

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

The Anglo-Russian Friendship.

Most decidedly Russia, that is to say, official Russia, begins to be very dear to the hearts of the English governing classes. We see how our Liberal Government, in order to please his majesty the Tsar, is trying to convince us that they guarantee the independence and integrity of Persia by allowing Cossack hordes to invade that country and to shoot and hang independent and honest Persians. On the other hand, the well-known honesty of the English Press, headed by the austere *Times*, assumes a peculiar meaning when we observe that even Liberal and Radical papers dare not publish news unpleasant for the Tsar and his gaolers. The Anglo-Russian friendship (with the Tsar and his bureaucracy, not the Russian people) has gone so far that here in London we have a special edition of the *Times* about Russia, each page headed by the Imperial eagle; while in Russia a Russian edition of the *Times* is brought out. People of good faith, admiring the generous enterprise of the *Times*, were rudely disillusioned when the *Moscow Gazette*, which prints all Governmental announcements, published a eulogistic advertisement of the Russian edition of the *Times*. Unhappily, as is usual with Governmental advertisements, it was marked *k* (*kazonni*—Governmental). We should like to know which Governmental department of Russia pays for the *Times* advertisement; not the secret police department, of course; but which?

An Idiotic Law.

A striking illustration of the idiotic character of the "organised vengeance called justice," as made possible by law and authority, is shown by the imprisonment of Messrs. Stewart and Gott at Leeds. These men have been sent to prison for blasphemy—that is, they have actually dared to criticise the theology of the Christian Church from the point of view of people who regard it as false and absurd. Of course, their greatest offence was to discuss these matters in places where the working class mostly gather and to express their opinions in everyday language. This, as an excuse, is termed "vulgarity." This law, after the ferocious sentence upon Mr. G. W. Foote some years back, was supposed to have become obsolete; but this evil and stupid law, one of the mass "jumbled together by the nobodies of bygone centuries," as Louis Lingg said, was brought out of the legal catacombs by some spiteful bigots. Naturally, Anarchists join in the protest which must be made by all enlightened men and women.

The Social Abyss.

The trade returns have shown that the trade of the country, both in imports and exports, in 1911 surpassed all previous figures. The interests which benefit by Free Trade boast that the returns give the *coup-de-grace* to the imposture called Tariff Reform. So they may, but the important point to us is the tremendous increase in the prosperity of the propertied classes, compared with the continued impoverishment of the workers. We also note that the railway companies shared out in profits £50,000,000 in spite of the strike. On the other hand, the workers, notwithstanding "concessions," are on the down grade. It is practically impossible for any considerable portion of the unemployed (workers) to obtain employment. And every week brings with it cases of death from starvation. Again, so hopeless is the position of the poorest that they are driven in thousands to accept the charity(?) dispensed in soup kitchens. In St. George's in the East alone last winter "24,000 meals for the starving" were given by one soup kitchen to dock labourers and their wives and children. And the man who led the great dock strike is in the Cabinet!

Trade Unionism and Liberty.

The letter of our friend Bingham, printed in this issue, opens up a question which is continually being asked: How can Anarchists reconcile their ideal of liberty with the methods of Trade Unionism? Perhaps the question would be better put as follows:—In the economic conditions of a capitalist society, who is assured the largest measure of independence, the Unionist or the non-Unionist? For those who suffer under the present wage system we hardly think there can be a doubt as to the answer. Indeed, the attitude of the masters in fighting the Unions is alone eloquent enough to give it. Solidarity and mutual aid have helped the Unionist to secure his bread; and, as we know, "Bread is freedom, freedom bread." Evidently this does not mean that Anarchists are satisfied with the *methods* of Trade Unionism, or that they look to them alone to accomplish the social revolution. Much more is required. A revolution, for instance, in ideas as to social and economic equality. But these can be advocated and propagated by a Trade Unionist as well as another, and the *Anarchist spirit* which begins to develop in the Unions is decidedly more effective than the "Anarchism" of the non-Unionist, which may perchance have the approval of the masters.

What should we do without Government?

Well, for one thing we could build decent houses to dwell in, and sufficient for all the people, both in town and country. A glance round the towns and villages is quite sufficient to reveal the evil effects produced by Government-supported landlordism. Not only do hundreds of thousands of families herd in one and two-room tenements, but from time to time we have revelations of people existing in the foulest slums which could be imagined. It is only a little while ago that a member of the peerage stood out as the proud owner of a foul slum in the North of England. And now, in the village of Winterbourne-Stickland, in Dorset, in property owned by Sir Edward Hambro, we find that whole families are herded together in very small and old cottages, and one small room has to serve the purpose of a sleeping apartment for a family. Those who have lived a lifetime there are in peril for that privilege even, for the remedy adopted by the owner for the overcrowding is apparently to clear out those people "who are not actually employed on the estate." Who mentioned "An Englishman's Home," eh, ye foolish patriots?

THE WEEKLY PAPER.

The immediate business on hand is the organisation of the Conference at Leeds on February 24 and 25. Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning and afternoon will be devoted to a discussion on the new weekly and of Anarchist propaganda in general. The agenda will be full of interesting items, and it is essential that all the large towns be represented, so that a sustained propaganda may be started throughout the country. On Sunday evening, February 25, a public meeting will be held at which several London comrades have already consented to speak. We must make this a big affair. It is *absolutely necessary* that the names of comrades who wish to attend the Conference be sent to our secretary before February 15, so that arrangements can be made for accommodation. Comrades who wish to raise discussion on different points should mention this when writing to notify their intention of attending the Conference, otherwise their discussion may not find a place on the agenda.

Those comrades who have stamp-books, subscription cards, or any money for the weekly should write to the secretary before February 20, sending in the cash and promises, in order that he may draw up a financial statement to present to the Conference. Comrades, do not fail to do this, as we must know on how much money we can rely.

Owing to business arrangements, Comrade Mackay has resigned the secretaryship of the paper, and these duties are now taken over by Comrade Stuart Donald. All correspondence should be sent to him, addressed Clarion Rooms, 7 Holland Street, Glasgow.

RECOLLECTIONS AND REFLECTIONS.

By FRANK KITZ.

(Continuation.)

But to return. Having shed some of the mere Trade Unionist members, we evolved as the Manhood Suffrage League. Nominally a political society, its members were the chief actors in bringing about the revival of Socialism and laying the foundations of the present movement. Our activities at the time were small, for it was a time of political apathy. As a delegate of this society, with the late O. Murray, at a conference on the land question, I defeated a proposal by O. Bradlaugh for small proprietorship. We also took part in the magnificent reception given to Michael Davitt upon his release from prison. I imbibed my knowledge of past movements from my elderly colleagues who had been associated with Robert Owen, H. Hunt, J. Harvey, Ernest Jones, Bronterre O'Brien, Feargus O'Connor, W. Lovett, whom I met once before his death, and a host of others. Dr. Travis, who was a friend of Owen, became a member of our society, and Dr. Gammage, the historian of Chartism, was an associate.

