

Freedom

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NOTES.

“War Against War.”

Gustave Hervé's welcome visit to England gave many the opportunity of hearing a very interesting lecture by him at Shoreditch Town Hall on October 21. The subject of his lecture is perhaps one of the most difficult problems of the moment that has to be dealt with. We who know how the Jingo spirit during the South African War infected the minds of those whom one might have felt sure would resist it, was a sad lesson which taught us how the war fever and patriotism destroy all sense of reason and justice. We think, therefore, that Hervé was quite right when he insisted that to make “war against war” it is essential, nay imperative, that all those who agree on this point should co-operate. Sinking all differences for the time being, Radicals, publicists, Socialists, Syndicalists, Anarchists, should unite for that end. And even so the work of fighting a Jingo press, of organising antimilitarist meetings, would be enormous. As Hervé would also put the General Strike and, if necessary, insurrection in the forefront, there would be quite enough to do for all sections of the advanced movement. It is for this reason we give extra space to the very interesting discussion between Hervé and Malatesta which we hope our readers will closely follow. In spite of differences of opinion between Hervé and the Anarchists, which we think were unreasonably emphasised by the latter during his lecture, it seems to us that the least courtesy due to him is a cordial welcome and a generous acknowledgment of the fine work he has done, for which, be it remembered, he has suffered persecution and imprisonment that alone should win our sympathy and respect.

Pistols and Politics.

We occasionally hear of very outrageous doings in connection with elections and political meetings, but the press does not report them as “outrages.” That expression is particularly reserved for troubles that arise with the Anarchists. In fact, if we are not much mistaken, these are the only people who ever commit “outrages” in the political sense. It is a kind of monopoly that the lovers of law and order have accorded us, just to prove how they, superior souls, adjust all their differences with sweet reasonableness. A Carson's sedition has such an aristocratic aroma about it that it becomes quite a different thing from the common type, and so escapes the law. In like manner, we suppose, the little dispute that lately arose between Liberals and Conservatives at the Central Park in Havana was quite a gentlemanly interchange of courtesies compared to the trouble between strikers and blacklegs, for instance, which is reported by the press as “dastardly and brutal conduct.” Perhaps these things are all a matter of what is called “sense of proportion.” But it certainly would appear on the face of it when Reuter can wire that at the end of “an immense outdoor political meeting” “hundreds of shots were fired,” and that “a number of people were killed and wounded,” a regard for the “law and order” these dear politicians love to preach to us, is somewhat lacking. Or may it be, perhaps, that after all that has been taught us about obedience and “peaceful methods,” our teachers are just as subject to feeling and passion as those they profess to despise?

The Flogging Mania.

We are glad to see that H. S. Salt, of the Humanitarian League, is again calling attention to the revival of the flogging mania in judicial circles. There can be no doubt that the advocacy of the lash is the answer of the brutal instinct to the

Report of the Prison Commissioners, wherein it was shown that sympathy and intelligence—in a word, humanitarianism—had, even in its small beginnings, begun to show excellent results. As this was proved not only by figures, but also by the practical observation of the Commissioners themselves, the floggers became alarmed lest their love of the lash should be overruled by reason. On this subject the *New Age* of October 24 prints some excellent notes in dealing with the hypocrisy of the White Slave Traffic Bill. This abominable traffic in human flesh is only one of the cancerous growths of Capitalism. Why, the *New Age* writer asks, should this particular offence be singled out for punishment by flogging? “On the scale of flogging for procurement,” he adds, “hanging and drawing are the least we can award to Government contractors paying girls 2½d. per pair for making policemen's trousers, and for the Government that permits it, for the bishops and archbishops who connive by silence at it, boiling in oil or some other sanctified punishment is only logical.” Here is the root of the evil: starvation wages and wretched, degrading life-conditions. Add to this the power of unscrupulous wealth, and the procurer is as inevitable as the corruption in a festering wound.

Science and Superstition.

Dr. Louis Sambon's discovery of an insect which attacks the nervous system and causes insanity is not only another victory for science, but is another argument in favour of a more enlightened and humane treatment of the mentally deficient. A small insect—a simulum—it is now known, is the cause of some forms of dementia which we may be sure in past generations led the ignorant and superstitious to regard the victim as one possessed by the evil spirit. It is quite possible, knowing as we do how insanity was regarded in the past, that some unfortunates have been tortured, and perhaps flogged to death, as the result of a bite of an insect! All this was possible in a priest-ridden past. To-day we have quite another danger in front of us. The legislating cranks, backed by a group of pseudo-scientists, are preparing a system that may lead to any abomination unless it is fought tooth and nail. Who could say, if this discovery had not been made, that some fine day a poor parent might not have been “sterilised” because its child had become demented through the bite of the simulum? This infamous Bill against the feeble-minded ought to have been met with a storm of indignation. As it is, we have but a few like Josiah Wedgwood who will raise an alarm against this class-cruelty of bourgeois lust of interference with the lives of the poor. May we soon discover the “insect” which is the cause of the morbid middle-class hatred of the poor. Is its name “privilege”?

The Futility of Punishment.

The relationship between crime and brutal punishment has a startling illustration in the present condition of things in the United States. Electrocution, with all its horrors; Judges who inflict unheard-of terms of penal servitude; a police system which is notorious for its brutality and corruption; above all, the horrible torture of the third degree—what is the result of this accumulation of horrors? Just what might have been expected—a saturation of the most desperate section of the population with the same spirit; and instead of prevention of crime, we read of an alarming increase. An item of news just to hand (October 28) tells us that in New York alone fourteen murders were reported in forty-eight hours! Rooseveltism at the top is reflected by ruffianism at the bottom, the connecting links being the whole administrative machinery of the law.

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

The Case of Gustave Hervé.

Considerable surprise and ill-feeling were created by the news that Hervé, the editor of the Paris *Guerre Sociale*, hitherto believed to be an uncompromising antipatriot, antimilitarist, and insurrectionist, was, since his recent release from prison, working on much more moderate lines, apparently renouncing his former opinions and methods. When he proposed to state his standpoint and to give his reasons to an immense Paris audience at the Salle Wagram (September 25), some denied him a hearing, and a great row ensued. He has now lectured in London (Shoreditch Town Hall), and also spent an evening at the Communist Club, Charlotte Street, explaining more intimately the reasons for his new attitude. The latter meeting really became a debate between Hervé and comrade Malatesta, both stating their case repeatedly at full length and fighting it out to the bitter end. As no notes were taken, I can only rapidly summarise the principal arguments, and am alone responsible for mistakes or omissions. To be fair to Hervé, his own writings should be consulted, mainly *La Guerre Sociale*, the preface to his book, "Mes Crimes" (My Crimes, or Eleven Years of Prison for Press Offences), published last winter, and the report of his Salle Wagram speech, "Notre Patrie" (Our Country). I shall first summarise this speech, which was the basis, though enlarged by many details, of the statement given at the Communist Club on October 24.

