

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

VOL. XXVII.—No. 289.

MAY, 1913.

MONTHLY: ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

A Scandalous System.

The scandals that have been filling the air for some time past resemble very much the odours that emanate from a decaying organism. Anyone who seriously studies the bases of present society can expect such things because he can realise that they are inevitable. It is a scandal, an infamy, a crime, that one man should die and leave wealth equal to more than £20,000,000, wrung, with tears and blood, from the unpaid labour of tens of thousands of toiling and suffering human beings. But these gigantic robberies and frauds could only be carried through under a system in which every scandalous machination of the human mind finds some work allotted to it in upholding the crime of crimes—our present State capitalist system. It could be proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that all the scandals of this modern age, from Panama to the present German war scandal, are the logical outcome of the basic principle of capitalism—the right of an owning class to exploit the dispossessed wage-slaves. Once build on this principle of an unlimited right to robbery, and everything else follows: misery, disease, prostitution in the underworld, with police corruption, white slave traffic, a prostituted press, and the crowning infamy of the war scandals. Shall we “reform” such a system, or end it?

A Tale of a Plug.

Once upon a time (not many days ago!) there was an old plug used in a little seaport town of Brittany for stopping up pipes. It was very old and much use had brought it to the state that leads to the “scrap heap.” So the chief of the department asked (officially) for permission to buy a new one. “After long reflection,” the Minister asked if the poor old plug could not do a little more work. Three witnesses certified (officially) that it couldn’t. After many (official) delays, the Minister notified (officially) that a new plug might be bought. But as in France the reform party has not yet demanded an old-age pension for plugs, the vital question of what to do with the old one gave much (official) trouble. Obsessed by the spirit of charity, the chief of the department asked (officially) if he might give it to the port authorities to be sold for the benefit of the fishermen. The Minister officially consented, but the authorities refused the gift on the ground that “it was not worth the cost of accepting it.” An official memo, signed by two chiefs, was then sent notifying this refusal, and asking permission to burn the old plug. Being a political economist, the Minister asked (officially) if it couldn’t be used for something else. Two official experts having certified that the poor old plug was good for nothing at all, the Minister (officially) decreed that it might be destroyed, on condition that the chief sent an (official) certificate of its destruction. And so ends the story of a plug that when new cost 1s. 2d.! The moral of it all our readers will discover for themselves. We will only remark that such is life—under State control.

Caruso and the Convicts.

The singing at Atlanta penitentiary to nine hundred convicts by the great artist Caruso will become an important historical event in the history of prison reform. Happily, no one can say in this case that notoriety is at the bottom of it all: it is the spontaneous act of a great artist with a great heart. For it was not only how he sung to this army of poor imprisoned victims of society, but what he said of them that impresses us most. He was so deeply affected by all he saw that he apologised, saying, “I cannot help it, as I think of all these men whom the world shuts out and bars shut in. I would rather give them a few moments’ pleasure than sing before kings!” We do not know what induced Caruso to do this fine act of humanity, but we do certainly know that the deeply sympathetic remark “whom the

world shuts out and bars shut in” will find an echo in many minds now pondering over the question of prison punishment, with all its insane brutality. The most enlightened students of criminology know full well, and have constantly repeated, that we have first of all to regard those we call criminals as simply fellow creatures who, living in the corrupt surroundings of the life of to-day, are too weak in will power to resist its morbid temptations, or who have become brutalised by their environment, or, like the apostles of high finance, find it easier to live by cunning than by honest work. In a rationally organised society, four-fifths of them would be useful and happy human beings; the others would need the humane treatment of those capable of helping the weak in mind and will. Caruso has touched their hearts, and appealed to their better feelings. A Liberal Government prescribes the cat!

When is a State not a State?

Mr. Sidney Webb’s address on the “State of To-morrow,” given at the Co-operative Conference on April 26, is enough to make rationally logical people rub their eyes. When Liberals, Conservatives, Radicals, and Democrats speak of a Government, we know what they mean. Although they may differ, and *do* differ, in their idea of the use (and abuse) of power and in the kind of reforms they advocate, they all agree that the function of Government is the control and direction—the *ruling*—of the people by specially appointed officials, with the police and soldiery at their backs to enforce that rule in case of need. That is thoroughly well understood. But it is quite confounding to read of an avowed Socialist denouncing the “penury and subjection” under a bourgeois Government, and at the same time assuring us that “they [presumably the Fabian Society] intended in the State of To-morrow to get sufficiency and freedom.” You understand “they” are going to “get it”—we are not told how—and “give it” to us. Perhaps not! We can assure Mr. Webb there is a vast number of workers who “have had some,” and are not taking any more from Fabian bureaucrats. They are beginning to feel the need of doing things for themselves, and of assuring their freedom by an economic revolution. The Fabian State, like all States, would prove a wolf in sheep’s clothing; and we don’t intend to have our “sufficiency and freedom” ladled out to us by Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb.

The Force of Example.

We referred last month to the fact that is becoming more and more noticeable—namely, that the bad example set by those in authority (and authority *always* sets a bad example!) would, in the matter of punishment, most certainly find imitators amongst the brutal-minded of those who had the opportunity of exercising that power. The truth of this has become so patent during the last few weeks that one might say the desire to resort to birch and cane is becoming a kind of obsession. So much so, in fact, that even J.P.’s, infected with the flogging mania, have had to inflict fines on schoolmasters and (alas that it should have to be recorded!) lady pupil teachers for excessive brutality in the use of the cane. Not only that, but we find men on public bodies and all and sundry who have a grievance against the untamed spirit of adventurous children prescribing the same treatment. Just like any red-tape-minded Home Secretary. The craze is even nerving the arm of the mistress against her maid, as in the case of Mrs. Custance, who has just been fined £10 for assault. “The girl said Mrs. Custance often hit her with her fist, banged her against the wall, and hit her with a walking-stick, crumb brush, wooden spoon, and boots. She had kicked her twice in the stomach, and had knocked her downstairs.” The White Slave Traffic is not *quite* confined to the lust of man. And yet, somehow one feels pretty sure that Mrs. Custance would advocate the flogging of men and support capital punishment—if she had the vote! Perhaps it is as well she has not.

Woman's Freedom.

By LILY GAIR WILKINSON.

II.

WOMEN IN REBELLION.

There is only one thing more fierce than the tiger, and that is the tigress. Women in rebellion have something of this fierceness. For the most part, women are more passive than men; but in times of crisis, when danger threatens the family, women are animated, like the tigress protecting her young, by a strangely fierce activity. In the ordinary conception of women, this is overlooked. They are usually regarded as domesticated animals who require protection, and who never willingly come out of the shelter of the home into more active ways of life. Well, let us see.

Let us recall, as an instance, the hunger-fevered women of Paris on that wet October morning in the year of revolution, 1789. Heedless of the rain, they gathered together in the street, gesticulating, calling out to each other, the talk being always of bread and famine, the king and queen. They gathered their forces, these women, and a disordered march began. They swept down the narrow streets, out into the country. "To Versailles!" they cried; and when they reached Versailles, they invaded the Assembly, demanding bread instead of words—bread for the starving people of Paris. By their fierce enthusiasm they carried everything before them. In the evening they invaded the Palace itself, and next day they returned in triumph to Paris, bringing with them as prisoners the king and queen of France.

Then, again, in revolutionary Paris, the Paris of March 18, 1871. It was the fearless inspiration of women that won Paris for the people that day. The women led the guards to the streets where the soldiers had captured the cannon of the people; fiercely animated in that hour of danger, they made a rush up the street and surrounded the soldiers, calling to them as brothers not to shoot, seizing them by the hands, even throwing themselves in front of the muzzles of the guns. And that brave appeal of the women had more power with the soldiers than the commands of their general. From mere shooting machines, acted upon by the word of command, they were transformed again into human beings; and instead of shooting down their fellows, they turned and seized the officers who were ordering them to do murder.

That miracle happened because of the action of women in rebellion. Perhaps if men had been acting alone, they would have been more *reasonable* about the crisis; they might have called a meeting and formed a committee, and made resolutions and amendments. And in the meantime, before they had passed their first resolution, the guns would have been lost.