A sketch of some of the members will bring me to other matters in connection with my narrative. First in my memory is W. Townshend, a tall, gaunt, kindly old shoemaker, the possessor of a vast accumulation of books and knowledge pertaining to the cause. He would read us voluminous essays upon the helots of Greece and the plebeians of Rome, which caused a stampede of our younger and more flippant visitors. Poor Townshend! he died in poverty, and his beloved books which he struggled so hard to acquire fell into the hands of strangers. Then there were the brothers C. and J. Murray, who had been in every movement from the Chartist onwards; J. B. Leno, the Buckinghamshire poet, who struck at the landlord system in rhyme and verse; J. Rogers, friend of Karl Marx; and Maltman Barry, also on the most intimate terms with Marx. Barry had won a certain notoriety by his tourneys with the political economists of the Manchester school, especially Leone Levi. I and others mistrusted him, but he appeared to break a lance for Democracy, and his intimacy with Marx made him unassailable. Whether he used Marx or Marx used him is a point that remains unsolved. Barry was the enemy of the old school of Trade Unionists and Liberals, and posed as a Revolutionist. My hostility to Barry frequently brought me into collision with my old friend J. Rogers, who worshipped him. After years of deception, towards the close of his career he threw off the mask and stood revealed as a Tory agent. There is another Tory who, having manipulated the Socialist movement, has not yet unmasked; and it is, therefore, not a matter for surprise that *Justice* should publish a friendly obituary of the late Maltman Barry.

I have alluded to the defection of the English Trade Unionists from the International. After the Commune, the remnant of the British Federation called a meeting in Hyde Park to show sympathy with the Parisian workers. There was a great gathering in response, which the Press did its utmost to belittle by describing it as exclusively composed of foreign refugees. A second meeting called at St. George's Hall was prohibited by the police, who guarded the doors with mounted men. The capitalistic Press indulged in a furious campaign of calumny against the Commune and all who sympathised with it. With the public hostile or indifferent, and the secession of the Trade Unionists, it fell to the lot of the foreign branches in London, by holding annual celebrations, to keep alive the memory of the Commune.

Conspicuous amongst the foreign revolutionary forces in London at that time was the German Working Men's Communist Society. Founded, if I remember rightly, after the abortive upheaval in Berlin in 1848, it became a rallying-point and home of refuge for all who were proscribed for the cause. Marx, Engels, Weber, Lessner, Herman Jung, were among those who associated with and became members of this society. In conjunction with the French, Slavonic, and Scandinavian elements of London, they organised commemoration meetings. The Press chortled over the almost exclusively foreign character of the audiences, and said that the British working man would never imbibe the doctrines of foreign revolutionaries. I recall a meeting whereat L. Weber, having spoken in German, had, in the absence of any English speakers, to address the gathering in English. He asked bitterly, where were the Englishmen who had belonged to the International and the alleged upholders of freedom.

I pass over those years of triumphant reaction and apathy, and come to the breaking of the dawn of a revival which is yearly growing in strength and momentum. We in the small political society I have previously mentioned had our conflicts with the purely Trade Unionist members, who, when our foreign comrades solicited our help, opposed co-operation. The bills announcing the celebration (and brave bills they were, with the Red Flag printed upon them) were removed from the club-room notice board. The brothers Murray, who represented our speaking power at the time, went unofficially to help them. Eventually we shed this fossilised element, shifted our quarters, and blossomed out as the Manhood Suffrage League. The advanced reader may be somewhat surprised at the mild political titles we assumed.

We were pushing forward the doctrines of Socialism under a political disguise, whilst there are a number in the Socialist movement to-day who are mere politicians disguised as Socialists.

Freed from obstruction and opposition, we cordially co-operated with our foreign comrades in holding an international meeting at the Cleveland Hall to celebrate the Commune. It was a most enthusiastic demonstration, and marked the beginning of the revival. A large number of English working men attended. Our comrades Louise Michel and Kropotkin spoke (I think that was their first appearance upon a public platform in this country). I made my first speech in a public hall on that evening. At an informal meeting of comrades afterwards I was urged by my comrade Johann Neve (since done to death in a German prison) to form an English section of the Socialist party. I succeeded in getting together a number of comrades, including those of the British Federation whom I have previously referred to, and thus was started an English Revolutionary Society, which, working with the foreign element, was to take its part in the International Socialist movement. In referring to this period I may be allowed to mention that H. M. Hyndman, who is styled by his admirers "the father of Social Democracy," has recently published his reminiscences. I have not perused the book, but a reviewer of it states that it is a record of thirty years of work on behalf of Socialism. The reviewer in question must be in error, for about the time I am writing of "the Father of Social Democracy" was wooing the suffrages of a London constituency (Marylebone) as a Tory. Some have unkindly suggested that his conversion was too sudden to be thorough, and that his lapses into Jingoism and his Chauvinistic ideas of a purely English Socialism are but signs of the old Adam peeping forth again.

New Toryism or Tory Democracy was being put forward to distract the attention of the workers from the land question, which was being vigorously discussed in working-class clubs and conventions. The landlords were quite willing to divert the attacks from themselves to the capitalists, and when the English section got to work amongst the working class we had to combat their agents, who advocated thrift, emigration, and Malthusianism as alternatives to Socialism. We routed them in many a stormy meeting, and the emigrationists had frequently to emigrate in undignified haste from the meetings they had convened. Another society was now formed in the East End, named the Labour Emancipation League; and, co-operating with them, we held a great anti-emigration demonstration upon Mile End Waste. One of the banners depicted an angry armed crowd chasing the landlords and capitalists into the sea, as the only kind of emigration necessary. Some have thought that this alleged conspiracy of the landocracy to preserve their ill-gotten possessions even at the expense of their fellow thieves, the capitalists, is a mere surmise; but the efforts of the Tories Oastler and Shaftesbury in reference to the factory children whilst the labourers upon the Shaftesbury Estate were in a deplorable condition (*vide* Engels' letters upon the condition of the working class in England); and, coming to our own times, the pressure put upon De Gibbins, the author of the "Industrial History of England," to abate his condemnation of the landlords; and the reduction of the position of the *Financial Reform Almanack* from being a text-book upon the land question to a mere catalogue—these are evidences of the landlords' influence.

In these days of British Socialism, which is, I presume, a by-product of the purely English variety, and has given us those strange human documents, the Jingo Socialists, it may not be out of place to note that the Socialist movement in England owes its origin largely to the propagandist zeal of foreign workmen, who wherever they came into contact with their English confrères sought to enthuse them with what was then, even in its Parliamentary form, a new gospel. The C.A.B.V. (the German Communist Society I have previously referred to), in the masons' strike, subscribed their funds and their members helped to picket the Law Courts, and they were the means of getting away again several batches of German masons who had been brought here under false pretences. They also conducted a vigorous agitation amongst their compatriots. When the Crown Prince Frederick visited this country, some German tuft-hunter arranged a loyal demonstration, with a choir to sing patriotic songs; but the Communists got there first and treated the Prince to a by no means patriotic version of the "Wacht am Rhein," ending with a free fight and the defeat of the loyalists, which threw the English Press into a rage. The prominence given to the German Socialist movement caused some inconvenience, for wherever we (the English section) addressed open-air meetings we were dubbed "damned Germans," and as some of our members hailed from the Green Isle, the description was slightly out of place.

Gradually we won our way. From the West we extended our work into the East End: Mile End Waste was our outdoor rallying-point, and indoors—let not the temperance reader be shocked—the club-rooms of various publichouses, where under the guise of debating societies or similar harmless-sounding titles we pursued our propagandist work. The Radical clubs had still a leaven amongst them of Chartists and Republicans, and their platforms were at our disposal. They have long since been nobbled by the middle class and brewers, and the amateur negro minstrel stands where the lecturer should be.

By a combination of all the sections we established a club in Rose Street, Soho. Having a hall of our own, we were enabled to hold public meetings with greater frequency.

(To be continued.)

The Development of the American Labour Movement.