In his prison retreat, seeing social and Nationalist reaction on the rise, which only those who are blind do not see, he asked himself whether he had not unwittingly contributed towards this development by some mistakes on his part. He thinks now that certain strong language in which he had indulged was cunningly exploited by the bourgeois press to frighten people and prejudice them against Socialism, e.g., his dictum that the national flag belonged to the dunghheap, a remark which created such furious animosity against him. "Antipatriotism" also was an expression which to him meant that he denied any solidarity with feudal and bourgeois France, the country of the rich, of strike massacres and colonial brigandage; but it did not mean indifference towards revolutionary France, the country of the peasants' revolts, of the Great Revolution, and of so many other struggles for freedom. He wanted compulsory arbitration between States, even in questions affecting national honour; States refusing arbitration were to be placed outside the pale of humanity, and, in case of war, insurrection against them would be the most sacred duty.

He had always belonged to the Socialist Party, which meant to achieve its aims by the vote, if possible; by revolutionary action, if necessary. To oppose those Socialists who believed exclusively in Parliamentary means, he had formerly depreciated the vote; but he saw now that the Radical Party, brought into power by the vote, had wrung the school from the clergy and dissociated the Church from the State; after this, he ceased to believe in the absolute inefficiency of the vote to bring about reforms. A radical reform of military service might be obtained in a similar way, supported by the mass of peasant voters. A strong Socialist press might also be created by steady efforts.

No revolution, political or social, was ever victorious without the Army or against the Army (1789, 1830, 1848, the Commune, Portugal, China, Russia), hence the most urgent revolutionary need of the hour is the conquest of the Army. The social revolution will be made with the help of the Army, or it will not be made at all; new massacres will mark the new efforts. The General Strike is no more a panacea than the vote; it can create a revolutionary situation, it cannot carry it through. Hence he opposes those who preach desertion from the Army to all revolutionists. Hervé admits desertion only in the case of Syndicalists, etc., being threatened with the horrors of service in the penal settlements in Africa, as provided by Millerand's recent infamous law; in that case he cries openly to them: "Desert, desert, desert!" In all other cases revolutionists ought to serve in the Army and become as efficient as possible, to be able to give a good account of themselves on the day when the Army is to be used against the people.

At the Communist Club, Hervé explained that at the end of 1906, when in prison, he conceived the idea of a revolutionary organisation for real action on Blanquist lines, comprising Socialists, Anarchists, and Syndicalists, with ramifications in the Army. *La Guerre Sociale* was started, he and his fellow editors soon finding themselves in prison again. When liberated early in 1909, the time for action seemed to have come. "Mademoiselle Cisaille" (Miss Scissors) made her appearance during the postal strikes, cutting wires to her heart's desire. On the night of Ferrer's death, before the Spanish Embassy, the police got their heads broken as never before. Hervé was soon confronted again with prison, having taken up the defence of the victim of police infamy, Liabeuf. He tried, early in 1910, to form a distinct Revolutionary Party; but could not obtain the help of the Anarchists, as he was, from reasons to be explained, opposed to an anti-electioneering propaganda at the forthcoming General Election. The railway strike found him already in prison (Autumn, 1910); he was cut off from all communications for a week or so, whilst otherwise during all his prison years he was, of course, as a French political prisoner, in full and continuous contact with his friends, writing for his paper, etc.; he even managed (I should like to add) to commit new offences, undergo new trials, have years added to

his sentence, etc., all whilst in prison, where indeed, as nothing in the way of freedom could be taken away from him, he behaved as the freest man in France. The failure of the railway strike made him reflect; the growing wave of Caesarism, of Governmental Nationalism, added cause for reflection; and he is now determined to use those methods described in his Salle Wagram speech.

He will not advocate the vote, nor become a candidate himself, an opportunity so often offered to him, and which would have saved him from prison; but he will ignore this question, and thus have immense Socialist audiences which formerly boycotted him. The peasants in the Yonne department, in particular, would never understand that they must not vote for Socialists, and thus permit the bourgeois to carry the elections; this did not prevent them seeing the necessity of revolutionary action. He also deplores the division of antimonarchical forces in countries like Russia or Spain, where the maintenance of Tsarism and Alfonsism is due to the absolute unwillingness of Socialists, Republicans, and Anarchists to co-operate temporarily for the downfall of monarchy.

Enough has been said to describe Hervé's views, which he put forward, amidst interruptions, in a serene, often good-natured way.

Malatesta opposed him in several long speeches brimming with recollections of his own revolutionary career, past and present. His main point was the absolute incompatibility of propaganda for the vote and the preparation of revolutionary action at the same time. Those who believe in the vote will always wait to see its effects, and never resort to revolutionary action. Again, co-operation with other parties, Socialists and Republicans, has been tried over and over again in Italy and Spain, and always failed, the bourgeois deserting the common cause. Malatesta was strongly influenced by the case of Andrea Costa, once the pride of the Italian Internationalists (who all exclusively prepared insurrectionary movements, and whose plain language was well understood even by the peasants and soldiers, without special diplomatic moves for their use). Costa's conversion to Parliamentarism at the end of the "seventies" did much harm to the Italian movement. Malatesta had also witnessed, about 1880, in Paris, the beginnings of French Parliamentarian Socialism, when its initiators apparently only accepted it as a means of propaganda and protest, whilst long since, like Costa, they were completely absorbed by it (*vide* the Labour Party). All this, said Malatesta, augured very badly for Hervé's evolution, of which Hervé himself saw only the beginning, whilst the example of so many others is there to show where such efforts to compromise and to conciliate things which cannot be conciliated usually lead.

Blanqui and Mazzini both adopted revolutionary means exclusively; they did not think of resorting to Parliamentarism at the same time. Desertion is no general remedy, of course. If all Italian, all French, all Spanish revolutionists deserted, in ten years they would all be outside their own country, powerless exiles. But special military propaganda in Hervé's case is useless; the Army will always be the enemy; and Portugal and Turkey were not examples which would interest Anarchists and the workers. Hervé's niceties about the flag of Valmy as different from that of Wagram were historic trifles; what matters is the flag of the present Army which shoots down strikers and serves for colonial conquests—this flag under all conditions belonged to a worse place even than the dunghheap.

Hervé could not see Malatesta's point, and refused to be stuck on the horns of his dilemma: vote or insurrection, ballot or bullet. He explained his standpoint by practical references to the situation in France, and here the discussion practically ends. Hervé *not* storming Malatesta's abstract position, and Malatesta *not* storming Hervé's practical position, both may claim a victory, Malatesta brilliantly upholding theory, Hervé pluckily upholding practice. As Hervé is a Socialist, and Malatesta an Anarchist, no other issue of the struggle was possible. The discussion was, indeed, full of interest, and must have made the audience think for themselves. May I be permitted to add some personal reflections to this very imperfect report?

* * * * *

As an Anarchist, I differ entirely from Hervé's social ideal, which coincides with that of many Syndicalists, viz., an industrial Parliament of the delegates of all Syndicates constituted for production and distribution, as the supreme authority of a new society. I consider also that the effort recently made by an Anarchist writer of renown, Charles Albert, to find the alleged common ground between Anarchists and Authoritarian Socialists is a failure (*vide* Charles Albert et Jean Duchêne, "Le socialisme révolutionnaire: son terrain, son action et son but," Paris, 1912, reprinted from *La Guerre Sociale*). But that does not prevent me from seeing that there is room for Hervé's activity even as modified at present, because there are large numbers of people to whom this kind of action appeals, and no other one. It does not matter whether I like or dislike this fact; I have to recognise it.