That was an attempted revolution only—it failed, and in the failure more than 30,000 Communards were slaughtered in the streets. But, whether in success or failure, the women of the Commune took an active part in its defence. Women helped in the work of raising the barricades, and defended them alongside the men. Barricades were even built and defended entirely by women. During the slaughter, forty-two men, women, and children were shot down in one place, as an act of vengeance; when the soldiers tried to force them to kneel before their murderers, it was a woman with her baby in her arms who sprang out from among them, and, standing straight up, called to the others, "Show these wretches that you know how to die upright!"

And yet there are people who tell us that women must not have public rights because they cannot fight!

These two instances from French history show something of the spirit of rebel women. These things happened in France, perhaps the most enlightened country in the world. But it is the same everywhere. In Russia, one of the darkest of countries, the women have been wonderful in the effort against the oppressive Government which keeps millions of the Russian people in a state of miserable subjection and an ignorance worse than childish.

In the middle of last century there was a rebel awakening all over Russia. The inspired cry of "To the People!" was responded to by thousands of generous young men and women. "It is bitter to eat the bread made by slaves," they said; and they refused any longer to live on the riches of their parents. "V Narod! To the People!"—and they went out all over Russia to spread knowledge among the people, to help the people, to live the lives of the people. In this great movement young girls had to struggle desperately against domestic despotism. They sacrificed home-life, security, riches; and later on they knew also how to sacrifice life itself just as bravely as the men did.

Looking at rebel women, not merely in general in great historic movements, but as individuals, the same self-abandonment in action appears even more clearly.

In America there is a woman rebel, Emma Goldman, whom

the police have named "the woman who cannot be stopped"; and there always have been women whom no forces of authority could stop. Louise Michel, tender and gentle in private life, fierce and reckless in the midst of the most dreadful danger; Maria Rygier, the boldest speaker and writer in Italy, imprisoned over and over again for her revolutionary utterances; Marie Spiridonova, daring to kill and to suffer torture because she could not endure to think of the cruelties inflicted on the peasants of her country—these are only a few instances taken at random of innumerable women who could not be stopped.

Yes, women at all times and all over the world have been active, not passive, in rebellion; and active with a special kind of tigress fierceness of their own. There is, therefore, no reason to fear that women, any more than men, will continue to sell themselves into slavery without making splendid efforts to be free. The only thing to fear is that these efforts may be wasted in wrong directions, that all this wonderful wild rebel spirit should be uselessly dissipated in following some popular cry which is a mere mockery of freedom.

"Votes for Women!" What a poor cry that is compared with those other cries which have inspired rebel women in the past. The "To the People!" of the Russians; the "Vive la Commune!" of the Communards; the "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality!" of the Revolutionaries of 1789.

"Votes for Women!" There is a cracked and treble sound about that.

The call for "votes" can never be a call to freedom. For what is it to vote? To vote is to register assent to being ruled by one legislator or another. Such and such a man (or woman perhaps) is to make laws and to administer the law *with the assent of the person who votes*. That is all. How, then, can a demand for votes be a call to freedom?

Legislation and freedom—these two words express exactly opposite things. Legislation is the making of laws to curtail and limit freedom. To vote is to take part indirectly by assent in this limitation of the freedom of human beings. And yet they cry, "Votes for Women!"

If I, for one, had the vote—if I had all the votes in the country—I would scorn to use that "right," as they call it, to do so great a wrong to freedom. If all the voting papers in the world were at my disposal, the only use I should put them to would be to build one great bonfire of them, and call upon the people to come round and rejoice while I set them ablaze!

At a Suffragist meeting the other day a placard was displayed which read, "Legislation without representation is tyranny." Mrs. Despard, the principal speaker at the meeting, made the claim that the "Women's Freedom League" stands for freedom, as its name implies. After her speech came question time. She was asked about the placard. She was asked why, if freedom is the object, the placard did not omit the two words "without representation." It would then read, "Legislation is tyranny."

All that the speaker could reply was that she did not agree with the questioner, as people are not yet fit to do without laws, and she indicated that women would give them more laws when they have the vote, and especially laws for men.

Very well; then Mrs. Despard and other Suffragists should cease sentimentalising about freedom, since it is really legislation, or the limitation of freedom by law, that they are out for.

But it is said that women demand the vote because it has already been given to men, and women should have the same social status as men. Because men have blindly mistaken for a social privilege the means of forging the chains that hold them in slavery, women are also to be cheated in the same way!

This "Woman's Movement" at the best aims only at relative emancipation. Women are to have freedom *relatively* to men. The aim is expressed in the phrase of the Suffragists: "On the same terms as men." But men, the great majority of men, are slaves; therefore, "on the same terms as men" means terms of slavery.

No; the call for "Votes for Women" is a poor, cracked, treble call; and the Suffragists uttering that cry, although many of them suffer bravely for their illusions, are but a travesty of true rebel women. Rebel women struggle to be free from bondage, and they struggle, not against the men who share their interests in life, but side by side with these men.

If the terms of slavery are even more ghastly for women than for men, so much the greater must be their effort towards freedom.

(To be concluded.)

Just Published. A New and Cheap Edition.

The Conquest of Bread.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

Cloth, 314 pages, 1s. net, postage 3d.

FREEDOM PRESS, 127 OSSULSTON STREET, LONDON, N.W.

Modern Wars and Capitalism.*

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

INDUSTRIAL COMPETITION.

In 1883, when England, Germany, Austria, and Roumania, taking advantage of the isolation of France, leagued themselves against Russia, and a terrible European war was about to blaze forth, we pointed out in the *Révolté* what were the real motives for rivalry among States and the wars resulting therefrom.

The reason for modern war is always the competition for markets and the right to exploit nations backward in industry. In Europe we no longer fight for the honour of kings. Armies are pitted against each other that the revenues of Messrs. Almighty Rothschild, of Schneider, of the Most Worshipful Company of Anzin, or of the Most Holy Catholic Bank of Rome may remain unimpaired. Kings are no longer of any account.

In fact, all wars in Europe during the last hundred and fifty years were wars fought for industrial advantage and the rights of exploitation. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the great industries and world commerce of France, backed by her navy and her colonies in America (Canada) and Asia (in India), began to develop. Thereupon England, who had already crushed her competitors in Spain and Holland, anxious to keep for herself alone the monopoly of maritime commerce, of sea-power, and of a Colonial Empire, took advantage of the Revolution in France to begin a whole series of wars against her. From that moment England understood what riches a monopolised outlet for her growing industry would bring in. Finding herself rich enough to pay for the armies of Prussia, Austria, and Russia, she waged during a quarter of a century a succession of terrible and disastrous wars against France. That country was compelled to drain herself in order to withstand these wars, and only at this price was she able to uphold her right to remain a "Great Power." That is to say, she retained her right of refusing to submit to all the conditions that English monopolists endeavoured to impose upon her to the advantage of their own commerce. She upheld her right to a navy and to military ports. Frustrated in her plans for expansion in North America, where she lost Canada, and in India, where she was compelled to abandon her colonies, she received in return permission to create a Colonial Empire in Africa on condition that she did not touch Egypt, and to enrich her monopolists by pillaging the Arabs of Algeria.

Later on, in the second half of the nineteenth century, it was Germany's turn. When serfdom was abolished as a consequence of rebellion in 1848, and the abolition of communal property compelled young peasants in a body to leave the country for the town, where they offered themselves as "out-of-works" at starvation wages to the Masters of Industry, Industry on a large scale began to flourish in several German States. German manufacturers soon got to understand that if the working classes were given a good technical education they would rapidly overtake great industrial countries like France and England—on condition, be it well understood, of obtaining for Germany advantageous outlets beyond her frontiers. They knew what Proudhon had so well demonstrated: that a trader can only succeed in substantially enriching himself if a large portion of his produce is exported to countries where it can be sold at a price not obtainable in the country where it was manufactured.

At that time, in all the social strata of Germany—those of the exploited as well as those of the exploiters—there was a passionate desire to unify Germany at all costs: to build up a powerful Empire capable of supporting an immense army and a strong navy, which would be able to conquer ports in the North Sea and the Adriatic, and some day ports in Africa and the East—an Empire which would be the dictator of economic law in Europe.