The McNamara case for almost a year past has been the magnet which has drawn all eyes, one might say, toward itself. But the sudden termination of this case has, in a sense, stunned us all to such an extent that we shall have to wait for future developments before we can pass judgment on the merits of its abrupt termination. There are many speculations as to the cause or causes which led to the sudden ending, but they are at the most only speculations.

As I have been in the American Labour movement for almost thirty years, I think I may claim to have had experience enough to be a competent judge of that movement. I trust, therefore, I may not be regarded as an alarmist when I say that I believe it is nearing a crisis. Perhaps a short sketch of the development of Labour organisations over here may not prove uninteresting to the readers of FREEDOM.

Compared with the Labour movement in Europe, the movement here, like everything else, is young. Not by any stretch of the imagination is it more than forty or forty-five years old. There are good reasons why it is not older. A country so vast in territory, so rich in natural resources, and so thinly populated could not from the very nature of the case feel the effects of poverty as did the countries of Europe. From the Ohio River to the Pacific Ocean, and from the boundary lines of Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, there was as rich land as anywhere on the earth, to be had merely for the settling on it. In this way all the Middle was settled.

Prior to the Civil War of 1861 there was no Trade Union movement worth mentioning, though, to be sure, attempts had been made to form one, but these for the most part had proven abortive. The Typographical Union had been organised; a few carpenters, tailors, and shipbuilders had also been organised. But these Unions were very weak in numbers. There was no organisation west of Chicago, Illinois. About 1855 war clouds, dark and threatening, began to gather. In 1861 they burst, and the storm, once let loose, began to rage. The Civil War begun, half a million men were taken from the peaceful paths of industry and thrown on to battlefields. For four long years these young men, in the flower of manhood, were engaged in mutual destruction. Finally, when peace was declared, the young men were turned back into the channels of industry; to undertake the task of repairing the waste and loss of the war.

At that time steam began to play a very important part in production, making the division and sub-division of labour both practical and possible. By this means the factory system, which has grown into the huge institution visible to-day, was commenced. Then it was that men and women working side by side in large numbers did what was the most natural thing in the world, and what mankind has always done under similar circumstances: they formed into groups, and in this instance the groups were called Trade Unions or Craft Unions, which, at that stage of capitalistic development, were both practical and beneficial. So the Trade Union movement, once launched, grew with wonderful rapidity in America.

About 1870 the Knights of Labour were organised in the city of Philadelphia. This was the first national body of Labour in America. From the outset it taught the workers that their interests as a class were distinct from those of the employing class. The Knights of Labour was essentially a revolutionary organisation. It went to the root of things, and taught the workers that direct action was the way to attain their ends. It carried on the most aggressive strikes ever waged in this country. The growth of this organisation between 1875 and 1885 was marvellous. In 1886 it contained about 800,000 members. Then it began to decline, and its disintegration was as rapid as had been its growth.

What caused such a splendid organisation to become extinct? Many reasons have been advanced; some sound plausible, others the reverse. To give even a bare synopsis of them all would be to make this article much too long. I was myself a member of the Knights of Labour, yet I can hardly offer an adequate explanation of its passing away. However, I will state what I regard as one very potent cause.

Being a mass organisation, it could not or did not change its form to suit the changing conditions on the industrial field. As a mass organisation it could hardly adapt itself to the minute sub-divisions of labour then taking place in industry. On the other hand, the American Federation of Labour, on account of its flexibility, easily adapted itself and its methods to the craft form of organisation—the best at this stage of capitalistic production. This fact, I think, explains why it was able to supplant the Knights of Labour. And now the time has come in capitalistic development when these same Craft Unions cannot meet successfully the trustified capitalist organisations. The Trade Unions in this country are more and more frequently defeated in their strikes.

The crisis has come between Capital and Labour. The day for Industrial Unionism is here. It is in the line of evolution; it is the logic of events and of conditions over the development of which no man or set of men have had control. The workers must at once organise industrially to meet the new conditions or they and theirs will be threatened with the fate of becoming hopeless slaves!

Chicago.

LUCY E. PARSONS.

Murder Not Always Murder.

"If I had to choose, I would rather be a criminal with blood upon my hands than be one of the leaders in the Steel Trust," said the Rev. John Haynes Holmes in speaking yesterday morning at the Church of the Messiah.

"But, with all due respect to the ex-President of the United States [Roosevelt], it is not true that 'murder is always murder,' and the McNamara brothers are not criminals in the ordinary sense of the word. Rather they are unselfish soldiers of a cause.

"What circumstances made these men think that they were justified in committing that crime? The whole power of the Steel Trust, vested in the Erectors Association, was turned against the Structural Iron Workers Union, the only one which had been left uncrushed, simply because it was a Union. Then the Association acted in the same way as a Union does which employs strike and boycott methods.

"Human nature being human nature, dynamite was inevitable, for what channels of protest have we placed before the working man except violence? There are no laws for them and no courts to enforce any laws there might be. The press misunderstands them and the Church is reluctant to receive them. Violence cannot be justified from the standpoint of absolute ethics, for America is not yet Russia even as regards the steel industry; but neither can it be denounced until the denouncers have removed all provocation and opened up a way of protest for the workingman.

"Violence, the strike, the boycott are war measures, for the labourer is not dealing with his friends. If you object to them, you object to the Boston Tea Party and the Battle of Bunker Hill. Do not blame the labourer for his acts but blame the capitalist, as you should blame the men who first fired on Fort Sumter instead of Sherman, who made that disgraceful march through Georgia."

"The new problem of peace," Mr. Holmes said, and that was the subject of his lecture, "is the war of Capital versus Labour. The question of international peace, I believe, is in a fair way to settle itself because the working classes have awakened and are making war between the nations impossible by refusing to perpetuate by fighting the mistakes of statesmen."

—New York Sun, Dec. 18.

THE ETERNAL RETURN.

The peasant folk of Swabia tell
Of a mysterious huntsman wild,
Who in their woods is said to dwell;
And oft by him are men beguiled.
A magic purse hangs by his side,
And those who, meeting him, essay
To beg a groat, are not denied,
Since it returns to him next day!

In these enlightened climes, methinks
We have our untamed huntsman, too;
Mammon we call him, and he winks.
When poor men for his bounty sue.
He bids them toil for him, and pays
Them pennies from his magic scrip,
Which pence, by many devious ways,
Return once more into his grip.

C. L. E.

THE CORRESPONDENCE BUREAU.

The Correspondence Bureau wishes to report to the comrades the impossibility of continuing either the proper work of the Bureau or the publication of the *Bulletin*. We need not enumerate the reasons which have forced us to come to that decision. Suffice it to say it would be ridiculous on our part to try to realise an international organisation in spite of the fact, unfortunately too true, that there does not exist—besides the disseminated groups—any local or national Anarchist organisation. It is necessary that Anarchists in all countries should themselves feel the importance of a co-operation, of a co-ordination of forces amongst themselves—whether in districts, towns, or countries as a whole. It is then only that it will be possible to undertake the work of international organisation.

While arriving at that conclusion, we are sure—and many facts tend clearly to indicate it—that the Anarchists will take to heart the thorny question of a fertile Anarchist organisation, and will try everywhere to put into practice their Anarchist principles of organisation and Communism. When this is done, there will be plenty of time to think of an international organisation, of the publication of a *Bulletin*, and of other details of a larger and more fruitful activity. The members of the Bureau, on their side, will always be ready, if that be the wish of the interested groups and federations, to return again to their task when the time is ripe.

THE CORRESPONDENCE BUREAU.

P.S.—The cancelling of the Bureau also forces us to cancel the collection of the international archives.

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Torture of Political Prisoners in Russia.