Seen in the dark, there seems to be but darkness and light; seen in the light of day, there are seven colours and an endless variety of intermediate shades between them; so are men. They are not, for the greater part, cast-iron individualities of definite, unalterable opinions. The Socialist movement, including the Anarchist, is so young that we can retrace most of its history; starting from very simple conceptions, unalterable tenets, constituting schools or sects, by and by it became broader, more differentiated, which is a splendid sign of vitality. Between the Anarchist and the Parliamentarian Social Democrat, the two extremes, there is now an immense intermediate field occupied by Syndicalists and revolutionary Socialists. Anarchists who strictly

confine themselves to Anarchist propaganda use this field as a hunting-ground for new converts, and they are right. But does this mean that those who are inaccessible to this propaganda are to be considered as mere refuse? We are not so critical where Syndicalists are concerned; these are all welcome, and yet the most revolutionary Syndicalist constantly wavers between legal and illegal action. He accepts anything that is given to him by law, as this saves personal effort and energy for other struggles which have to be fought by direct action of some kind. Is he any the worse for it? He cannot choose his methods, or he will be a dogmatical failure. In the same way endless numbers of Socialists cast a vote when occasion arises, and are ready for action of another kind if opportunity offers; and as they, as workers, practically coincide with the Syndicalists, they have plenty of use for direct action, and act accordingly.

If I, as an Anarchist, have little taste to have anything to do with these less advanced people, I am the more glad if anybody with less prejudice, like Hervé, does this work of inspiring revolutionary feelings in this non-described mass which wavers between the poles of Social Democracy and Anarchism. Hervé has gone so far, at other times, in the revolutionary direction that I see no reason to fight and destroy him because he chooses to walk a little in the other direction. As a Socialist (who never pretended to be an Anarchist), it is his right to do so. His reasons are not difficult to see; no one had the ear of the masses and their sympathy in recent years like he had; no one addressed such bold appeals to revolt as he did; yet he was not listened to sufficiently, everything came to a standstill, or is going back, unfortunately. To go further ahead would more and more isolate him, and so he tries his new tactics—the result remains to be seen. Hervé, however, has so much stood alone and acted by himself that I doubt whether he has the slightest desire to merge into any of the old parties; this would be an act of self-destruction from which commonsense will preserve him.

There is this motive underlying Hervé's present action, that he really considers everything in France threatened by the present Nationalist and perhaps forthcoming monarchical reaction. Briand, the Minister, is supposed to be working for Victor Bonaparte. Millerand, the old Boulangist and Minister of War, is stirring up Nationalism, fostering the spirit of militarism as no one ever did since the days of the Empire. It is very significant that the noisy monarchist propaganda (*camelots du roi*) is almost silent under the present Ministry, which does sufficient work to undermine the Republic from within. Many people are blind to this, or play with the fire. Syndicalists, to emphasise their hostility to the Government, often pretend to be indifferent as to a monarchical restoration. I know that they are not; but all the same these inconsiderate remarks prepare the ground for the working classes' abstention in the case of a *coup d'état*, as they did abstain, prepared by almost similar manoeuvres, in December, 1851. The Clericals do what they can to bring on this monarchical restoration, to take revenge for their elimination from education so far as this goes. Hervé is feeling all this strongly, and wishes to make the masses understand this before everything—Socialism, Syndicalism, Anarchism—is crushed by a triumphant military and clerical monarchy. He is really the only man who can do this; the Socialist Deputies are discredited as "15,000-francs-salary-people"; the Syndicalists are absorbed by their daily struggle, or ignore dogmatically anything outside of economics; the Anarchists will not go out of their way to save the State, even if worse were to come. Hervé alone tackles this task, which all others refuse to handle, and which is vital to all.

Is it then wise to aim to destroy him? Up till now his good humour has not left him, and he speaks of Anarchism with that sympathy and respect which almost all other Socialists known in public life refuse to it. Black and white are the colours of dead books; life is more diverse and brighter coloured than books and pamphlets; and there is room for all. Anarchists ought to be the first to admit this.

October 30, 1912.

M. N.

THE SON OF MAN.

(With acknowledgments to Wilde's "Soul of Man under Socialism.")

Of old thou saidst "The truth shall make you free,"
And for the things that unto thee seemed true
Didst strive—till Roman fierce and subtle Jew
Thy doctrines feared, and joined in murdering thee.

How could thy tenets find affinity
With aims of conquering race or priestly crew?
Thy word to Man, the leagued oppressors knew,
Was *Seek not Self but Personality*.

O friend to outcasts lone and harlots sad,
O comrade of the toilers overwrought,
O tender soul who taught the flower-like life!

"They preach thy words who ne'er thy spirit had,
Whilst in their lives those words they set at nought:
And still men pant in fratricidal strife!

T. S.

COMMUNISM.

Communism bases itself upon the natural equality of men in the domain of right and justice. Considering man as a social being, it regards mankind as constituting one compact whole, with natural needs, sentiments, and sympathies common to its individual members. Refusing to qualify any member of the human family by any higher title than that of man, and unwilling to deny to any their part in the great human brotherhood, Communism unhesitatingly proclaims the common and equal rights as well as duties of all.

The natural rights of man may be summed up in the right to existence, the right to happiness, and the right to develop mental and bodily faculties to the fullest extent possible; while to these rights there corresponds a duty, obligatory on all, of labouring according to capacities and opportunities for the common welfare and advancement. Thus Communism takes utility for its basis of right; it aims at the good of all; and in place of the cynical adage, "Everyone for himself, and God for us all," which does but re-echo the ignoble sentiment expressed in the well-known saying, "The devil take the hindmost," it proposes as the motto of regenerated humanity, "Each for all, and all for everyone."

The right to a happy existence has been mentioned above, but, as the right to anything implies the right to the means necessary for securing it, and as in the case in point these means are to be found in the use and enjoyment of the gifts of nature, and of the products of industry, it follows that all have the right to share in both, the right of each individual being limited only by the equal right of others. Consequently all monopoly of goods by individuals is at variance with the demands of strict justice, whether these goods be, like the land, the free gift of Nature to all, in which case such monopoly is robbery, or whether they be the fruit of skill or industry, in which case it is opposed to the duty, which each owes to his neighbour, of working, not for his own exclusive advantage, but for the common benefit.

It may be said, in opposition to what has been here advanced, that Nature herself is not an impartial mother; that inequality, not equality, is her rule, and that the weaker must ever yield to their more powerful brethren. Such an argument, however, when applied for the purpose of defending social inequality, loses much of its force when we consider that few animals prey upon individuals of their own species; while those of many kinds, so far from even competing with their fellows to the injury of the latter, actually share with them the results of their own industry, and, however superior they may be in individual powers, are content to use them for the general welfare and defence. The argument, furthermore, overlooks the gift of reason, which exalts man above other animated beings. Reason, which teaches us that it is unjust that any should be required to suffer for no moral fault of their own, prompts to the removal of such injustice by suggesting that the harmonious co-operation which we admire among animals of certain species, such as the bee, the ant, and the beaver, and which is with them the result of instinct, may with immense advantage be introduced into human affairs by an intelligent and humane reorganisation of society. Nevertheless, the argument drawn from the difference existing between individual capacities is not without force when viewed in relation to the present chaotic condition of society, for it is certainly a glaring anomaly that one who is superior in natural gifts should be possessed of less influence than another morally and mentally inferior, yet wielding vastly greater power for good or ill through a blind freak of fortune, arbitrarily conferring rank or wealth by the accident of birth or the success of a lucky speculation.