For this plan to succeed, it was evidently necessary to break the strength of France, who would have resisted, and who at that time had, or seemed to have, the power of preventing its execution.

From these circumstances resulted the terrible war of 1870, with all its sad consequences as regards universal progress, which we suffer from even to-day.

By this war and this victory over France, a Germanic Empire—the dream of Radicals, State Socialists, and partly of German Conservatives since 1848—was at last constituted. And this Empire made itself felt and its political power recognised, as well as its right to lay down the law in Europe.

Germany on entering a striking period of juvenile activity soon succeeded in doubling, trebling, in fact, increasing her industrial activity tenfold; and now the German middle classes covet new sources of enrichment almost everywhere: in the

plains of Poland, in the prairies of Hungary, on the plateaus of Africa, and especially around the railway line to Bagdad—in the rich valleys of Asia Minor, which can provide German capitalists with a labouring population ready to be exploited under one of the most beautiful skies in the world. It may be so with Egypt also some day.

Therefore, it is ports for export, and especially military ports in the Mediterranean Adriatic and in the Adriatic of the Indian Ocean—the Persian Gulf—as well as on the African coast in Beira, and also in the Pacific, that these schemers of German colonial trade wish to conquer. Their faithful servant, the German Empire, with its armies and ironclads, is at their service for this purpose.

But at every step these new conquerors meet with a formidable rival—England bars the way.

Jealous of keeping her supremacy on the sea, jealous above all of keeping her colonies for exploitation by her own monopolists, scared by the success of Germany's colonial policy and the rapid development of her navy, England is redoubling her efforts in order to have a fleet capable of infallibly crushing her German rival. England looks everywhere for allies to weaken the military power of Germany on land. And when the English press sows alarm and terror, pretending to fear a German invasion, they well know that danger does not lie in that quarter. What England needs is the power to despatch her regular army to where Germany, in accord with Turkey, might attack a colony of the British Empire (Egypt, for instance). And for this purpose she must be in a position to retain at home a strong Territorial army ready to drown in blood, if necessary, any working-class rebellion. For this reason principally military arts are taught to young bourgeois, grouped in squads of "scouts."

The English bourgeoisie of to-day wants to act towards Germany as it twice acted towards Russia in order to arrest, for fifty years or more, the development of that country's sea-power,—once in 1855, with the help of Turkey, France, and Piedmont; and again in 1904, when she hurled Japan against the Russian fleet and against Russia's military port in the Pacific.

That is why for the past two years we have been living on the alert, expecting a colossal European war to break out from one day to another.

Besides, we must not forget that the industrial wave, in rolling from West to East, has also invaded Italy, Austria, and Russia. These States are in their turn asserting their "right"—the right of their monopolists to booty in Africa and in Asia.

Russian brigandage in Persia, Italian plunder of the desert Arabs around Tripoli, and French brigandage in Morocco are the consequences.

The *Concert* of brigands, acting in the service of the monopolists who govern Europe, has "allowed" France to seize Morocco, as it has "allowed" England to seize Egypt; it has "allowed" Italy to lay hold of a part of the Ottoman Empire, in order to prevent its being seized by Germany; and it has "allowed" Russia to take Northern Persia, in order that England might secure a substantial strip of land on the borders of the Persian Gulf before the German railway can reach it.

And for this Italians massacre inoffensive Arabs, French massacre Moors, and the hired assassins of the Tsar hang Persian patriots who endeavour to regenerate their country by a little political liberty.

Zola had good reason for saying: "What scoundrels respectable people are!"

(To be continued.)

A CALL.

The dead sleep on, but to their pale, cold lips
Their last words cling: We bid you sow the seed,
No pleasure till the Cause is won outright;
Let tongue and pen the fight of life proclaim,
And still fight on.

The dead are gone; the dust to dust returned,
Earth clasps them all in long, eternal sleep.
But here we stand, our ranks are linked to those
That fought and fell, and though their clay be cold,
The fight goes on.

We stand as one; nor sea, nor land, nor clime
The whole world round shall bar the way to light;
The great Cause spreads, and nearer day by day
The bright dawn comes to greet the dreams of those
That now sleep on.

Let fear be gone; the altar, sceptre, throne,
And tyrant power shall totter to the dust,
Whiles Freedom's shafts shall speed, and o'er the lips
Of those brave dead a sad, sweet smile shall glow—
Let us fight on.

L. AUGUSTINE MOTLER.

* Translated from "La Science Moderne et l'Anarchie," published by P.-V. Stock, Paris.

THE BURGLAR TALKS.

The gentleman in the blue uniform, amply proportioned as he was, squirmed under the weight of his successful opponent. His chest heaved in impotent breathlessness. He no more made futile and ineffectual strivings to hurl the dead weight off his chest. He had with some ease just been turned face downwards whilst hefty fingers swiftly, carefully, and methodically pinioned the four limbs with which a merciful Providence had endowed him. A woollen muffler of suffocating warmth covered the lower part of his features, and was now and again with some slight success percolated by unintelligible utterances that were but the shadows of dead sound.

Presently the victor condescended to mitigate in some degree the sufferings of his victim. He arose from his sedentary position, sat down on a neighbouring chair, and leisurely lighted his pipe. Then he gazed with compassionate scorn at the supine gentleman in blue aforesaid.

"I am afraid," he said, when his pipe was at last drawing to his satisfaction, "I am afraid you will find your present position a trifle—er—inconvenient, and not quite what you bargained for. But it is necessary for my safety, as may have occurred to you. In these days of the enlightened enterprise of our glorious civilisation, it is the stronger that comes on top. Honesty, as defined by Christian ethics, is a negligible quantity. One must live; and if it is not possible to be honest—honest in the weak modern sense of the term—one must trust to the otherwise. I have trusted, and am trusting to the otherwise. And, as you have perceived to-night, my trust has not been misplaced. A burglar's is not precisely the profession one would choose on leisurely deliberation, yet it is far better than begging one's bread—or doing without it. For observe how a man is placed in modern civilised society: the axiom is 'Work, beg, borrow, or steal.' The basis of everything is property, and this basis of property entails the presence of others without property—in other words, poverty—and the foundation of society is the patience of the poor. It is impossible, as even your dim intellect may have perceived, for the ones to be rich without the others being necessarily poor. Let me, my dear policeman, give you a homely illustration. Suppose there was a cake to be shared between us. Now, if we divided equally, as the elemental ethical instincts would compel us to do, we would both be well off. But supposing it happened, as it does happen, that one of us was the stronger, then the stronger would under modern conditions of *laissez-faire* take the lion's portion. The one satiated, and the other with an appetite quickened. This is the state of modern society in a few lines. It is live and let live, and the brimstone gentleman take the hindmost.

"The basis of property furthermore entails the creation of guardians of property when the property-owners themselves are not strong enough to cope with the propertyless. Hence you have employment found for you. But as domestic aggression is not the only nuisance, it is essential, at least for the owners of property, to ward off foreign aggression and cupidity. There we have the *raison d'être* of a strong army and a powerful navy. These luxuries cost us some sixty to eighty millions a year—merely to defend property, observe; and not only is the main burden of this expense laid upon the shoulders of those who have no property, but we actually have the strange paradox of the propertyless—under some delusion miscalled 'patriotism'—defending the larger possessions of others, besides their own very minor properties. The Have-nots protect the Haves! Apart from the irrational absurdity of the thing, and you must excuse the studied expressions I employ, it is against the principles of elementary justice; for even when the propertied class do make some pretension of national defence on their own behalf, it is generally at the rear in the ornate uniform of a commanding officer. The propertyless bear the brunt of the fighting, and patriotism becomes the last refuge of a rogue. You, to-night, have borne the brunt of the battle on behalf of the sacred rights of property—and got the worst of it. And when these self-complacent owners pass you, you—their defender—feel flattered if they smile at you, as what dog would wag his tail. For your gallantry, out of these immense millions you are doled out a pittance that is about sufficient for the needs of your family, and for the preservation of your own physique, which I have just had cause to admire. Sensible and intelligent as you appear to be, I can assure you, my dear constable, that you are nothing but a fool, and I should quit the thankless job.