Periodically during the last five years Russian public opinion has been aroused by news of indescribable cruelty and torture inflicted on political prisoners in European Russia as well as Siberia. Details of corporal punishment and ill-treatment in the ill-famed Schlüsselburg fortress came to public knowledge in 1907, but they were of such a degrading and repulsive character that they could not be described in the Press.

The second occasion was in 1908, in the Astrakan prison, in Sebastopol, and in Riga, where torture was practised. In every case those unfortunate (mostly young) people succumbed, either from being beaten to death, from starvation, or from being deliberately shot. Public indignation obliged the Government at that time to make an inquiry, which ended in the Riga and Astrakan prison authorities being handed over to the tribunals. All the accusations brought against them were fully proved, and they were condemned to different terms of imprisonment; but, as is now customary in Russia, they soon received a free pardon from the Tsar.*

The Ministry promised the Duma a change in the prison system and administration. A new Chief Director of all prisons, M. Khruloff, was appointed, and he was said to be a very good and humane man. But soon rumours of a yet more alarming character began to spread. Towards the end of 1910 news from the Vologda hard labour prison reached St. Petersburg that the governor of the prison, in order to humiliate and break the spirit of his political prisoners, used to flog them all systematically, and kept them chained hand and foot. They were brought to such despair that two hundred declared a hunger strike, refusing to take any food, preferring death to the tortures. Notwithstanding the efforts of the central authorities to hush up the affair, the terrible truth became known.

The painful impression was not yet effaced when on December 11, 1910, the Duma Deputy, Belausoff, received a telegram from the Sarentuy (Eastern Siberia) penal prison that in consequence of the general flogging of politicals numerous attempts at suicide had been made, Sazonoff, who threw the bomb at Plehve, having died already. Details which arrived later as to the terrible condition of the political prisoners revealed how they were kept in semi-starvation, ill-clad, and brutally beaten and flogged. I do not give particulars of this case, because it was not brought before the legal authorities. But what follows is a short *resumé* of a public trial of the Vergaturin (Ural) prison officials, of whom thirteen, including the governor, had to appear before the tribunal.

Among the forty-seven witnesses thirty were political prisoners. These were all in a state of exhaustion, disfigured and lamed by ill-treatment. They stated that they and their fellow-prisoners were beaten with cowhide whips with nails at the end, and with knouts, till they lost consciousness, some dying. The more distinguished the prisoners were, the worse they were treated. For instance, the Member of the second Duma, Kabakoff, on the first day that he entered prison was beaten till he fainted. Reviving, he asked the reason of this treatment.

* The latest of such free pardons was given last year, when two police officers, Sinenko and Galovko, condemned to hard labour for beating a prisoner to death, were pardoned by the Tsar and released, the first-named being reinstated in his office.

In answer they began to beat him again, but this time with a knout, and in such a way that, according to the doctor's evidence, his collarbone was broken. Another witness, Bochkaroff, declared he too on the first day was beaten so that he lost consciousness; scarcely had he regained his senses when the gaolers started again to torture him. It was proved before the tribunal by the doctor that in consequence of this terrible beating Bochkaroff was deaf. A third victim, Belkoff, told that on his arrival in prison he was beaten till he lost consciousness. The gaolers then undressed him, and only in a shirt, his body one mass of blood and bruises, they thrust him into a dark, cold cell. After a few hours they returned and asked: "Are you cold?" When he said "Yes," they sarcastically promised him a blanket, and a few minutes later gaolers entered and beat him ferociously till they were tired. The evidence of these victims was so terrible and crushing that the governor of the prison and his assistants were condemned to different terms of imprisonment.

The revelations of Pskov prison which have just come to light surpass, however, all others. They would appear nearly incredible if the name of Korolenko, the well-known Russian author, or of Prof. Miuliukoff, in whose paper, *Rietch*, Korolenko publishes them, were not a guarantee of veracity. *Rietch* publishes a long statement signed by Basilevitch, of which we give an extract:—"From the beginning of 1909 the governor of the Pskov prison has been systematically persecuting and ill-treating the political prisoners; they were kept without sufficient food and clothes, and mixed with common law criminals; they were daily submitted to corporal punishment."

In Korolenko's letter to *Rietch* (December 31) it is said that 130 politicals between them received 5,625 strokes with the lash, for what offences may be judged from a few examples: sixteen persons, for not answering the governor's salute in the manner of soldiers, received 825 strokes; four men, for laughing at prison officials, 335 strokes; ten men, for having newspapers and letters on them, 365 strokes; one man, because he was a Jew, 25 strokes.

News of this barbarous régime leaked out, and the Chief Director of all prisons, Khruloff, inspected the prison. In presence of the governor of the prison and gaolers, knowing that they would be beaten to death perhaps afterwards, the prisoners made a full statement to Khruloff, whose only answer was: "This is all past; and you must forget and forgive it." Naturally the prison authorities neither forgot nor forgave those who had dared to denounce them, and the flogging and tortures only increased, till even a Black Gang newspaper of Pskov became indignant, and on December 26 published a denunciation of those methods. The unfortunate prisoners, one hundred and five in all, had declared a hunger strike to end their misery. On the third day of their refusing food they were all flogged, and till now it is not known how many have succumbed. "Vergaturin, Viatka, Perm, Vologda, Sarentuy; now Pskov! What a reign of terror and torture behind those prison walls!" concludes Korolenko.

Incredible, atrocious, are these facts. But they are not confined to those prisons only; we can add Moscow, Jekaterinaslav, Orel, Saratoff, and others, where the best of Russia's youth are slowly starved and tortured to death. A letter from Orel says:—"As soon as a party of prisoners arrives they are beaten; beaten in such a way that in the summer, 1909, the soldiers of the convoy were disgusted and threatened to shoot the gaolers. Exclusively political prisoners are beaten. They are undressed and ill-treated, the majority faint after some hours, then they are dragged by chains outside their cells, and taken to the hospital. From one party of sixty-nine men, on the third day twelve had died. . . . In 1909 in this [Orel] prison thirty-five politicals committed suicide. Nearly all the political prisoners here have their ear-drums broken from blows."

Another letter from a sufferer in that prison—written to Maxim Gorky, who published the letter in the Paris paper *L'Avenir* (No. 10)—says that on his arrival he and his comrades were beaten as usual. "They ordered me to take off my boots; when I bent down to do so I was struck with a heavy prison padlock and I fell. 'Don't scream,' I was ordered, and they continued to strike me. At last I shouted: 'They are killing me!' and I became insensible. How long I was beaten after that I do not know. I became conscious hearing the cries of the others and the clanging of chains. I tried to get up, but I could not. I looked around me and I saw many groaning people on the ground. . . . Nearly naked, we were kept lying on the bare stone floor the whole night. Next morning we were insulted and handcuffed. These brutal scenes were often repeated. Not only were we beaten till unconsciousness followed, but Jukutin and Vorabioff, Shilkof and Shadroff, were beaten to death. One

batch of forty political prisoners was so handled that fourteen died."

But most terrible of all these prisons is that of the Saratoff, where the governor is a certain Humbert, a *persona grata* of the late Stolypin, to whose children Humbert's brother is tutor. In the prison not only cases of killing of prisoners occurred, as Maximoff, who was shot by Humbert's order, but the régime was such that the governor of Saratoff and the prison inspector, Sartary, made observations to Humbert, who, however, ignored them. When typhoid spread among the prisoners, the prison doctor, Karmanoff, proposed some amelioration of the food of the prisoners. The governor of Saratoff approved of this proposal, but Humbert addressed himself directly to Stolypin, and the doctor was dismissed.