It has also been argued that "Communism means that it is incumbent on the strong and industrious to protect the weak and support the idle"; but why should the strong and industrious be classed together on the one hand, and the weak and idle on the other? Have we not robust and lusty idleness, and industriously toiling debility in far more frequent contrast before our eyes? I repudiate as much as anyone the idea that the idle may live upon the workers, and should regard such drones as imitators of the rich of to-day. There would, however, be this noteworthy difference between them: our aristos and bourgeois can and do enforce their impudent claims, whereas in the future society the loafers (supposing there should still be any in times when work will be a pleasure) will be unable to do anything of the sort; the workers will take good care of that. I affirm the duty of the strong to help the weak, and I do so on the ground of humanity and consequently of justice; but I also maintain it on the score of policy and on behalf of the strong themselves, because all men are weak at some period of their lives, and liable to become so at any time. Communism does not ask a man to starve himself to feed others, but it urges him to give what he needs less to those who need it more; it does not, however, call this charity, but duty, justice, and equality.

Each man by virtue of his existence on this planet is entitled to a share in all Nature's present gifts and in all the advantages bequeathed by past generations, and thus becomes a partner with all others possessing the same right. "To each according to his needs, from each according to his abilities."

HENRY GLASSE.

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Syndicalism—A Working-Class Conception of Socialism.

FREEDOM has on several occasions dealt with Syndicalism, with its origin and meaning; but this movement is taking such an important development, its formulas on social justice and the economic struggle are so striking and simple, that every Anarchist and Socialist, as well as every Trade Unionist, must give his full attention to its study and propagation. For this reason we return once again to the subject.

French Syndicalism, which in reality is the origin of the international Syndicalist movement, formulates its aims in the statutes of the French Confederation of Labour as follows:—

1. To organise the wage-earners for the defence of their moral and material, their economic and professional interests.
2. To organise, outside all political parties, all the workers conscious of the struggle for the abolition of the wage system and employers.

These two paragraphs contain the fundamental claims of Socialism, without distinction of school or party; and every member of a Socialist party, whether Social Democratic, Anarchist, or other, can fully accept them.

Under this banner French Syndicalism in less than fifteen years has united over 600,000 members, 400,000 of whom are paying their contributions to the Confederation of Labour. This huge army of Syndicalists is organised on the lines of autonomy of the respective Syndicates and their federations, whether local or national. The same autonomy extends to each individual member, who outside his Syndicate is entirely free in his political conceptions, and can belong to any political party for Parliamentary or municipal elections; but nobody has the right to take part in them in his capacity as a Syndicalist or as a member of a Syndicalist administration.

The fundamental formula of Syndicalism, with its exclusion of Parliamentary action, defines clearly its place among existing Socialist and Anarchist parties. It is evident that Syndicalism cannot be put under the banner of Social Democracy or any other Parliamentary party. On the other side, we cannot say that these formulas are purely Anarchistic, because, as we saw, Syndicalism allows its members individually to take part in electoral agitation; whilst Anarchism obliges its followers not only to abstain from working in elections, but even to expose the futility of Parliamentary legislation. This point must be kept clearly in mind.

Beside the definition of aims and tactics, Syndicalism evolved a real working men's conception of a future society where production will be organised and controlled by the autonomous federations of syndicates of producers.

From this short exposition of Syndicalist aims it is evident that though Syndicalism cannot be ranged under any of the existing Socialist parties, the members of all those parties, if sincere Socialists, Revolutionists, and honest Trade Unionists, can fight together in a Syndicalist organisation for their social and economic emancipation. This is all the more true as Syndicalism not only unites the workers in the struggle against the individual capitalist master or company, but also against the municipality or State as employers of labour.

As tactics of the daily fight against all forms of exploitation, Syndicalism adopted so-called direct action in opposition to the indirect action of Parliamentary legislation, the weapon being the strike in all its forms—including the general strike of all trades of the whole country.

This definition of tactics was not a dead letter. The history of the last ten years in France shows a new spirit in the working-class movement. We recall only the strike for an eight-hour day in 1906, organised by the Confederation of Labour, which brought the Syndicalists in collision with the Government; the building strike in Paris, the strikes of the postal employees, of the railwaymen, and of the seamen and dockers. All these strikes were remarkable for their revolutionary character and the wonderful solidarity among the workers all over France. This new spirit affected even the State officials, and the Syndicates of the railway men and the postal employees, and recently the Teachers' Union, affiliated themselves to the Confederation of Labour, in spite of the persecution by the Government.

But Syndicalism not only brought a new life into the economic struggle; instead of the old-fashioned Trade Unionism with its sectional strikes, it propagated the industrial organisation of the workers, so that in case of a strike in a trade the workers of the whole industry to which that trade belongs will fight together. For instance, in the building industry many trades are concerned; formerly each Trade Union, as that of the bricklayers, masons, carpenters, etc., would fight each for its own demands; whilst according to the Syndicalist conception, all those trades in the building industry will be federated and make common cause for each to obtain their claims.

If we remember its Socialistic aims, its concentration on the economic struggle, its frankly revolutionary spirit, we must admit that Syndicalism has succeeded in creating not only a powerful weapon for social and economic emancipation, but also a new mode of organisation capable of embracing all the producing classes.

Syndicalism also rendered good service in breaking up the deadly stupefaction and reaction of Parliamentarism and legalism which for forty years has paralysed the Socialist movement of Europe. In the "sixties" of last century Socialism stirred the working classes, especially of France and England, to great activity. The English Trade Unionists at that time were not yet legalised, and they fought for their rights by demonstrations, riots, and strikes until, helped by advanced Liberals, such as John Stuart Mill, Frederic Harrison, and others, they obtained the legal recognition of their Unions. The suffrage was extended, and the idea of Parliamentary Labour representation was suggested for the first time (see J. S. Mill's letter to Odger in the *Beehive*) in 1870.

From that time the tactics of direct economic struggle were little by little abandoned; respectability and legality became the watchwords of the Trade Union leaders. Parliamentary representatives of Labour continuously increased in number, and the influence of the officials and leaders of organised Labour began to dominate. Instead of fighting by strikes, the idea and practice of arbitration grew apace; the leaders began even to praise compulsory arbitration in Labour conflicts, and it was realised in the young democratic English colonies, Australia and New Zealand. The energy of the working classes in the economic struggle diminished, and consequently in many branches of work advantages which had been won by fighting were lost, and wages lowered. With growing Parliamentarism, "Trade Union activities were slackened down.....the energies of some Unions were put nearly entirely into Parliamentary and political channels," says W. C. Anderson, in the *Socialist Review*, October, 1911.