"Allow me to continue further. From some notes I have had the precaution to take previous to this little enterprise of mine, I observe your—ah—your superior officer will not be round here for exactly fourteen minutes; that is, if he observes rigid punctuality. I have, therefore, ample time to impress on your intelligence the necessity of my existence. As I have already pointed out, the basis of property-ownership necessitates the presence of evils such as poverty, an army, and a navy, and—if you will excuse me—a police force. The crumbs from the rich man's table, in the form of employment, pensions, work-houses, and other varia, are scarcely sufficient for the whole population. There are, let me tell you, on the authority of one of your late leaders of property-owners, some twelve millions constantly on the borders of starvation. Observe the 'constantly.' The hunger-line is here now. From the report of the Labour Exchanges, I note also that some two-and-a-half millions of honest British workmen applied for work, and

barely two hundred thousand odd were placed in situations of what may have been to them comparative ease and comfort. Now, who would tell a dastardly and nefarious housebreaker like myself to obtain work when some two millions of honest would-be workmen are turned empty away? There is a question for you.

"With your permission I will now conclude, as I hope and fully believe I have impressed upon you the inevitable existence of burglars—and consequently of policemen—under a basis of property. The next thing I can do is to indicate a remedy. It is easily perceived that the abolition of the basis of property is the first step. As for Christianity, it is too loose a thesis to apply to economic problems. The soul may or may not exist, but the body very palpably does. Its existence is at times most painfully impressed on us, as I have cause to know. The cake must, therefore, be equitably divided so that all have a sufficiency. Abolish the system of property, and substitute Collectivism or Communism, as you will. I have here a small leaflet explaining the main elements of the idea, and this I will present to you. Good-bye, and when we meet again—if ever we do—may the best man win. Ta-ta!"

L. AUGUSTINE MOTLER.

"THE VOICE OF LABOUR."

Criticism of the weekly paper scheme comes in from both sides—on the one hand it is urged that the time is not yet ripe for a *weekly*, and on the other that the proposed date for its first appearance is altogether too far in the future. The fact is, although each criticism seems to give the lie direct to the other, they are both right. The *Anarchist* would have been a huge success if all its well-wishers who have predicted its failure had been contented to work for its success. The *Voice of Labour* may be easily launched at an earlier date than that proposed if those who complain that there is no demand for it would start demanding its publication.

To imagine that a weekly Anarchist paper cannot be run is to woefully misunderstand the present general position of the workers' movement. I have pointed out so many times, and it is so obvious without being pointed out that I am almost ashamed to repeat it, that the one philosophy which the workers are demanding throughout Britain is Anarchism. The Parliamentary Socialists know it, they hate the Anarchists for it, and at the same time they talk Anarchism to their audience because it is only the ideas of liberty that appeal to the crowd. The simplest, best, the most effective way in which such ideas can be handed out to them is by a weekly paper—a clear-cut Anarchist paper. There is no question whether the demand exists; it is whether we can supply it, and reach the people who are asking. Let us leave it to the Democrats, and to those who believe in rule by the majority, to blame the *people* and their apathy. (How strange it is that those who want to make the majority the ruling power always have a profound contempt for it!)

The blame is with ourselves, the Anarchist movement, that is, we few conscious Anarchists who are not answering that spirit of inquiry which is showing itself in all sections of the workers' movement. Everywhere our activity is being demanded. We must respond to this call, and to do so we shall need to become active immediately in paving the way for the new weekly paper.

If you are in a district where a group is already formed, get into touch with it, and help to carry on a vigorous literature propaganda. If you do not know of other active comrades in the districts, write to the general secretary, A. E. Plattin, 19 Haymarket, Bristol, and he will put you in touch with the nearest comrades. Give him something to do. If you think a speaker could do any good in your district, tell him, and he can very likely find one who would visit you.

Let us start a real live movement on foot for the *Voice of Labour*, so that the poor souls who are now croaking and predicting failure will not only see their present folly, but will become infected with our enthusiasm, and give help and energy, instead of unreasoned pessimism.

G. B.

PRINTING FUND APPEAL.

The first response to last month's appeal for funds to print pamphlets, new and old, has been fairly satisfactory as regards the amount, but the numbers who have contributed hardly comes up to our expectations. We hope that next month we may have a better tale to tell. The urgency for funds is great. With the money sent in during the month, we have reprinted "Direct Action versus Legislation," and already 400 are on their way to New Zealand; but there are still four or five others which must be printed at once. Our comrade Andrew Quigley, in forwarding 3s. from Musselburgh, says:—"I sincerely hope there will be a generous response to your appeal. We cannot afford to let the pamphlets mentioned in FREEDOM go out of print. From a propaganda point of view, they are invaluable." So send along the cash; it will be money well spent.

Sums received to date:—Anon. 10s., Sympathiser 5s., A Friend 5s., R. J. A. £5, A. H. Holt 2s. 6d., Musselburgh Comrades 3s., O. K. 1s., A. Haynes 2s. 6d.; per A. Plattin—J. Johnson 1s., C. J. Smith 3s., A. Plattin 2s. Total £6 15s.

THE POLICY OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

One cheering fact ought to put heart into those people who are inclined to be pessimistic in their views respecting the revolt of the working class against the capitalist system of society, and that is the existence of a great conscious body of thinking revolutionary workers in the ranks of Labour. It is the fashion (in my opinion a mistaken one) to measure the progress of the movement by the more or less spasmodic manifestations of discontent expressed in the form of strikes, etc. The fact is, below it all there is widespread active intelligence amongst the working class, which, however inadequately represented on the public platform or in the Press, is a great and persistent force working in unconscious unity for the overthrow of the present system of robbery and oppression. The organised Labour movement has at every stage of its career been built up by the work of such social rebels—and the object has been to place in the hands of the workers an instrument whereby, *by their own efforts*, they may ameliorate their industrial conditions or even win their social emancipation.

It is in this light that we regard the Labour movement; not as a medium for securing comfort or aggrandisement for prominent individuals, or the maintenance of the *status quo* in Labour affairs. If it is to perform a really useful work on behalf of the class who subscribe its funds and give it importance, then it must always be the active and responsive centre of the social struggle. We have known instances—only too many—when the organisations of the working class have been used in such a way that antagonism amongst the workers and frustration of their efforts to remedy their grievances have actually been the result of the official policy. But thinking workers in all sections of the movement have actively fought against these tendencies, and more than one great economic victory has been won by defiance of this official influence and authority. Indeed, it is quite evident that the theory of “leaders and followers” must be discarded in order to realise the greatness and the benefit of the solidarity of Labour.

One of the most hopeful evidences of the existence of an intelligent force at work in this country is the general endeavour within the Trade Unions to break down the petty differences of craft or sectional distinctions between skilled mechanics, labourers, clerks, and other workers, and to unite them all according to the industry in which they work instead of by sectional employment. We feel the most intense sympathy with this effort, though we earnestly hope that in the newer form of organisation local initiative and control will not merely be preserved, but increased. This movement ought not to degenerate into megalomania; bigness is not the essential, but greater, and, therefore, more powerful unity in dealing with the capitalist class.

One thing is clear: the Labour revolt, organised and unorganised, is becoming more definitely an attack upon the capitalist system of society. The workers may seek to raise wages and to reduce the length of the working day, besides modifying many other oppressive conditions—we sincerely hope they will, because these efforts are both educational and stimulating. But it is quite clear that the wages system must go, for the reason that the land, the implements and the products of labour remain the property of the exploiting classes, who are able by virtue of this economic power to take back by other methods more than they concede.

The politicians and their dupes may sneer, but there is no gainsaying the fact that as long as the workers themselves do not control the production and distribution of wealth they must remain the bottom dogs to those who own and control these things. Poverty and subservience, no matter how well regulated, must be their social portion. As there is no other possible remedy that the transference of economic power from the exploiters to the workers, the aim of the Labour movement must be the destruction of the capitalist system of society. The axe must be laid at the root of the evil growth, for the never-ending toil of pruning small portions is bound to be a futile task.