Such is the atrocious régime introduced since 1907 into the Russian prisons in order to break the spirit of those thousands of noble young men and women who dared to work for the liberation of their people.

The reader will perhaps think that these unfortunate victims of the Government's cowardly revenge were daring terrorists, fighters on barricades. Oh, no! these were hanged and shot long before by the field courts-martial. From 1906 to September, 1911, 3,431 persons were executed by the so-called regular military tribunals.

The political prisoners, whose sufferings we are describing, have been condemned for "crimes" which in no civilised country would be considered as such. In Smolensk, for instance, the High Court condemned a peasant, Regunov, to a year of imprisonment in a fortress for having given away a pamphlet of the well-known author, Peshekhonoff, entitled "Bread, Light, and Liberty," and published in St. Petersburg. Two young men were tried by a special court at Moscow for belonging to the Social Democratic Party and having connections with Gorky and his friends. One of the two, Soboleff, was condemned to eighteen months of fortress, and the other to one year's imprisonment. We could give many such cases, and it may be said without exaggeration that the great majority of these political prisoners so inhumanly treated never would be prosecuted, not only in England or France, but not even in Germany.

On January 2 of this year the High Court of St. Petersburg condemned nine persons, among them two women, for belonging to the Social Democratic Party, and for printing a manifesto for the First of May celebrations. One was condemned to four years' hard labour; five to deportation to the remotest part of Siberia; one man and one woman to three years of fortress imprisonment. What appears cruel irony is that whilst young workers and students are so condemned to hard labour and imprisonment for being Social Democrats, in the Russian Parliament (Duma) there exists a recognised Social Democratic section, many members of which distinguished themselves by their fearless opposition to the Government.

Besides the many thousands of innocent victims of the Tsar's revenge who are chained, ill-treated, beaten, starved, and tortured in the prisons all over the country, there are over 60,000 deported to various parts of Siberia and Northern Russia. The moral and material suffering of these exiles can be imagined if we remember that they are thousands of miles from relatives and friends, mostly without money, ill-clothed, left among poor primitive natives, sometimes for five, six, and even eight months, without receiving the miserable pittance of five roubles (10s.) monthly allowance from the Government to buy food, which is not only very expensive, but sometimes even difficult to obtain. In some places, books, newspapers, and letters from home are received only once or twice a year. In the more inhabited districts, in the villages of Russian settlers, the deported are under the supervision of special guards collected by the Government among the scum and criminals of the whole of Russia, as no honest soldier or policeman will go to such remote corners. Those guards have full power over the intelligent, mostly well-educated, kindly students and workers; they may even shoot the deported under the pretext that these attempted to escape. Cases of brutality of these guards are too numerous to mention. The condition of the deported may be judged from the following quite recent facts. A doctor of philosophy, Valdemar Zinsinoff, a man of thirty years and of very good family, as a political "suspect" was imprisoned in the fortress of Petersburg on June 2, 1910. As no proof was found against him he could not be tried, so he was deported in an administrative way as a "suspect" to the remote Jakutsk province in Siberia. The governor of that locality, a German, Kraft, decided to send him to Ustia, on the coast of the Arctic Sea, a settlement consisting of five or six huts of Yukaghir nomads. The place is over

fifteen hundred miles north from Jakutsk, and inside the Polar Circle. In such a place, that man of high culture, whose only crime is to be "suspect," has to drag out his existence.

We have given here only a page from the book of suffering of the Tsar's subjects. Torture, executions, famine amongst millions of peasants, epidemics of cholera and plague, barbarity and ignorance are the attributes of the rule of Nicholas II. To such a ruler representatives of the English Church and aristocracy, of the plutocracy, and of a Press sold to reaction, have gone to bow the knee in the hope of obtaining concessions and of sharing with the Tsar and his hangmen in the plunder and exploitation of the people of the Russian Empire.

MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES.

A well-known English review recently described American Labour as in a state of "intense effervescence." If one can judge the country by this Pacific Coast, the description is unquestionably true, since from Aberdeen, in the far North, to San Diego, at the very foot of Southern California, the wires continually report new and stormy conflicts with the authorities. My understanding is that in Chicago, New York, and other central and eastern cities, the I.W.W. has little strength. On the other hand, in certain portions of California, in Oregon, and still more in Washington, it seems to have developed rapidly. There can be little doubt, I think, that this is due to the exceedingly vigorous policy it has pursued, notoriously in its struggles for the right to speak on city streets. It is a struggle that has brought it into direct collision with the police, and there is no question that the struggle, conducted at many widely scattered points, has shown that many members of the organisation have a magnificent fighting spirit. San Diego is the latest scene of action. Street meetings were broken up, stormy scenes characterised the protest demonstration that followed, and the City Council has now passed an ordinance prohibiting speaking in the business district. The I.W.W., with the endorsement of the Socialists and radical element, is taking steps for submission of the question to popular vote.

The part played by members of the I.W.W. at Mexicali, Tia Juana, and in other military operations that attended the first outbreak of the Mexican Revolution, has been written about a thousand times, and the troubles along the United States-Mexican border are by no means over. At this date official complaint comes to *Regeneracion*, organ of the Mexican Liberal Party, of gross mistreatment suffered by members of the I.W.W. at Holtville, a California border town. The statement, which bears the seal of Local No. 439, is that American officials have been engaged in kidnapping their members and handing them over to the Mexican authorities, to gain the blood-money paid by Madero's Government, which offers 100 dollars for the apprehension of every private, and 500 dollars for that of every officer engaged in armed insurrection. No one who is acquainted with the methods of the American constables all along the border can doubt that they will stick at little to earn so large a sum. Throughout all that territory, as throughout so many parts of the United States—to America's unspeakable shame—the "fee system" prevails, the income of the police depending on the number of arrests they make. Nothing could be more demoralising, nothing has given rise to more infamous abuses, and probably nothing has contributed so greatly to the spread of revolutionary propaganda in its most violent form. The hatred of the country constable and justice of the peace prevalent among the men who pack their blankets passes words.

The official complaint just mentioned states further that "on the last night of the old year the I.W.W. hall at Holtville, Cal., being completely deserted, but containing all their furniture and library, was burned by a mob of brave and respectable citizens." Naturally, under these conditions, the I.W.W. armed themselves, but they left the town by night. The sheriff immediately took their trail, and up to date twelve have been arrested. Peter Le Blanc, Box 485, Brawley, Cal., asks that funds for their defence be sent to him. That every effort will be made to railroad these men to the penitentiary seems beyond the range of doubt.

There are millions who honestly believe that our entire social problem will be settled by the ballot. If they knew how the real proletariat—which, as a whole, has no vote, being forced to move from place to place—is treated, they might revise their opinion. The foundations of a violent, physical-force revolution are being dug—and dug deep. There are tens of thousands of men who never will forget the abuses of which they are the victims, and these men are hoping for the day when they will have the opportunity of getting even.

As it is in the United States, so it is in Mexico. In fact, I believe it may be stated confidently that while American labour has learned nothing, as yet, from Mexico, the Mexican working man is fairly well informed as to conditions in the United States, so far as the main facts are concerned. He has learned that Labour receives only the vilest treatment at the hands of the authorities, and he has an inextinguishable distrust of politics. In the mass he has abstained from voting, and in all his strikes, which are very numerous, he relies on direct action in its most pronounced form, arming himself, if possible. So it is with the country population, which concentrates its energies more and more on taking possession of the land. As an example, I quoted

El Demócrata, a Government organ, as reporting that more than five thousand natives in the State of Durango had taken possession of one of the large ranches and declared that they would "defend themselves with force." I am giving similar instances all the time in *Regeneracion*.

