct Action; they want their "good men" softly seated in Parliament. By the way, those gentlemen who have already succeeded in getting seated are now busy with the compulsory military training affair which was passed last session. "Australia must have a large fleet," say the representatives of Labour; "China and Japan are about to jump this country, and where would our freedom be?"

The Prime Minister, Mr. Fisher, is on a holiday trip to South Africa, and will probably invest his salary (the workers' money) in shares of the various mines. Hughes, the traitor of the New Castle coalminers' strike, is temporarily in his place, and will show the landlords what Labour can do. He will tax them to the hilt with the aid of the Unimproved Land Taxation Bill. Oh! he will make them pay for all the warships, destroyers, etc. We shall see.

Meanwhile, the workers are suffering, and more so since the Wages Boards have come to their assistance. The Boards have regulated their wages, but the masters have also succeeded in regulating their men, and demand every ounce of their strength and energy. A man over forty will soon have no show in getting employment.

If the religious cranks are successful in getting their petition translated into law, then it will be impossible for any man or section of men to take up collections on a Sunday. They have stopped the sale of literature on that day already, and we don't see the Unions worrying much about it.

Of late I have been travelling a good deal, and found things almost unbearable. Everywhere I met the ghastly spectre of unemployment, and I am sure this very problem will eventually put a stop to all the intrigues and tyranny of the ruling class.

E. P. HONICKE.

Readers of *FREEDOM* will be glad to hear that a very successful meeting was held here in the Trades Hall at Melbourne, to commemorate the murder of our comrade Francisco Ferrer. The attendance was large. To the credit of the Trades Hall Council, it must be said that they accorded us the use of the room without opposition.

Things are going here as everyone could see they would. Verran, the "Labour" Premier, has been using the police against the strikers to protect the capitalists; and in Victoria the Murray Government is introducing a coercion Bill to stop collections at Sunday meetings. Of course, the churches are exempted. How we are progressing!

J. W. FLEMING.

New Zealand.

Anti-Parliamentarism and the need for Direct Action are slowly taking hold of some of the working class of this Colony. I have a letter

from the miners of Blackball, Greymouth, N.Z., in which they assure me they realise the futility of political action, and have resolved in future to rely on an industrial organisation, with the General Strike as their chief weapon. We see all over the world the workers are beginning to realise the need of Direct Action, and the teachings of the Anarchists will be vindicated at last. I believe that Socialism is now about to enter into its final and practical phase that will culminate in the Revolution, and expect great things to happen in the near future. I like *FREEDOM* very much, and consider it to be bristling with fundamental truths.

R. TUNE.

Canada.

Fedorenko, a Russian political refugee, has been arrested and put in prison at Winnipeg at the instigation of the Russian Government, who ask for his extradition, and an order has been issued to that effect; but a great agitation on his behalf is taking place, meetings having been held in all the large cities, and the Press is also asking for further investigation. Our comrades in Toronto arranged a meeting on November 18 at Massey Hall (the largest in the city), the place being crowded, and a resolution was carried calling on the Canadian Government to immediately release Fedorenko.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

LIVERPOOL.

Revolutionary Industrialists have been holding successful discussions on Monday evening (8.30) at 2, Birchfield Street. Anarchists are specially invited to attend to keep our method of tactics well to the fore. The Spanish class discussions at the International Club on Friday evening have not developed as we anticipated, but we are not without hope. A French class has been inaugurated for Saturday evenings, which will in all probability be more appreciated as the French workers are our nearer neighbours. Students of French are invited.

The International School, 1 Clarendon Terrace, Beaumont Street, has had very poor attendances owing to the atrocious weather. Nevertheless, about a dozen of the rising generation make it their business to appear in hail, rain or snow. Our little gatherings have been bright, and I hope instructive. Mat Roche has captured the hearts of the scholars by his recitals of the humorous adventures of Mark Twain's "Tom Sawyer." I have taken it upon myself to give short addresses upon Internationalism, taking for my text-book Gustave Hervé's "War against War." We have issued a leaflet advertising the school, with a few trite sayings upon Antimilitarism. Last Sunday we had a few words from our comrade George Davison; also from our good Spanish comrade. The appearance of our elder comrades more or less inspires the youngsters with the thought that they are not forgotten in the struggle of the workers.

The school sent a protest to the Japanese Ambassador against the atrocious sentence on Dr. Kotoku, his wife, and 24 Anarchists and Socialists, who have been sentenced to death for the alleged conspiracy to assassinate the Emperor of Japan.

Donations (October 25—November 25): School 5s., Whiteway 1s. 4d.
International Club, Spekeld Buildings,
Canning Place. DICK JAMES.

HALIFAX.

We still keep the flag flying here, but are handicapped for speakers. The removal of Hoyle into the country has almost deprived us of his help on the platform, but that grand old fighter, the Scotch rebel, Archie Pollock, continues to hold the fort on Friday nights, and crowds willingly listen even in inclement weather to his advocacy of Direct Action; and Anarchism has lost, or nearly so, the misconception which the enemy has placed upon it. The intellectuals in our little group cannot be induced to begin a platform sphere of usefulness. It is a regrettable fact that the majority of Anarchist speakers only come out under the pressure of extreme poverty. How to make speakers is truly our problem here.

LA ESPERANTA ANARCHISTO.

OLDHAM.

It will perhaps interest the readers of *FREEDOM* to know that the principles of Anarchist Communism are now being placed before the people in this district amidst very encouraging prospects. With the hope of advancing our ideas I recently got permission to address two meetings, viz., the Oldham Socialist Party, November 6, and the Springhead Socialist Society (Colne Valley), November 13. My subject on each occasion was "Where we are going; or, Anarchist Communism." From a propagandist point of view both these meetings were a brilliant success. I distributed the leaflets "What is Anarchism?" and "Do not Vote"; and sold over seven dozen pamphlets and copies of *FREEDOM*, also getting an abundance of questions. If there was one feature at these meetings bearing special distinction, it was the dearth of opposition to our principles.

There was a childish opposition shown at the Oldham meeting, consisting of three political fossils, who have spent well near a century of their combined years to discover the undiscoverable ideal Parliamentary party. In the time set apart for discussion they at the outset declared their ignorance of the subject, and then set about to demonstrate that ignorance by vilifying a department of science upon which their minds were dense. Their criticism was not void of humour though. One of the trinity after attempting to throw a double somersault in debate, but unfortunately alighting on his head, talked of our confused ideas. The other two seemed most troubled about our alleged incapacity under Communism to deal with an imaginary

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM.

Owing to the great pressure of other work, the author has been unable to continue this series, but hopes to do so next month.

mad poet, who would persistently lie on the grass dreaming. When it came my turn to reply to these Parliamentarians, they were bobbing up to points of order like so many jacks in a box, their conduct eventually drawing a protest from the meeting. I thank them for their "fireworks," which did much to create the demand for our literature.

There was no such element as this at the Springhead meeting, which was unanimous in its desire for more information. They kept me so late that I missed my car connection, giving me a forced walk of three miles in a downpour of rain, which was the happiest walk home of my life.

The general outlook in this district is very bright for Anarchist propaganda, and its reception up to date has been very encouraging. I should be pleased to get in touch with any comrades in the Manchester district with a view to propaganda.

A. HEYS.

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Meetings are held every Sunday at Angel Road, Edmonton, at 12 o'clock; and at West Green Corner, Tottenham, every Sunday evening at 7 o'clock.

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(November 3—December 6.)

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