Indeed, for a generation past, while appeals and enthusiasm for political and social reform have been worked up, the wealthy classes of this and other countries have been appropriating thousands of millions of pounds of wealth more than formerly, and increasing their economic power beyond all previous possibilities. The more this tendency continues, the more difficult the solution of the problem becomes. The possessing classes and their parasitical dependents, becoming more numerous and wealthier, naturally become fiercer in their resentment against the suggestion that they should cease to consume wealth produced by the labour of others.

The capitalist class has not fought its last battle. They will not be so easily overcome as some people imagine. Nor will they be legally exterminated or taxed out of existence. Every legal proposition which pretends to make an inroad upon their privileges or to limit their power provides them with a dozen opportunities of making the proposal recoil upon the labouring class, to its ultimate if not its immediate disadvantage.

The organised Labour movement, if it is not to fail in its real function, must become revolutionary in character. It must strike at the *causes* of poverty and class servitude. It must take into its own hands the great task of education and agitation upon economic problems, which it has so very largely neglected. The writer a few months ago heard one of the best-known Labour officials in the North of England refer to the members of his own Union as an “ignorant mob.” He was able to do this after twenty years official supremacy amongst them! If Labour organisations are to be of real permanent value, they must convert their “ignorant mobs,” where they exist, into educated or at least highly intelligent associations of men and women. A portion of the money spent on the political humbug would work wonders in a few years if spent in *educational* propaganda. Besides, it would be more sensible to educate non-Unionists, and win them by persuasion into joining Trade Unions, than to engage in fratricidal struggles with the purpose of compelling them to become members, which kind of thing has ended so often in the worst defeats the Labour forces have suffered.

It is the custom for Trade Union speakers to assert that there is a moral obligation upon non-Unionists to join their societies, because they share in benefits procured or protected by the associated efforts of Unionists. If this is so, and we believe in the truth of the contention, then it is equally incumbent upon organised Labour to take upon itself the work of educating the workers concerning economic and social problems, and not to share in the benefits while leaving the task and expense entirely to people more or less outside the Unions. There are the great questions of unemployment, the emigration fraud, the throwing on the industrial scrap-heap of working men and women as soon as they enter the earlier period of maturity, the problems of female and child labour, the housing problem, and many others which directly affect the workers. Of course, these problems are the direct product of the present economic and political system of society; but it is only by serious application of thought and energy to these things that the causes, the means and the possibility of putting an end to them will become apparent to the majority of people.

Already the growing Syndicalist tendency in the British Isles has had a tremendous educational effect, and shows what immense progress will be made when organised Labour seriously brings its attention and effort to bear upon its emancipation. If the movement is purged of its out-of-date authoritarianism, if it takes a clear and complete view of its position and functions, if it improves its methods as an aggressive force and fighting machine against the exploiters, then the power of the workers so often spoken about will enable them to initiate the necessary economic changes which will get the idler and the profit-monger off their backs.

May Day arrives once more to remind us of one elementary though all-important duty of the Labour movement. That is, the definite linking up of the forces of Labour in all countries in the common interests of them all. The enemies of the people—the financier, the armaments manufacturer and contractor, the governmental-aristocratic-militarist elements—are all busily engaged in working up the Jingo war spirit for the purpose, not merely of blood and destruction, or for monetary gain only, but to re-erect the barriers of antagonism between the workers of the world. This is the most seductive red herring they can use to divert the workers' attention from their own most urgent affairs. By an emphatic declaration of the International Solidarity of Labour this year the workers may not only preserve the world from the horrible calamity of war, but shorten the life of the present system, which to them means unrelenting poverty and subjugation. G.

Anarchism.

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

An impartial résumé of the works of the best-known Anarchist philosophers.

With Five Portraits.

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

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

Monthly, One Penny; post free, 1½d.; U.S.A., 8 Cents; France, 15 Centimes.

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

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

All communications, exchanges, &c., to be addressed to

THE MANAGER, 127 Ossulston Street, N.W.

The Editors are not necessarily in agreement with signed articles.

Notice to Subscribers.—If there is a blue mark against this notice your subscription is due, and must be sent before next month if you wish to go on receiving the paper.

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

MAY DAY OUTLOOK.

The First of May, 1890, was a glorious day in this country. Hundreds of thousands of working men of all trades were ready to join then in a grand mass movement in order to impose upon the exploiters the eight-hour day. The Hyde Park demonstration on that First of May was one of the most imposing of recent years. All over the country the masses of the workers were full of enthusiasm, ready to stand and to fight for their rights.

The First of May movement, which was born in the United States, and for which our Anarchist brothers were executed at Chicago in 1887, had grown and ripened in this country. It seemed as if the British workers were going to take the lead in that preparatory crusade for their liberation from the yoke of Capital.

Nothing, however, came out of it. The leaders who had managed in 1872 to divert the International Working Men's Association from its first and true purpose—a direct struggle against Capitalism—were again at work for the same purpose.

"Legal eight hours! legal action!" they were drumming into the ears of the British workers. "What can you obtain without an eight-hour law? Have we not proved in the histories we wrote of Trade Unionism that Trade Unions are powerless to achieve anything serious: that Parliament alone can protect Labour? Are you not yet persuaded that we alone, elected by you to represent you in Parliament, shall be able to bridle capitalist greediness?"

"Send us to Parliament"—they said—"and you will see the wonders we shall accomplish! Look at the Germans. With their scores of Socialist members in the Reichstag they will have accomplished the Social Revolution in a few years. Next year they will have the ten-hour day; five years later the nine-hour day; and before the end of the nineteenth century the Socialists will be in a majority in the Reichstag. And then, the Social Revolution will be accomplished in Germany without the trouble of a 'revolution!'"

All this nonsense was preached with so much persuasion, such a display of sham-learning, such fireworks of would-be learned theories, that the workers believed them. And all that was—"Words, words, words!" Up till now, the "legal" ten-hour day has not yet been introduced in Germany!

Twenty-three years have passed, and where are we now in this country? Not only have we not progressed—we have gone backward along the line. It is from Liberal Ministers that we have to accept such small reforms as the reduced hours for the shop assistants, or national insurance! A poisoned gift, that insurance, which tore the coming of national insurance from the hands of the Labour Unions, which would have organised it, in order to pour labour of State money upon the rich insurance companies and insurance trusts of the capitalists.

And as for those who are not satisfied with such "gifts,"—let them wait for another gift, promised by the Conservatives, in the shape of cottages built by the State upon the estates of the landlord owners of the British soil. Poor beggars of landlords, is it not time, indeed, to throw them that little bone to gnaw!

"But that is old history!" we shall be told—"Why should

you rake it up? Look only at the beautiful Syndicalist movement which begins to pervade Great Britain. Rejoice, seeing that here your seed is bringing its fruit."

Of course, we rejoice at that sight. We are happy to see that the idea of trade organisations studying the means of a full emancipation of Labour from the yoke of Capital and State, and preparing to fight for that liberation in its proper economic field—an idea, ridiculed and shelved for the last forty years—comes again to the front. Surely, we are glad of that.

But when we cast a glance on the other side of the Channel, and see what is going on just now in Belgium, we cannot but feel grave apprehensions as to the use to which the Syndicalist forces may be applied. Will they not be wasted in the same way as the energies of 1890 were wasted?

Here is a country, the workmen of which display a unity of action of which no example has been seen on such a scale since the General Strike of 1905 in Russia. And all this immense expenditure of forces, all the privations it imposes upon working men, families that are living in a poverty of which only those who know it on the spot have an idea—all this energy and power of self-denial in the people—for what reason are they wasted? For abolishing plural voting,* which in this country is fought for by such staunch defenders of Capitalism as a majority of the House of Commons always is.

If you ask for what object the abolition of plural voting is going to be utilised, the Social Democratic leaders who have prepared and organised this general strike will surely tell you that the "One-man-one-vote suffrage" is required for pressing laws in favour of Labour. But everyone acquainted with modern Socialist history certainly knows that this is not true. Everyone understands that if as unanimous and impressive a general strike as the present one is, had been made for imposing upon the capitalists any serious concessions in favour of Labour, the concession would have been won immediately from the capitalists, and at once it would have been registered as a law by Parliament and King. Direct Action would have won it, and the "One-man-one-vote suffrage" would have been won in addition.