At the same time, in 1870, the Franco-German War broke out, the terrible suppression of the Paris Commune followed, and the finest representatives of the French Socialist workers were massacred. France, humiliated by disasters, was oppressed for the following ten years by a military and clerical reaction. The discouraged survivors of the Commune, some of them Socialists, instead of the direct economic struggle, adopted legal Parliamentary tactics. The so-called "Parti Socialiste," with its "programme minimum," began to develop and to claim the monopoly of Socialism, systematically opposing any independent working-class organisation for economic direct action. At the beginning the Syndicalist movement found its greatest enemies not so much among the employers or authorities as among those would-be Socialist Parliamentarians, with their formula, "by legal Parliamentary political action to arrive at a social transformation."

The best-known French Socialist leaders, as Guesde, Vaillant, Jaurès, and even the revolutionary Hervé, always assert that the Socialist side of the Syndicalist programme has been taken from them. But if we compare Syndicalist formulas with any Socialist or Radical schools we find that if they are related to any it is with the great French peasant Socialist, J. P. Proudhon, who in his "L'Idée Generale de la

Revolution" says, "to melt, to merge, to dissolve the political or governmental system into an economic one by reducing, simplifying, decentralising, and abolishing one after the other all the parts of the enormous machine called Government or State."

On the other hand, the device of the Parliamentary Socialist, "by political action to arrive at a social transformation," is nearly word by word a repetition of the Radical creed before the Revolution of 1848, as expressed by the great Radical leader, Ledru-Rollin, the ardent advocate of universal suffrage, which he introduced during the Revolution of 1848: "The tendencies distinguishing the democratic party from others are that it strives to arrive by politics at a social transformation."

As the origin of the ideas of French Syndicalism can be traced to Proudhon, those of English Syndicalism can be directly attributed to Robert Owen and the Owenite movement (1825-40). The Owenites understood quite well that the so-called Labour legislation and political reforms, as insurance against accidents, co-partnership, etc., were palliatives, as Thompson said in his "Labour Rewarded" (1827). From whom the Owenites expected the real solution of the social problem, may be seen from the following words of Thompson:—"Industrious classes.....whose voice has never been consulted in regulating their destinies, are now learning their own interests and their importance as rational beings; they will soon speak out; and thenceforward they alone will regulate human affairs, essentially their affairs."

Robert Owen's declaration at a great meeting in 1833 was as categorical and clear: "The source of wealth is labour. Wealth will remain in the hands of the workers when they act in concert to this end."

We wish the newly started English Syndicalist movement the same success as was enjoyed by the Owenite movement at that period, when the Owenite General Union of Productive Classes had more than 500,000 members, among whom were many agricultural labourers' Unions, as well as working women's organisations.

But Proudhon's Mutualism, as well as the Owenite movement, were diverted from their economic action by political movements, as, for instance, Chartism. This will not be the case with Syndicalism, with its direct action against Capitalism and the State. To act against the State means to attack, to destroy its political institutions, and to substitute for the State organisation the Industrial Unions of the producing classes.

The Eleventh of November, 1887.

By LUCY E. PARSONS.

The Eleventh of November has become a day of international importance, cherished in the hearts of all true lovers of liberty as a day of martyrdom. On this day were offered upon the cruel gallows-tree martyrs as true to their high ideals as were ever sacrificed in any age.

The writer will assume that the present generation is but superficially informed regarding the details that led up to the Eleventh of November, for in this busy age twenty-five years are a long time to remember the details of any event, however important.

In 1886 the working class of America for the first time struck for the reduction of the hours of daily toil to eight per day. It was a great strike. Chicago was the storm-centre of that strike because of the activities of the martyrs of the Eleventh of November, 1887.

The working class practically tied up the city of Chicago, Illinois, for three days. On the afternoon of May 3, 1886, the police shot several strikers and clubbed many most brutally. The next evening, May 4, the historic Haymarket meeting was held. This meeting was absolutely peaceable and quiet. The Mayor of Chicago, who was present, subsequently took the stand as the first witness for the defence at the trial, and gave the following testimony:—"I went to the meeting for the purpose of dispersing it, in case I should feel it necessary for the safety of the city.....There was no suggestion made by either of the speakers looking toward the calling for immediate use of force or violence towards any person that night; if there had been, I should have dispersed them at once. I went to the police station during Parsons' speech, and I stated to Captain Bonfield that I thought the speeches were about over; that nothing had occurred or looked likely to occur to require interference, and that he had better issue orders to his reserves at the stations to go home. Bonfield replied that he had reached the same conclusion from reports brought to him.During my attendance I saw no weapons at all upon any person.In listening to the speeches, I concluded that it was not an organisation to destroy property. After listening a little longer, I went home." This extract is here given from the mayor's testimony because this meeting is referred to very often, even by radicals, as the "Haymarket Riot."

Had the inspector of police obeyed the mayor's orders there would

have been no trouble. Instead, as soon as the mayor left, the inspector rushed a company of blue-coats to the meeting; they began clubbing the men and women and scattering them in every direction. Upon this onrush of the police, some one threw a bomb. Who threw that bomb, no one to this day knows, except he who threw it. He has never been identified, never been arrested, consequently could never have been tried; but my husband and his comrades were put to death on November 11, 1887, as co-conspirators with the bomb-thrower. Our comrades were not murdered by the State because they had any connection with the bomb-throwing, but because they had been active in organising the wage-slaves of America thirty years ago. The capitalist class didn't want to find the bomb-thrower; they foolishly believed that by putting to death the active spirits of the Labour movement of that time, they could frighten the working class back to their slavery.

The so-called trial, which began on June 21, was the greatest travesty of justice of modern times. The bailiff who selected the jury, a creature named Ryce, boasted thus:—"I am managing this case, and I know what I am about. These fellows [our comrades] are going to hang as certain as death. I am calling such men as the defendants will have to challenge peremptorily and waste their time and challenges. Then they will have to take such jurymen as the prosecution wants."

The jury that tried the case were out less than three hours. They left the court-room after four o'clock on August 23, and before seven o'clock had reached their astounding verdict, sending seven men to the gallows and the eighth man to the penitentiary for fifteen years. The trial had lasted some sixty-three days. Think of the mass of testimony that the jury would have had to go over in order to give them even the semblance of a fair trial. Then think of the audacity of a jury being out less than three hours, and of the brutality of a community putting men to death on such a verdict, and never allowing them a new trial!

Albert R. Parsons, my husband, never was arrested. On May 5, the day after the Haymarket meeting, when he saw the men with whom he had been organising Labour for the past ten years of his life being arrested and thrown into prison, and treated generally as criminals, he left Chicago. On the day the trial began he walked into the court-room, unrecognised by the police and detectives, and surrendered himself, he having been indicted during his absence, and a reward of \$5,000 having been offered for his arrest. He asked the Court to grant him a fair trial that he might prove his absolute innocence. He was never granted the shadow of a fair and impartial trial, and was put to death with the rest of his comrades.