Unquestionably the American worker's ignorance of Mexican affairs is due largely to his conceit, since he looks down on the Mexican as an illiterate. That is a profound mistake. In Mexico, as in Asiatic countries, news travels with astonishing rapidity—by word of mouth—and it is the most important news. The Mexican peon is in blissful ignorance of the sort of trash with which Hearst drugs our proletariat, but with all the more force is he able to concentrate on the news that vitally affects his own life.

One of the most glaring instances of that false conceit which is such a stumbling-block to our proletariat has been given recently by the *Chicago Daily Socialist*, which, writing on the subject of Mexican immigration to this country, actually began its article with these words: "A torrent of poison is flowing into the United States." How is that for international solidarity? It is the natural consequence of the Socialist advocacy of Japanese exclusion, a policy adopted in defiance of all the party's traditions, solely for the sake of catching votes.

Did you notice La Follette's recent speech in which he said that the Federal Government was "rotten," justifying his statement by a detailed exposition of the fact that fourteen men control to-day the free capital and credit of this country. La Follette is a politician, and may be, for all we know, our next President; but in talking thus he is talking, not politics, but basic economics. Hundreds of side-streams are swelling the main current that is bearing us rapidly, not to political, but to economic, revolution.

Meanwhile the *Los Angeles Times* has published an editorial, reproduced in many papers, advocating openly the quiet "removal" of agitators. There is a prominent Los Angeles banker who is notorious as the constant advocate of this assassination policy, championing it industriously at the clubs and other resorts where rich men congregate.

One knows that the intense cold which has had the eastern and northern portions of the country in its grip must have been productive of intense suffering, but I have read nothing more appallingly illustrative of city conditions than are the accounts of the "Black Death" now decimating the outcasts of Berlin. In the municipal shelters men have been falling to the ground in agony and expiring almost immediately. Said the attendant at one of these places: "We expected that after the deaths on the first night the shelter would be almost deserted, but, on the contrary, it was again crowded by more than four thousand destitutes." Such a parody on civilisation cannot endure. Such conditions do not attract the simple country people of Mexico. They fear profoundly that their own fatherland may fall into similar evils under the rule of Wall Street, and they are resolved to save themselves from such a loathsome fate by getting back their lands, at all and every cost.

WM. C. OWEN.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Belgium.

After the miserable failure of Compulsory Arbitration and Conciliation Boards in Australia, New Zealand, England, and America, where the anthracite miners just now are claiming the abolition of the Conciliation Boards, it comes rather as a shock to read that the Belgian Parliamentarian Socialists in their turn are trying to secure the blessings of such a law for their toiling brethren. The Socialist Hector Denis has proposed an amendment to a project of law by the Labour Council, making arbitration compulsory in all conflicts arising from the carrying out of a collective contract.

The Belgian Labour Party appointed two members to report on Hector Denis's amendment. At the Congress of the Belgian Trade Unions, opened in Brussels on December 24, these members wholeheartedly condemned the proposed compulsory arbitration, and asked the Congress to protest energetically "against every attempt which in any degree might render the action of the Trade Unions dependent on the intervention of the organs of political power of the bourgeoisie, which would happen if compulsory arbitration should be introduced in conflicts resulting from collective contracts." The Congress unanimously voted a resolution calling the amendment "an attempt against organised Labour by the combined forces of the employers and the bourgeois State." This looks as if the Belgian proletariat understands the danger and does not intend to be deprived of its only effective weapon in the economic struggle, the strike, even if such a measure is called by the name of compulsory arbitration and is introduced by a Socialist such as Hector Denis.

France.

Since March, 1910, the workers in the building trade have carried on an active agitation in order to obtain a nine-hour day. Last summer a general strike was decided upon. Face to face with these preparations for a hard fight, the employers, seeing no way out but concession, tried to obtain the help of the Government. The Ministers of Justice and of Public Works were ready to come to their aid, but as no law exists in France which makes strike agitation illegal—Will Crooks might present a copy of his Trades Disputes Bill to the French Government—the leaders of the strike movement could not be arrested on that ground. A pretext was found, however, and Viau, Dumont,

and Baritaud were imprisoned for having carried on antimilitarist propaganda in the Army by means of the "Sou du Soldat" (Soldier's Penny). This is an organisation to give financial and moral support to young Syndicalist workers who have to serve as soldiers, and to spread antimilitarist ideas in the barracks. This work, which has been carried on regularly by the Unions of the building trade as well as of other industries, was chosen as the pretext for the arrest of the men's leaders.

After six months' imprisonment, the three men were at last brought before the tribunal on January 10, to be tried according to the "Scelerat" laws, exceptional laws passed in 1893-94 against "Anarchist criminal acts." These scandalous laws, which were passed by a bourgeoisie frightened out of its wits by a series of Anarchist attempts, for the last few years have laid dormant, but recently have been unearthed and applied against antimilitarist and Syndicalist activity.

The workers of the building trade had declared a strike of protest for the day of the trial; all the scaffoldings were deserted, the workshops empty, and 20,000 organised workers assembled around the Court, to demonstrate their solidarity with their imprisoned comrades. If the employers and the Government had hoped to have crushed the agitation by taking away the leaders, that day must have shown them the futility of their hope. Fights with the police were numerous and serious; the demonstrators, and even the journalists, were very roughly handled by the police, and numerous arrests were made. The trial was not concluded on that day, but resumed on January 19, when all three were found guilty, as well as another Syndicalist, Broutchou, who a few days later was condemned to a year's imprisonment for his vigorous speech against the increased cost of living.

The application of the "scelerat" laws against people for whom they were not even meant, but whom the Government has a grudge against, is becoming a real danger to Syndicalists, antimilitarists, and all anti-Governmental propaganda.

Spain.

The King of Spain, whose conscience may be uneasy on account of Ferrer, as William Archer suggests in the *Daily News*, though we doubt if he has one, has reprieved the six men who were condemned to death on a charge of murdering a magistrate in the Valencia province. Their death sentence was only one act in the continued and terrible suppression of the recent revolutionary movement in Spain. The General Union of Workers, of Parliamentary and reformist tendencies, with its centre at Madrid, was dissolved by a judicial decision on January 17, and the members of the executive are to be prosecuted. The revolutionary Unions affiliated to the General Confederation of Labour centre at Barcelona have been so persecuted by the Government that the Confederation is *de facto* suppressed. These two suppressed Labour organisations represented the organised proletariat of Spain, and counted no less than eighty thousand members. Will the Spanish workers quietly submit?

The artist Sagrista, who was condemned to nine years' imprisonment for a cartoon in honour of Ferrer, writes to friends that he hopes to be released soon. A petition on his behalf was sent to Alphonso, signed by many international artists, including seventeen members of the English Royal Academy.

Ferrer's property, which was sequestered by the Government, has now been given up to his heirs, according to a decision of the Supreme Court at Madrid. This decision constitutes in reality a declaration of Ferrer's innocence of the charge of having taken part in the Barcelona riots. This admission will not give us back our friend Ferrer, but may do something to open the eyes of those who believed in the "justice" of a military tribunal.

CORRESPONDENCE.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM OR ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—It would seem, judging from the criticism which my letter bearing the above title received, that there is really no necessity for "Anarchist Communists" to group themselves together with a view to spreading their ideas; all that is necessary is that they should join a group of Industrialists of "either brand"; "for by the victory of the Industrialists class distinctions will be swept away," and the "Governmental microbe" will be effectually killed. It is, perhaps, for this reason that I received no response to my appeal to the Belfast comrades, which was the chief object of my letter; or it may be because of my personality. If any one in Belfast should hold the latter opinion, I sincerely trust that such an one will make an effort where I have failed.