The fact is, that after having thundered in their speeches against alliances with the bourgeoisie, the Belgian Social Democrats, like those of all other countries, have concluded now a complete alliance with the bourgeoisie in order to get more of the so-called Socialist seats in Parliament. And all the purpose of this increased political power is to move a step further toward the definitely stated aim of the Social Democratic Party—*la conquête du pouvoir*, i.e. the conquest of ruling power—not in a democratic State, but in the present bourgeois State.

Not the destruction of this Capitalist State, but a participation in the Government of that State. And this participation is sought for, not for undermining that State, but—consciously or unconsciously—for rendering it more and more powerful, by giving it the management of the railways, the national insurance, the banks, and the chief branches of the national industries.

After having begun with the intention of weakening and destroying the present Capitalist State, they were brought, by the very Parliamentary tactics they adopted, to become the instruments for a formidable increase of the powers of the Capitalist State by giving it the management of immense branches of social activity.

This is what the powers of organised Labour are now used for in Belgium; and the worst is, that the workers themselves have finally agreed to be used for that purpose. Let us only hope that the Belgian working men, after having realised their might during the present general strike, may soon think about using that power themselves for their own cause, for a general assault upon the steadily growing powers of Capitalism in the present State.

Let us hope that they will realise—and that the workers of other countries will realise as well—that the immense machinery they have brought now to a standstill is *their machinery*; that they have created it by their collective effort; and that the right to use this machinery for satisfying *their* needs belongs to them. It is time, indeed, for the workers to understand this right of theirs upon the soil they cultivate, and the machinery they set working: to see that theirs is the right of management of industry; theirs the right of utilising that soil, and that machinery, first of all, for honestly satisfying the needs of all those who take part in production.

* Belgium has suffrage for all males above the age of 25; but a second vote is given to all those who own some property (£80), or have received some education.

LIBERAL REACTION.

For the last four years two movements have dominated English life, one being the reawakening of the fighting spirit in the Trade Unions, accompanied by Syndicalist tendencies; the other being the women's movement. The attitude adopted by the Government towards both these movements has been one of open brutality, even the fundamental right of free speech being denied by this so-called Liberal and Radical Government.

The arrest and condemnation of Crowsley, Tom Mann, and Guy Bowman for their "Don't Shoot!" manifesto to the soldiers, a manifesto similar to that published by Tolstoy in despotic Russia without being molested; the hordes of police let loose among the dock strikers for the protection of the blacklegs, and by their brutality provoking disorders, thus giving the Government a pretext to send troops—are the answer of present-day Liberalism to the cry of the working class for social justice.

Yet more disgraceful has been the savage treatment meted out to the women by the Government, who by ordering forcible feeding have sanctioned torture in the full sense of the word.

It is difficult to find in English history a parallel of a Liberal Ministry discrediting the State and Parliamentary régime as has been done by the present Cabinet of pseudo Radicals, with their programme of social reforms.

For the last forty years, since the Trade Unions were legalised and Parliamentary action began to be considered as the chief means of social emancipation, the organised workers believed that they could ally their cause to that of the Liberal and Radical bourgeois classes. Every idea of direct action was abandoned, the slightest attempt to break away from conventionalism was frowned down, the initiative of individuals and groups was discouraged, and the energy of popular action, which in the middle of last century had brought about the recognition of Trade Union rights, was crushed. The new leaders of the Labour movement, strengthened by the would-be scientific, Social Democratic belief in the State and Parliamentary action, systematically lulled the workers to sleep with the assurance that their interests were being well looked after by their representatives in Parliament. For that service the Liberal Government rewarded some of the most prominent Labour men with high Governmental posts, whilst hundreds of the lesser stars were safely stowed away in places created under the much-advertised "social reforms," such as the labour exchanges, Insurance Act, etc. The number of State servants, defenders of the existing bureaucratic order, has enormously increased during the last few years.

We Anarchists watched this gradual demoralisation and enslavement of the working class with regret. Happily, the ascendancy of capitalist tyranny, the systematic attack on Trade Union rights, the increased cost of living combined with lowered or stationary wages, have brought the workers back face to face with reality, and awakened the old spirit of revolt and direct action amongst them. As always happens in history, whenever the people take their destiny in their own hands, fighting for their rights, in a few months in 1911 the English workers obtained more than during all the years of Parliamentary enslavement.

The Liberal Government, the real representative of capitalist interests, tried by all means to check the new spirit, and instituted a series of prosecutions in the hope of nipping in the bud the forward movement of the workers. Nobody, however, was frightened; the Government covered itself with ridicule, and the propaganda of direct revolutionary action received a powerful impetus from the unsuccessful persecution.

A wave of rebellion has passed over the people. No new Labour bureaucracy, no Parliamentary Labour representation, no Social Democracy, will succeed in sending the proletariat to sleep again.

For us Anarchist Communists it is a moment to develop full activity, to use all possible energy to bring our ideals before the people, and to support every revolutionary effort against Capitalism and State oppression.

Such people as have been bred up to liberty, and subject to no other domination but the authority of their own will, look upon all other forms of government as monstrous and contrary to nature. Those who are inured to monarchy do the same; and what opportunity soever fortune presents them with to change, even then, when with the greatest difficulties they have disengaged themselves from one master, that was troublesome and grievous to them, they presently run, with the same difficulties, to create another; being unable to take into hatred subjection itself.—MONTAIGNE.

THE WORK BEFORE US.

The Conferences that were held at Easter by the various Socialist and Labour parties make it quite evident that a vast work is still waiting to be accomplished in helping all who sincerely desire a revolutionary change in society to reach definite ideas as to ways and means. A still greater work, perhaps—the work of getting as many as possible of the millions of wage-slaves to understand the Anarchist position—remains almost untouched. Is it possible for us, few as we are, to organise any effective propaganda in both of these directions?

We think it is; and in trying to point out what might be done, the question of discussing with those Socialists who oppose us (often without understanding us) can be taken first.

It has been said, and we all know it is true, that amongst the members of the B.S.P., the I.L.P., the Clarion Scouts, and perhaps other bodies, there are some who acknowledge that the Anarchist Communist position approaches most nearly the ideal of human justice, liberty, well-being, and, to express it in two words, human happiness. Why cannot we, in friendly discussion and with the desire, not to make "points," but to reason things out, do our best to put before these comrades (if we may call them so) what is, after all, a mere truism—that to have an ideal and to work for something which contradicts it is to mar the true aim of life: the effort to do our mite in helping forward the day when the enslaved masses of workers can claim with certainty a life of freedom and well-being.

Friendly discussions can nearly always be arranged if our ideas are put forward with that courteous consideration for differences of opinion which Anarchists should be the first to recognise. But something more than discussion is required. We think that leaflets written with the special aim of dealing point by point with the objections most frequently made by friendly opponents might be written and circulated amongst them with good results. Of course, misunderstanding and bitter attacks will still continue to be our fate in many quarters; but the great thing to be remembered is that *ideas* have been placed clearly before them, and that for the rest we have to wait for the course of events to prove the justice of our position.

And the course of events at the present moment tells all in our favour. It would be superfluous in these columns to go into details about this. We all know that Parliament is becoming more and more discredited; that Labour leaders who become M.P.'s are very quickly lost; that officials in Trade Unions—and elsewhere—are often a hindrance rather than a help, and are being constantly and effectively ignored by their members. We ought to be able to drive home these facts to those who, in spite of their Anarchist tendencies, continue to help a policy of mere reforms.

How to reach the "rank-and-file," as they are unjustly called—since each man to us is an individual—is a question with many difficulties, and one that cannot be fully dealt with now. But it can be stated without the least fear of contradiction that we lack speakers who could go into the centres of industry and explain in clear language, to people entirely ignorant of our position, what our aims really are. And then following on such work as could be accomplished by outdoor and indoor lecturing, the excellent proposal has been made that we should endeavour in the various localities to form discussion circles, wherein details and theoretical points could be more drastically thrashed out. Here evidently is a tremendous field of activity, and one which would absorb the energy of the most enthusiastic propagandist. For the quiet, tactful dealing with the difficulties that naturally arise with those who begin to study the Anarchist position would require the most patient perseverance, as well as a very complete acquaintance with Anarchist principles and methods. Yet even here much could be done by a few earnest workers; and if all the while the sale of Anarchist literature was being pushed, excellent results would speedily be manifested.