The men were asked if they had anything to say as to why sentence of death should not be passed upon them, and one after the other they arose in the court-room on the days of October 7, 8 and 9, 1886, and delivered their now famous speeches asking for a new trial. They called the judge's attention to the fact that the leading capitalistic paper in Chicago had opened up its columns to receive subscriptions to a fund of \$100,000 to be paid the jury as a present for the verdict it had rendered against them. But they were never granted a new trial. They were, instead, railroaded to the gallows at the command of the Money Power.

There could be no other result in a matter that had already been fixed in advance. On October 10 the infamous Judge "Jeffries" gave out his reasons for denying a new trial, and afterwards sentenced them to death. No more remarkable scene than that could well be imagined. The hot, stifling court-room, crammed to its utmost capacity by an eager crowd, quite in sympathy with the capitalistic ideas, and breaking at times into clapping, which was idly and hypocritically repressed by the only too gratified Court. The little, ugly, hard-visaged judge, with nut-cracker bald head and cunning eyes, one could fancy his tender mercies—if ever they existed—dried up and long since fallen to dust. Then the coarse, brutal State's attorney, with the ferocious howl of an infuriated, blood-hungry wild beast, who continually bellowed for the lives of the men before him. And the little cunning, red-headed lawyer, who made the most telling speech that the State gave out, a cruel, crafty effort that misrepresented everything absolutely, and did it so foxily that each point drew blood like the slash of a claw.

Forever will live in the minds' eyes of those who had the sad privilege of witnessing this strange and terrible scene, the calm and noble countenances of the accused, who showed no feeling except when an occasional flicker of fine scorn passed over their countenances as they sat and heard their every act, deed, thought, meaning, however innocent, misrepresented and twisted, and their lives going to certain destruction at the hands of their enemies' tools and minions. All the way through, and especially on the last day, detectives, police, plain-clothes men, and others of that ilk, filled the court-room. When the sentence of death was being pronounced, these fellows stood up and pointed their revolvers right into the faces of our comrades, evidently fearing an attempt at rescue on the part of friends, on this the last appearance of the prisoners outside the gaol. But no such attempt was made, and sentence was passed, the date of the execution being set for December 3. One instant to give a passing hand-shake to sorrowing relatives and indignant friends, and they were marched back again to their dungeons.

Then began the long, tedious period that lasted for over a year, our comrades languishing in their living tombs. The attorneys for the defence began occupying themselves with their preparations for taking the case to the Illinois Supreme Court, and on November 25 an appeal was made to a judge of that body, who granted a supersedeas and

admitted that error had been made. Many friends believed that this meant that our comrades would eventually walk out free men, but those who had seen the working of the trial knew better. They knew that the supersedeas, as well as every other step of the proceedings, was carefully taken with a view to giving the world an idea of the "impartiality" of the absolutely hellish conspiracy, the animus of which was to do away with certain Labour leaders whose intelligence, honesty, and fearlessness had made them objects of the fear and hate of the capitalistic "Robber-Baron" element.

This appeal went to the Illinois Supreme Court on March 18, had the same hypocritical examination, the "honourable" judges deciding that no errors had been made of any gravity, and the decision of the lower court was sustained, the day of execution being again set, this time for November 11, 1887.

So month after month dragged along, our comrades suffering acutely for want of exercise and fresh air—when the old gaol was subsequently torn down to make way for a new one, a black lake of putrid filth was found, fully explaining why our comrades had their teeth decay and fall out. The relatives, friends, the Defence Committee, and many persons of recognised position, writers, lecturers, and poets, held meetings, distributed circulars and brochures, and wrote articles for the radical press—the capitalistic press was solidly closed against one word of the truth—and the public would have finally seen at least something of what was being done had not the police, ever vigilant in their hate, counteracted it all by "finding" bombs at regular intervals, under side-walks, in alleys, etc. Made by the police themselves, placed there in the night, these bombs were solemnly "found" in the morning, and served as the subject of blazing editorials, and solemn life-sized pictures in the leading capitalistic papers, for the hirelings of the high and mighty scoundrels who were putting through this judicial murder fully meant to so befuddle the public on facts as to get its backing and consent.

In the autumn the attorneys for the defence took the case to the United States Supreme Court. These scoundrelly big-wigs, in solemn conclave, decided that no Constitutional right had been violated, although two of the main points in the Constitution had been grossly trodden under foot—namely, the right to free speech and free assembly at the Haymarket meeting, and the right to a free and impartial trial at the hands of the law, which was absolutely wanting. It is a matter of conjecture as to how much capitalist gold went to animate that decision.

Finally, at the last moment, an appeal was made to the Governor for executive clemency. This meant a sort of pilgrimage to the city of Springfield by hundreds of persons, including scores of friends and some of the relatives. Thousands of others wrote letters, our comrades themselves, except in the cases of Fielden and Schwab, positively refusing to admit that they had committed any misdemeanour, or to ask for any mercy. They protested that they wished merely for justice.

The city was at this time in a state of martial law. Several regiments were camped with cannon close to the City Hall, and sleuths and armed police were everywhere.

Our comrades in the meantime were subjected to every outrage and humiliation. Their clothing and even their persons were continually searched; the daily papers were denied them; they were no longer allowed the freedom of the corridors for a moment's exercise; relatives and friends no longer admitted to see them. They were even forced to the horrid task of willing their bodies to their families, to keep them from being desecrated by the police, after death.

The weather had turned very cold, and those members of the families who had not gone to Springfield gathered in a pitiful group in the corridor of the gaol vestibule, and, beginning in the early morning, begged for a last word of farewell with their loved ones. This was flatly denied, and all the livelong terrible day these people, mostly women, had to stand in the bitter cold and witness the preparations for the execution. At midnight a very few of the relatives were taken in, one at a time, by a turnkey, with a lantern in his left hand and a revolver in the other. After a few seconds of agonised parting, each poor woman was marched back and left in the dark corridor.

The decision of the Governor was not announced until after midnight, in order to keep down any attempt at rescue by friends and sympathisers. The Governor simply refused interference, except in the cases of Schwab and Fielden, who received life-sentences in the penitentiary. (Afterwards they were pardoned).

The morning of the 11th found our dear comrades composed, smiling, noble, firm without bravado. I, who had been denied admission on Thursday evening, went again in the morning, accompanied by a woman friend and comrade and my two children, to say a last farewell to my beloved husband, and that the children might have a father's blessing and last remembrance. A cordon of police armed with Winchester's surrounded the gaol. Pressing against this was a crowd of thousands of persons. To one policeman after another I appealed without effect, until one told us to come around the corner and he would let us in, which he proceeded to do by hustling us into a patrol wagon and taking us to the station-house, where we were stripped naked, searched, and locked up all day, until three in the afternoon—that is, three hours after the execution. The city was in the hands of the people and drunken police. The rich men had gone away for a few days' vacation, terrorised by their own black consciences.

The execution itself was put through as swiftly as possible. Our

comrades were not permitted the usual speech accorded doomed men. They had, however, foreseen this, and each had prepared a sentence to express his last feelings. This they said just as the caps were being adjusted. Their clear voices rang out in those sentences now become classics. Let us pass over the agonising scenes at the homes of the men, when wives, children, mothers, sisters, brothers, friends, received back the bodies of their dear ones, from whom life had been crushed, and all only because they dared to tell the workers the simple truth.