With regard to "Industrialist," he asks me to oblige by a little of the "abundance of evidence" that Industrial Unionists do not favour Anarchy, and apparently, as proof that they do, he asks me if I am aware that "an American paper advertised in FREEDOM advocates both Industrial Unionism and Industrial Freedom"? Am I aware that there are hundreds of Anarchists in the I.W.W.? Am I aware that many fighters in the Mexican Revolution are members of the I.W.W., and that the ideal of the Mexican Revolutionists is "Land and Liberty"? To the first two of these questions my answer is in the affirmative; whilst with regard to the last, I am prepared to accept the facts as he states them. What then? Surely "Industrialist" does not draw the conclusion from these facts that therefore Industrial Unionists are Anarchists. One might as well say that because there are many members of the I.L.P. who claim to be Anarchist Communists, therefore I.L.P.s are Anarchists. The position only needs stating to show how

absurd his deductions are. With regard to the "abundance of evidence." It would be a waste of time for me to quote passages from Industrial Unionist literature showing that they are not Anarchists, for I do not doubt that "Industrialist" could pick out passages to show me the contrary, as one could (assuming that FREEDOM did not definitely state that it is "a journal of Anarchist Communism") by an ingenious selection of passages show that FREEDOM was not an Anarchist paper. Failing, then, any definite statement as to whether Industrial Unionists are aiming at an Anarchical form of society, we have to judge by the general tone of their literature, and in this respect I declare there is "abundance of evidence" that they are not Anarchists. I would like to deal much more fully with "Industrialist," but considerations of space forbid.—Yours fraternally,

R. STUBBS.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—The reply to Comrade Stubbs by your correspondent "Industrialist," is one that may cause the uninformed to believe that Industrialists favour Anarchy. So confident does he appear to be regarding the favourable feeling of the Industrialists towards Anarchy, that one is inclined to believe he would welcome evidence to the contrary.

In showing that the opinions held by your correspondent "Industrialist" and myself differ upon the above-mentioned point, I do not intend to roam behind my experience, and must therefore limit my remarks to the Industrial Unionist movement found within the confines of the British Isles. If my memory serve me right, the first party to preach Industrial Unionism in the British Isles was the Socialist Labour Party. This party, up to date, is not anti-Parliamentary. Further remarks are not necessary to make it obvious that this quality of Industrial Unionist does not favour Anarchy. Owing to a difference of opinion on the Parliamentary question a split was effected within the ranks of the S.L.P., which produced the Industrial League, now known as the British section of the I.W.W. Although the League embraced the doctrine of anti-Parliamentarism, it was careful enough to so constitute itself that it is impossible for a member thereof to comply with the two doctrines,—that of the Industrial League and that of Anarchy. What could be more antagonistic to Anarchy than that part of the League's preamble which reads: "And recognising the absolute necessity of the Industrial Union," etc.? If, however, you join the League for the purposes mentioned by "Industrialist"—making it anti-Parliamentary, showing the fallacies of centralisation, etc.—the moment you commence your propaganda you will be convicted of either working by underhand methods or of being desirous of leading humanity back to the realms of the protozoa. If these remarks are not sufficient in showing that the British branch of Industrialists do not favour Anarchy, then, as a last remedy, I suggest the joining of the British section of the I.W.W., and thus prove the pudding by the eating thereof.

Being one who holds that Anarchy is scientific and depending largely for its adherents and support on the law of affinity, I am of opinion that more fruitful and harmonious results can be obtained by outside criticism than by breaking the aforesaid law, which involves the prostituting of ideals and principles, and becoming part of the organisation of "The Absolute Necessity of the Industrial Union Brethren." I hope these few remarks will cause "Industrialist" to commence an earnest inquiry into the position of the different assortments of Industrial Unionists to be found within the British Isles, the result of which may shatter his belief that Industrial Unionists favour Anarchy or the Anarchist.—I am, yours, etc.,

WHITE SLAVE.

TRADE UNIONISM AND LIBERTY.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR SIR,—To me authoritarianism is no less such even though exercised by an "Anarchist" (sic?) Communist, a Socialist Parliament, or an autocratic Tsar—ay, or even a Trade Union.

After reading your "Notes" on the front page of FREEDOM this month, and this being the season for conundrums, it occurred to me to try my hand at one. Here it is:—When is tyranny not tyranny? When practised by the Trade Unionist. For my part, I find myself compelled to stand up for fairplay for the non-Unionist as for the others. Of course, the multitude will execrate such a sentiment,—the crucifying, heretic-burning multitude. The Trade Union leader and his immediate supporters—mostly these latter aspirants to office—are as despotic and venal as your Asquiths, Roosevelts, Briands, Stolypins, or Mauras.

Your remarks re the cotton strike may make for Communism (I am no judge of Communism), but are irreconcilable with Anarchism. If one had met with them in *Justice* or the *Labour Leader*, they would have been quite in order. I can imagine the impatience with which you will have read the foregoing remarks, and can fancy you dismissing them from consideration as being mere "Tuckerism,"—the mad way of him with a weak case. Right through the piece we see it,—"heretic," "infidel," "Pro-Boer," "scab," etc. Why should we waste our time arguing with those less numerous than ourselves? Invent an ugly name for them and sweep them aside. It is so much easier than arguing, and leaves more time to argue with those stronger than ourselves, with whom we needs must. We would prefer to sweep them aside also; but seeing they are in the best position to do that kind of thing, and are continually proposing to resort to it, we must devote ourselves to showing them the brutal unreasonableness of such conduct.—Yours very sincerely,

ROBERT BINGHAM.

MOTHER EARTH.

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PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

BRISTOL.—To all our new-found comrades and friends, who so much welcomed and appreciated the lectures and propaganda of our comrade George Barrett, we extend a hearty invitation to our fortnightly lectures and discussions, further information of which can be had at Jack Flynn's, Newsagent, 19 The Haymarket. Ere this is in print we shall have had addresses from our comrades John Turner and C. Brewer, and shall be looking forward to lectures in February by comrades A. Despres and Mat Kavanaugh.

Although larger attendances at G. Barrett's lectures were expected by us youngsters, the oldsters with some experience of Anarchist propaganda were agreeably surprised. The manner in which the lectures were received, including the several outdoor addresses, showed a most encouraging appreciation of our comrade's fine spirit and logic, and gives us every reason to believe that many earnest friends, sick of the platitudes and shallowness of politicians and the emptiness of electioneering, will soon be amongst us, ardently desiring, understanding, and working for the Revolution instead of talking of its impossibilities and electing Governments to retard it. 'Tis now about four years since Barrett first made an incision in the "nationalisation of the means of production, distribution, and exchange" ideas of the State Socialists. Does not the logic of events since then fully justify his words: "Workers and fighters.... it is not your business to see that you are properly legislated for: that is the business of the exploiter. It is for you to free yourselves"? A. PLATTIN.

CARDIFF.—Comrade Barrett's visit here has been the cause of bringing together about a dozen comrades, and their activity in organising the meetings has culminated in the "Cardiff Anarchist Group." The lectures were most interesting and fairly well attended, some opposition being made by members of the new B.S.P., with which Barrett dealt in a very excellent way. As to their value as propaganda meetings, we are not yet in a position to estimate. Still, as far as making known the existence of an Anarchist movement in Cardiff is concerned, we were fairly successful, as we got short reports of both lectures in the local *Daily News*; the mouthpiece of Cardiff Liberalism. The members of the group have agreed to carry on propaganda work in the locality, and invite all sympathisers in Cardiff to attend the group meetings. M. HORSBURN.