But all this rests with those who are interested in the work. What for the moment we can only propose is that comrades should write and put forward any proposals or suggestions that might help towards the organisation of this much-to-be-desired effort in a wider propaganda.

Christianity preaches only servitude and submission; its spirit is so favourable to tyranny that tyrants have never failed to profit by it. Real Christians are made to be slaves.—J. J. ROUSSEAU.

THE TROUBLES OF SOCIALIST POLITICIANS.

If it were not for the Syndicalists and Anarchists, the politicians of the Social Democracy would be happy folk. They could gloat undisturbed over the fractional increase of Socialist votes, and they would have the required equanimity of soul to undertake the much-needed revision of the materialist conception of history, so that it could be made to apply to all emergency cases. They would also have time to direct evolution, so that it should not fail to follow the lines laid down for it by the party executive. They would even have leisure to prepare a few hundred rigorous regulations and laws for the great moment when, after the second or third deluge, they shall have a sufficient majority in Congress to usher in the Socialist State. There would be no one to disturb them when they declare their party—whose leaders are chiefly lawyers, editors, and cockroach bosses—to be the only real class-conscious proletarian party. It would all be nice and smooth sailing—according to programme—if the bad Syndicalists and Anarchists could only be persuaded to hand the Labour movement over—bound hand and foot—to the Social Democracy, as its sole copyrighted and patented monopoly.

But the Syndicalists and Anarchists are a stubborn lot. They even presume to become bolder every day, deluding ever greater masses of Labour with new inspiration and energy. They are inculcating the proletariat with a mission that fills the workers with fire and purpose, and makes life worth while. They point toward the horizon where there is appearing the vision of a brighter day, the Dawn of Anarchist Communism, and this goal is inspiring the agitation for Direct Action, Sabotage, and the General Strike.

Wherever these appear in the arena of the great struggle, the "representatives of Labour" in the halls of legislation lose their inflated importance—to the great anguish of the Socialist politicians, for their whole scheme is based upon the claim of representing Labour. These representatives—be they a Socialist sheriff, alderman, or mayor—soon make it quite clear that their oath of office demands faithful service to the State, and that they are determined to exert their best efforts to improve the bureaucratic administration, and to do their duty, even far more loyally and honestly than their bourgeois predecessors, as the legally elected officials of a system whose only purpose is to perpetuate capitalism and wage-slavery.

This is the situation. The Social Democrats will soon be at the end of the blind alley into which "political success" has lured them. But far from placing the blame where it belongs, they lay it at the door of the Syndicalists and Anarchists, who are causing so much mischief in the Labour movement. These they attack with the Jesuitic methods of Marx, Engels, Hyndman, and Plechanov, and curse them after the good precept of the infallible Pope with his bulls against the heretics.

At present one of the Socialist crusaders, Robert Hunter, has entered the lists and drawn his pen against the disturbers, determined to vanquish and annihilate them, root, branch, and all.

Some of his articles are very readable, indeed, since they incorporate long quotations from Syndicalist and Anarchist thinkers. They have been selected by Hunter to demonstrate the close affinity between Syndicalism and Anarchism, and they really give an air of living vitality to the series.

Hunter laboured hard to adduce this proof of relationship between the philosophies of Syndicalism and Anarchism. Can there be a stronger condemnation of Syndicalism than to prove its kinship with Anarchism, in view of the ignorant popular prejudice against and misconceptions of Anarchism?

But the Hunter gentlemen may be mistaken. The time is here when the Philistine fear of Anarchism is beginning to be dissipated among the ranks of Labour, and soon it will be more generally realised that it was always Anarchism that gave the greatest impetus to the international Labour movement, that kept it young and energetic, thus saving it from sinking into the mire of Parliamentary cretinism. Not the Social Democratic politicians, but the Anarchists and Syndicalists have ever kept burning the fire of true Socialism—i.e., Communism.

Marx and his clique succeeded at one time to misrepresent Bakunin and his comrades. The political Socialists have always been past-masters at this sort of propaganda. But after almost two generations of political rope-dancing, the Labour movement is beginning, on a scale larger than ever before, to pick up again the thread of those ideas which had been propagated by the Anarchist-Syndicalist wing of the old *Internationale*. The years that passed since then, and the experience learned have clearly proved that the degeneration of true Socialism into political schemes has caused deep wounds to the international Labour movement, which it is the highest time to begin to heal.

Hunter says that the Anarchists falsely understand by political activity mere voting and office seeking. Political activity means much more, he claims. But, unfortunately, his articles fail to point out the "much more," and it remains a mystery. The Anarchists can substantiate their assertion that political activity means nothing more than vote gathering by proving that the Socialist parties of every country have always persecuted and excommunicated all those whose conception of political activity transcended mere voting and office getting. The Social Democracy has everywhere "developed" and become "purified" by driving the revolutionary elements from its ranks, and ever welcoming the reformists, busybodies, and politicians *sans phrase*.

Tearfully Hunter complains that in America also we could have a Social Democratic movement of the wonderful proportions of Germany, were it not for the activity of that bad man, John Most, who destroyed the promising beginnings with his Anarchist-Syndicalist propaganda. This reference of Hunter directly bears upon Haywood, for the purpose of creating the impression that Haywood, as dangerous a character as Most, might prove the rock upon which Socialist politics would be wrecked, if he is not speedily thrown out of the party—which has since come to pass, Haywood being voted out of the National Executive Committee by a two-thirds majority. If it be true that Most succeeded in preventing the establishment in this country of a Socialist Vatican similar to that of Germany, it would be immensely to his credit. For it is due mainly to the Social Democratic Party of Germany that Socialism has degenerated to the point where nothing but politicians can find a welcome in it. Its deadening discipline, its dogmas, intolerance, and machine politics have exalted the political office-seekers in every country where German Socialism has been taken as a model. The more thoroughly the international Labour movement frees itself from the influence of the German Social Democracy, the sooner it will grow to manhood and come into its own....

In his articles Hunter naturally tries very hard to prove the Anarchists and Syndicalists to be hopeless impossibilists; yet evidently without much satisfaction to himself. He expresses the fear that, all odds notwithstanding, they have a future in the Labour movement, and that the solemn exorcism of the Social Democratic statesmen is powerless to suppress them. In one place he says: "It is perhaps inevitable that the views of the Anarchists should gain a larger and larger following. Political action is slow, and many of the younger, the more petulant and impulsive, are impatient."

Political action is not only slow; it leads nowhere save into the swamp of barrenness, disappointment, and futility. It is worse than slow; it is rotten. It is a most encouraging sign that the young generation is beginning to lose patience with it.

M. BAGINSKI, in *Mother Earth*.

THE MEXICAN REVOLT.

Having been invited to write an article for the *Social War*, I have been looking through "The Mexican Revolution," a pamphlet we published in January, 1912. Therein, after remarking that compromise is ever the prevailing note in our own Labour troubles, and that where there is a possibility of compromise there is always a possibility of temporary peace, I added: "The Mexican Revolution is different. It presents the land question in its crudest, most unyielding form. 'You have got the land; we want it. It is useless to explain how you got it, for, whatever you may say, we deny your right to get it in that way. We deny your right to buy up our country and enslave or expatriate us.'"

As I then pointed out, a quarrel of that kind cannot be settled except by the appeal to force; or, at least, never yet has been settled by other means. It is distinctly an economic fight, for possession of what is at the root of all economic problems—the land; the one storehouse from which all supplies must come; the great industrial machine fashioned by evolution for the support of Life.

A year has passed, and it has been a year of never-ceasing fight; of clashes at so many points that the American public grew tired of keeping track, until in Mexico City itself, one of the world's great capitals, the streets were strewn with dead. Then came Madero's fall—the second President dethroned in less than two years—and his assassination. A single item in a revolutionary drama which has been making history with a rapidity for which it would be hard to find a parallel.