On Sunday morning, November 14, the funeral took place, and no more remarkable sight will ever be witnessed than that procession of countless thousands that filed past the dead as they lay in their homes, and then the procession of five black hearses that passed through the city, accompanied by bands playing dirges and carriages bearing the friends and sympathisers. Past the offices of the newspapers that Parsons and Spies had edited, to the North-Western train in waiting, went the cortege, which bore them to Waldheim Cemetery. The streets along which this remarkable procession wended its way were solidly packed with human faces, and as the hearses passed hats were taken off by thousands, instinctively as it were. They did not know it, but they somehow felt that they were in the presence of great dead who had died nobly.

At the cemetery a way had to be cleared through the dense throng for the procession. Four addresses were made in English and German, the most notable being the oration pronounced by Captain Black, leading attorney for the defence. And so beneath mountains of floral offerings, before sorrowing relatives and friends, all that was left of our beloved comrades was consigned to their last resting place on the banks of the Desplaines River.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Italy.

At Bologna a great protest meeting was held in favour of political prisoners. The meeting had scarcely begun when the police charged the crowd and arrested about twenty persons. The meeting was dissolved. The majority of the arrested were soon liberated, but five were detained, amongst them being the secretary of the Trades Council, and a member of the National Committee of Direct Action. These five prisoners claimed their right to be provisionally liberated, and when this was refused, they entered upon a hunger strike. After five days their lawyer was summoned, and found them still resolute. Their first question, in a feeble and hoarse whisper, was as to whether the workers were continuing their resistance.

Among the political prisoners in whose favour the meeting was held is Maria Rygier. Her life-story is remarkable for the devotion she has shown to the cause of the suffering people. When she was a young girl she turned her back on a future of luxury and happiness, and with the full force of her enthusiastic temperament threw herself into the fight of the oppressed against their oppressors. She became a Socialist. But her frank disposition, her inflexible character, could not be restricted to the tortuous paths of the Social Democratic politicians. She left them and devoted her best time and energy to revolutionary Syndicalism, and finally became an Anarchist. When towards the end of 1911 the criminal expedition against Tripoli was begun, Maria Rygier, with the few revolutionists and Anarchists who remained yet at liberty, started a vigorous propaganda against the war. A young militant soldier, Gaetano Masetti, as a protest, shot his colonel, shouting "Down with the war! Long live Anarchy!"

The paper *L'Agitatore*, of Bologna, edited by Maria Rygier, justified the act of this young comrade, and she was arrested with the other members of the staff. During the trial she cared little or nothing about her personal safety, and bravely defended her revolutionary ideas. Nevertheless, already at that time weakened by successive imprisonment and privation, she was ill, though she would not admit it. The sentence of four years' imprisonment meant really a death-sentence for her. For a year now she has been confined in a cell in the Mantellata prison in Rome. News from there confirms what her friends said before, that she is ill, and now even dying. She herself admitted it in her letters, as there was a question of implicating her in yet another trial.

The Italian revolutionists call upon their comrades to help them to obtain the release of this noble and valiant fighter from the claws of a Government which hypocritically pretended to go to war to "liberate" the Arabs from Turkish misrule, whilst it brings nothing but starvation and persecution upon the Italian people.

Though the glorious enterprise in Tripoli has advanced so far that the Turks have given their permission to the Italians to conquer the Arabs if they can, the end of this iniquitous war is not yet in sight, as the desert population is far from willing to submit to the new masters, who inaugurated their reign of civilisation with the slaughter and massacre of women and innocents. A former Minister has calculated that the costs of this "little war" and the necessary re-armament will run to the enormous sum of 1,800,000,000 francs. If we consider that the Italian people are already taxed heavily, even over-taxed, the burden of this monstrous expense will drive many peaceful and hard-working men to despair and revolt. Already unemployment and starvation are general. In some provinces, societies which are subsidised by the Government have been formed to help young unemployed workers to emigrate. The authorities are well aware of the danger of

having all those dissatisfied elements at home, where their hopeless condition may at any moment drive them into riot and rebellion.

Antoine Dalba, who made an attempt on the life of the King of Italy, has been sentenced to thirty years' imprisonment, seven of which are to be in solitary confinement. This young man tried to make his judges understand that he was revolted by the war in Tripoli, which demanded the sacrifice of so many young lives. To express his feelings of protest he attacked the chief of the whole organisation: the King.

Spain.

After the splendid strike of the railway men of Spain, which showed how solidarity had united the workers of different regions, of different tactics and ideas, but all suffering from the most miserable wages and hard conditions of work, it is sad to see that once again the masters succeeded in getting their slaves back to work on the mere promises of the Government to do all that was needed. The example of the English railwaymen, whose fight was ended by a similar promise, might have warned the Spanish workers not to trust the Government and Parliament to fight their cause. The Bill which was to have brought about the desired ameliorations has been laid before Parliament by the Minister of Public Works. It contains many limitations of the men's rights, but none of the promises which induced them to resume work. The Bill states the means taken to repress acts of sabotage; it establishes the status of the employees; it provides for a peaceful settlement of conflicts. Employees who do not respect the decision of the arbitration tribunal, and have not recourse to it and strike, will lose their right to old age pension. Leaders of strikes will be prosecuted for a criminal offence. The Bill recognises the right of the companies to replace the strikers by blacklegs. On the other hand, the companies, within the limits of their financial resources, must increase the wages of certain classes of men. If the companies are too poor, the Government will subsidise them for this purpose. This means, of course, that the Spanish taxpayers have to shoulder the responsibilities of the capitalist railway companies. It is clear that the workers have been sold again!

HOW TO PERSUADE ELECTORAL CROWDS.

Let us examine by what methods electoral crowds are to be persuaded. It will be easy to deduce their psychology from the methods that are most successful.

It is of primary importance that the candidate should possess prestige. Personal prestige can only be replaced by that resulting from wealth. Talent and even genius are not elements of success of serious importance.

Of capital importance, on the other hand, is the necessity for the candidate of possessing prestige, of being able, that is, to force himself upon the electorate without discussion. The reason why the electors, of whom a majority are working men or peasants, so rarely choose a man from their own ranks to represent them is that such a person enjoys no prestige among them. When, by chance, they do elect a man who is their equal, it is as a rule for subsidiary reasons—for instance, to spite an eminent man, or an influential employer of labour on whom the elector is in daily dependence, and whose master he has the illusion he becomes in this way for a moment.

The possession of prestige does not suffice, however, to assure the success of a candidate. The elector stickles in particular for the flattery of his greed and vanity. He must be overwhelmed with the most extravagant blandishments, and there must be no hesitation in making him the most fantastic promises.

If he is a working man, it is impossible to go too far in insulting and stigmatising employers of labour. As for the rival candidate, an effort must be made to destroy his chance by establishing by dint of affirmation, repetition, and contagion that he is an arrant scoundrel, and that it is a matter of common knowledge that he has been guilty of several crimes. It is, of course, useless to trouble about any semblance of proof. Should the adversary be ill-acquainted with the psychology of crowds, he will try to justify himself by arguments instead of confining himself to replying to one set of affirmations by another; and he will have no chance whatever of being successful.