EDINBURGH.—Although there is no outstanding feature to record since Barrett's visit, we have maintained our Sunday night meetings in good style, the platform being occupied on the different occasions by comrades Faulk, Armstrong, Davis, and Goldberg, J. S. Clark, S.L.P., and R. Lonie, Industrial Unionist. The literature does not go so well as we would wish, owing to the fact, no doubt, that we have no great variety to show; but that may be remedied now to some extent since the smoking concert for that purpose, which came off on the 13th, was a great success. We are not asleep either with regard to the Weekly Paper Fund. Those who put down their names as 10s. subscribers at 6d. a week have now collected 17s. 6d. This does not include the Wallyford Group. It will be seen, therefore, that we are at least alive; but there is great need for more active work. G. B.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday, the 21st, our comrade Mason gave a lecture on "Communism in Scotland," which was very interesting, but did not call forth many questions. However, we had a good discussion on Anarchist principles in general. The weather seems to affect most people, as our lectures are not very well attended; but to comrades in Glasgow we say, "Never mind the weather; come and help those who are doing their best to propagate the principles of Anarchy." At Maryhill there seems to be a growing interest in and a desire for information on this subject, and even when comrade McKay spoke on "Anarchy and What it Means," having long and heated discussion after, the audience seemed not to have had enough; but we will try to rectify that. On January 14 Hyndman spoke here to a large audience overflowing with the usual enthusiasm which his name calls forth. The Labour Party, with their habit of being in order, he soon disposed of; also pointing out that old-age pensions and similar palliatives were really no benefit. Using the simile of masters and slaves, he said that the better taskmaster was really worse for the slave, as he was more inclined to remain a slave, having fewer complaints. Making conditions a little better was not getting towards Socialism. After all, Hyndman's policy is to patch up government and create a benevolent despotism. Anarchy he counted not worth thinking of, and though several questions were asked from this point of view, they were shirked or distorted; but the fact of it being discussed at all shows that progress is being made.

Will all comrades who can possibly attend the Scottish Conference please let the secretary know? It will be held in Glasgow or Edinburgh. The place will be settled as soon as we know who wish to attend. Comrades in Ayr, Denny, Falkirk, Kilmarnock, and other places, please take notice.

The Group meets on Tuesdays at 8 p.m. in Clarion Rooms, 7 Holland Street. A. F.

HULL.—The newly formed Hull Group commenced its battle against the existing form of society by storming the stronghold of the Salem Debating Society. The weapon we carried with us, and upon which rested our hopes, was a paper entitled "On the Necessity of Direct Action." Those parts which treated of the fallacy of representation and existing Government caused no small stir in the enemy's camp. The opposition was keen, humorous, but at times unintelligent. The following are a few squibs hurled at the comrade in charge of the paper. Tyranny is not the true function of Government; the true function of Government is in the keeping of "law and order." Another of the opposition said we were not governed enough, and he favoured more government. Then came a real cracker when another rose to his full height and said we should have to wait for the arrival of a psychological moment before humanity could act in concert. He said this moment would never arrive; therefore he could not agree with us. He then proceeded to contradict his previous remarks by asking what we intended doing after the psychological moment had arrived and capitalist society had been overthrown. Our comrade having replied to the opposition, we left the seat of hostilities and returned to our different habitations, conscious that seed had been sown, some perhaps having fallen by the wayside, some among thorns and thistles, and possibly some on good ground. This our first battle ended, we recruit our strength in order to again enter the fray whenever and wherever Anarchist Communism is at stake. A. B.

MANCHESTER.—We believe a strong militant group can be formed here at once if the Anarchists will but show themselves worthy of the name by coming forward. This applies particularly to English-speaking Anarchists,—that is, Englishmen. I might add that we don't want men who drop in and of groups, but comrades ready to do all in their power for the movement, and by so doing prove the solidarity of the movement. If we can get but one dozen sound

comrades, we can carry on good propaganda, take over the sale of FREEDOM, and effect sales of literature, which is always in demand; in short, we can boom the movement. Too long have we slept; the Socialist may well sneer at us and say we are in the moon, when we make no show of doing anything.

Comrades, we shall have a long sleep after we are dead; let us prove we are alive by our energy. We have a room ready for group meetings; we only want the group formed and we will go right ahead. All Anarchists are requested to meet at the County Forum Restaurant, Manchester, on February 11, at 6.30, and we will get the initial step through. Comrade Seltzer will be there with myself, and we can easily be found by strangers, as Seltzer is well known there.

JACK BURROWS.

LIVERPOOL.—The Modern School held its annual social on January 16. A most enjoyable evening was spent among the fifty youngsters. Thanks are due to the East Liverpool B.S.P. for the use of its room, also to the various comrades who helped to make the evening a success. The elder comrades are meeting each week at Brownlow Hill on Tuesday evenings, which augurs well for the future. We regret to announce that the concert has, for the present, been left in abeyance.

DICK JAMES.

LONDON.

ISLINGTON.—The local Anarchist Communist Group have arranged to meet at Barnsbury Hall, Barnsbury Street, Upper Street, on Thursday, February 8, to consider future methods of propaganda.

R. HOOK.

Anarchist Communist Meetings in London.

Brixton—Rushcroft Road, Sundays, 7.30.

Fulham—Walham Green Church, Tuesdays, 8 p.m.

Hammersmith—The Grove, Sundays, 11.30 and 8.

Hyde Park—Sundays, 7.

Islington—Theberton Street, Upper Street, Sundays, 8 p.m.

Regent's Park—Sundays, 11.30. " " Thursdays, 8 p.m.

Victoria Park—Sundays, 11.30.

Woolwich—Beresford Square, Sundays, 11.30.

Bethnal Green Road—"Salmon and Ball," 7.30 p.m.

Speakers wishing to book up vacant dates, or willing to exchange dates, should write J. F. Tanner, 29 Beryl Road, Hammersmith, W.

Brotherhood Church, Southgate Road, N.—Thursday, Feb. 29, at 8.30 p.m., W. Ponder, "Anarchism." Admission free.

Edinburgh Anarchist Communists.—Meet at 7 p.m. every Sunday, at 142 High Street.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(January 5—31.)

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—W. M. S. 1s, R. Clarke 6d, H. Glasse 5s 3d, H. C. D. 2s.

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J. FLEET, 109 Upper Street, Islington, N.

SUGARMAN, 329A Mile End Road, E.

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

STANLEY'S, 30 Lime Street.

WM. MALCOLM, 70 Penton Street, Farnsworth Street.

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" " 132 Gairbraid Street, Maryhill.

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Sunderland.—G. BARKER, 126 Church Street, Monkwearmouth.

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Paris.—Kiosque, Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle, opposite La Menagère.

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New Zealand.—P. JOSEPHS, 43A Willis Street, Wellington

HUDDERSFIELD FREEDOM GROUP.

Comrade GEORGE BARRETT (of Glasgow) will lecture at the Market Cross on Saturday, February 3, at 8 p.m., on "Anarchy." On Sunday, February 4, in the Large Hall, Friendly and Trades Club, Northumberland Street, G. BARRETT will give a Lantern Lecture on "Recent Strikes," illustrating scenes in London, Liverpool, Manchester, and other places. Commence at 6.30. Collection to defray expenses.

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