The candidate's written programme should not be too categorical, since later on his adversaries might bring it up against him; in his verbal programme, however, there cannot be too much exaggeration. The most important reforms may be fearlessly promised. At the moment they are made these exaggerations produce a great effect, and they are not binding for the future, it being a matter of constant observation that the elector never troubles himself to know how far the candidate he has returned has followed out the electoral programme he applauded, and in virtue of which the election was supposed to have been secured.

In what precedes, all the factors of persuasion which we have described are to be recognised. We shall come across them again in the action exerted by words and formulas, whose magical sway we have already insisted upon. An orator who knows how to make use of these means of persuasion can do what he will with a crowd. Expressions such as infamous capital, vile exploiters, the admirable working man, the socialisation of wealth, etc., always produce the same effect, although already somewhat worn by use. But the candidate who hits on a new formula as devoid as possible of precise meaning, and apt in consequence to flatter the most varied aspirations, infallibly obtains a success.—“*The Crowd*,” by GUSTAVE LE BON.

PHRENOLOGISTS AND EUGENICS.

The Eugenists and their theories are being attacked from all sides, and we are pleased to see that the phrenologists have joined in the assault. At a recent meeting of the Phrenological Society, held at the Food Reform Hall, Holborn, Mr. H. C. Donovan gave an account of his experiences at the Eugenics Congress, where he represented the Society. A subject frequently referred to in some of the papers and discussions at the Congress was that of the feeble-minded; but, said Mr. Donovan, what was actually meant by the oft-repeated expression “feeble-mindedness,” or what constituted such mental failings, was not scientifically explained. They, as phrenologists, knew very well that as regards the strength or weakness of one or more of the mental faculties, few were fortunate enough to possess them in equal strength. In fact, such cases were rare. It is well known that some of our greatest men and women might, in some respects, be described as feeble-minded. Yet, in spite of some mental deficiencies, they have been sufficiently brain-gifted to have enriched the world by their mental efforts in the realms of music, art, and literature. Some of these geniuses have been feeble-minded enough to die in poverty. Mozart was an instance.

Eugenics, as many speakers at the Congress had frequently to explain to the members, was the study of those conditions which affected the born. If such were the case, said Mr. Donovan, it was much to be regretted that the questions of the economic conditions did not appear to have occupied the thoughts of those who initiated the Congress, selected the papers to be read, and invited discussion. The health of the born cannot be fairly studied apart from economic conditions, especially when such conditions produce the rich and the poor: millionaires and stately mansions on the one hand, and poverty with all its attendant evils on the other. One cannot study the health conditions of the born without taking into consideration in what state the parents live. The question of diet was of the most vital importance. It was not so much a matter of quantity as of quality. It is the fate of the poor to eat poor food.

In that last sentence Mr. Donovan sums up the whole case. The poor food consumed by the poor, and their bad housing accommodation, are the principal causes of feeble-mindedness. Good food and fresh air would have an instantaneous effect on the health of the poor, whereas the segregation and “sterilisation” advocated by Eugenists will simply mean good salaries for the officials employed in the necessary institutions, and will be terrible weapons in the hands of reactionary authorities.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT.

SIR,—The Committee of the Humanitarian League desire to draw your attention to the fact that the question of flogging is one which very closely affects the working classes, inasmuch as it is upon them, and upon their children, that this degrading punishment is inflicted.

We would specially refer to (1) the flogging of vagrants, under an old Act of 1824, which ought long ago to have been repealed; (2) to the frequent and severe caning of youths in the Royal Navy, often for trivial offences; and (3) to the scandalous number of birching sentences passed in Children's Courts under an Act which has been called the “Children's Charter.”

We appeal to all Labour organisations to press for the immediate reduction of such punishments—with a view to their ultimate discontinuance—as useless in themselves and odious to the intelligence and self-respect of the people.—Yours faithfully,

Humanitarian League,
53 Chancery Lane, W.C.

HENRY S. SALT.

PRINTED PAGES.

Fields, Factories, and Workshops. By P. Kropotkin. New, Revised, and Enlarged Edition. 477 pp. Cloth, 1s. net. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons.

This book, which has been quoted so extensively, and has found its way into every corner of the globe, appears now in a fresh edition, which has given Kropotkin an opportunity to bring his facts and figures up to date. In the preface he states that all the new material at his disposal shows that the economical tendencies that he foreshadowed in the first edition (fourteen years ago) have only become more and more definite since. The wealth of detail with which Kropotkin illustrates his arguments is overwhelming, especially in the chapter on “Small Industries.” With bold type and good paper and binding, the book is solid value for the price.

Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist. By Alexander Berkman. 1'dol. 50c. New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 55 W. 28th Street. We hope to publish a review of this book next month.

El Crimen de Chicago, Noviembre 11, 1887. 10c. Barcelona: Salud y Fuerza, Provenza, 177, principal 1a.

La Bancarrota de las Creencias; El Anarquismo Naciente. Ricardo Mella. 10c. Same publishers.

Los Límites del Sindicalismo Revolucionario. Arturo Labriola. 10c. Same publishers.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

BRISTOL.—We again had the pleasure of a visit from James Tochatti on October 6. The weather clerk turned up trumps this time for open-air propaganda, and although our morning meeting didn't amount to much, probably owing to our unfortunate choice of what proved to be a bad pitch, our evening meeting did not leave much to be desired as regards numbers, the attention given to our lecturer, or the many questions put to him by earnest listeners really wanting to "know." The fine spirit and vigour of the lecturer in "rubbing in" his philosophy with his array of facts and figures compelled the keen interest of his audience, and his answers to questioners—well, each answer was another lecture in itself. A mighty faith is his in the power of the Anarchist minority; and he is right, none more so. Comrades! look to yourselves for the greatest power and lever for freedom, not to Governments, parties, groups, or even communes; they will follow sure enough.

"Live for friendship, live for love,
For truth's and harmony's behoof:
The State may follow how it can,
As Olympus follows Jove."

Our group meeting on October 14 enjoyed a discourse from our Rationalist friend, Mr. Bert Brown, on "Marx or Spencer?" a most convincing lecture, because of his fine grasp of the social philosophy and the all-important disagreement of these two great thinkers.

Our last group meeting found us discussing and reviewing our past year's work, and how to become a more effective and organised group. Most of those present were for having a fixed weekly contribution of 2d., and each member to have a contribution card which shall entitle him to use the library we are getting together. (Bring along your books: don't leave them idle on your shelves!) Various schemes for advertising and increasing the sale of our paper, the *Anarchist*, were turned inside out, our final decision being to distribute back numbers at Socialist and Sunday lectures, as well as a street delivery of bills. This we have started, and shall continue during the next week ere our "infant" again appears. B. P.

BIRMINGHAM.—Meetings are being held here in the Bull Ring every Sunday at 11 a.m. and 6.30 p.m. Comrade Dick Poole presides at each meeting, pointing out the fallacy of reform and the ballot box; whilst Comrade Steve Podesta holds forth in a masterly style on revolutionary industrial unionism. We want speakers very badly, so we ask all those who believe in Direct Action to rally round. Literature sales are not bad considering this is the Mecca of Jingoism. MARTIN.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(October 4—October 31.)

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