Three years ago Porfirio Diaz, who had reigned some thirty-five years, was still supposed to be at the zenith of his power, impregnable. Three years ago the Mexican peon was accepted as the type of hopeless servility, beyond redemption, a slave who kissed his chains. To-day the plutocratic cry is that this slave has become a ruffianly rebel, bereft of all respect for law and order; an armed bandit with no regard for property; a desperate Anarchist who hates all forms of government. As such he has developed into an important figure on whom it behoves Authority to keep close watch; and, in fact, he has set American troops in motion by the tens of thousands, and kept United States cruisers scurrying up and down both the Atlantic and Pacific. An extraordinary transformation!

Two years ago the one leader whom the Socialist Party had succeeded in forcing into Congress could speak contemptuously of the Mexican revolutionists as "bandits," with whom no well-established movement should connect itself. Within the last two weeks a new Government has come into power in these United States, and with one voice our great press agreed that the first and most pressing problem it must face was Mexico. Two years ago it was believed that such contests as the papers thought worth recording were mere skirmishes between ragged peons; battles of kites and crows, beneath history's dignity to record. To-day they talk of an army of 500,000 and a five-year campaign, if intervention should prove imperative. Two years ago the average radical considered what was going on across the border as a mere political squabble. To-day he finds that it is the very gravest of economic wars, which has enlisted the forces of the Rothschilds and Standard Oil; in which High Finance is playing every card it can pick

up; in which the Money Power finds itself pitted against the proletariat and by no means certain that it can win the game.

For the moment, as explained in a pamphlet we are about to publish—it will be printed in *Regeneracion* of March 22—the Rothschilds are again on top; but their agents, Huerta and Diaz, are discredited almost universally, and the volcano of revolt is in more violent eruption than ever. Meanwhile peasants by the tens of thousands, who, two years ago, had never seen a gun, have been converted into hard and seasoned soldiers, trained to guerrilla warfare, at which the power of endurance peculiar to their Indian stock makes them specially adept.

To go into detail within the limits of one short article is, of course, impossible; and here I can only trace a general outline, and convey a hint as to the possibilities of a movement which was originally rejected by all the revolutionary builders, and may yet show itself as being one of the chief stones of the corner. Big oaks from little acorns grow, and to-day I venture the guess that Debs, Haywood, Emma Goldman, and many other proletarian orators with whose names we are all familiar, secretly regret that they rated the Mexican Revolution far below its sterling worth.

We have no rule or compass with which to measure the march of discontent, but I should consider him or her indeed a blockhead who would deny that it has received enormous impetus everywhere from the brave struggle made during the past two years by the despised peon of Mexico.

WM. C. OWEN.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

France.

It is a well-known fact that a good deal of friction, and even hatred, is caused amongst French and Swiss workers by Italians who come to work for lower wages, or even to act as blacklegs in case of strikes. With the view of discussing this problem, the French Federation of the Building Trades held a conference with the secretary of the Italian Building Trade Unions, the secretary of the Belgian Labour Union, as well as the French Trade Union delegates of the frontier district, where difficulties naturally arise for the greater part. It was decided with the Belgian representative that when the general strike in Belgium is ended, the French and Belgian Unions of the building trade will meet directly and discuss what measures must be taken to solve this difficulty. For Italy it was arranged to hold an inquiry whence the Italian immigrants come; to communicate the results of the inquiry to the Italian Unions, which will then know in which places they must increase their propaganda so as to put a stop to ignorant men being recruited as cheap labour by enterprising employers, who send them abroad to lower wages or break up strikes. This will enable the Italian Unions to give warning of and announce those contractors in the places where they try to pursue their nefarious work.

The action of the French and Italian workers in this difficult affair is a convincing proof that if the workers generally are only left alone to solve economic problems, even if complicated by national prejudice, they are willing and able to arrange matters in a friendly and rational way. But that is the very thing the capitalists do not wish to happen. National prejudice and economic problems must be preserved to enable the governing classes to justify militarism and wage-slavery.

The French Confederation of Labour has decided to use this year's First of May demonstrations especially to make propaganda for a three-fold demand for less hours of work, the introduction of the "English week" (Saturday afternoon free), and a protest against the reintroduction of the three years' military service. The manifesto says, among other things: "At the present moment, when we are threatened with a new explosion of Jingoism, when everywhere armaments are increased, all done by the governing classes in order to hide their intention to drown in blood the claims of the workers in all countries.....we must stand firm against the reaction, loudly proclaim our indignation and anger, show our contempt for their teachings of fratricide of races and nationalities, and firmly assert the indispensable goodwill among all the exploited of the world."

Spain.

The month of April seems to have been unfavourable to the crowned heads of Europe. King George of Greece executed, and the King of Spain only escaping the same fate by the merest chance. Returning from a military review, Alphonso rode a little ahead of his generals, when suddenly a man dashed out of the crowd, held the King's horse, and fired. We are assured that Alphonso's cool head saved him; he instantaneously made his horse rear, and the shot struck the animal. Though thrown on the ground, the man fired twice more, but could not aim. A terrible panic seems to have followed, the soldiers and police riding down and pushing against the crowd with great brutality. The man who shot is said to be an Anarchist from Catalonia, that cradle of revolution in Spain. Soon Alphonso is going to visit Paris, though many people have advised him to stay away; Ferrer is not yet forgotten.

Some time ago a worker under treatment for consumption in the Anti-Tubercule Institute of Barcelona, a clerical institution, was found to have tattooed on his arm the words, "Long live Anarchy!" The clerical doctor was horrified, and, without using chloroform—the

pain had to purge the soul of the criminal!—cut out the offending part of the skin of the helpless patient. Another doctor of Barcelona—Dr. Queralto—hearing of this barbarous treatment, publicly denounced this act of clerical zeal, and declared that no doctor has the right to perform such an operation without the consent of the patient. The four reactionary doctors of the institute began proceedings against Dr. Queralto, who was sentenced to seven years' exile from Barcelona and a heavy fine. This judgment, said to have been pronounced under pressure from Court, where the son of the chief doctor of the institute is a great favourite of Alphonso, awoke a storm of indignation in Spain. Over 320 organisations sent resolutions of sympathy to Queralto, and decided to boycott the four clerical doctors. Also from foreign countries messages of encouragement were sent to the brave doctor. Evidently the clericals have caught a Tartar in Queralto, because not only is he not crushed under his condemnation, but is touring in Spain, holding meetings and defending his action. Everywhere he is received with enthusiasm, and the whole affair has served as another proof of the sinister work of clericalism and reaction against enlightenment and the workers.

Greece.

After the stream of tidings of glorious Greek victories culminating in the triumphant entry of Salonica by the whole Royal family, the news of the assassination of the King fell like a thunderbolt on Europe, and caused consternation all round. Though it was well known that during the long years of the King's reign no love was lost between the Greek people and their monarch, the last six months with its successful campaign had brought the ruler and his subjects together in their thirst for military glory and territorial expansion. Who, then, could have raised his hand against the Greek King? It must be a Turk; it was confidently hoped to be so, because everybody tacitly agreed that the Mussulmans had been treated badly enough to warrant revenge. But soon it was established that the man was a Greek, Alexander Schinas. He was promptly said to be a madman; some hinted that their "Christian allies," the Bulgarians, might have had something to do with the removal of the Greek King. All tried to find an explanation for the deed. None could or would see in it simply an act of revolt and despair.

The correspondent of the Italian paper, *Secolo*, who managed to visit Schinas in prison, described him as a young man, pale and ill. He was a medical student, but unable to finish his studies from lack of funds. "I became a Socialist when I was at the University," he declared. "How I hardly can explain. By and by one becomes a Socialist scarcely without knowing it. The philosophy of medicine led me to Socialism." He worked as a schoolmaster and otherwise, to scrape together enough money to obtain his diploma of doctor. In vain. At last, hopeless and ill with consumption, he struck down the head of that relentless society which would not let him live and work. Soon Schinas will be placed before a military tribunal, and his judges, who have sent thousands to death and suffering on the battlefield, will condemn Schinas for having taken a human life.

Perhaps the incongruity of the situation has struck even the bourgeois press, or the lament of the Greeks over the loss of their King is lacking in sincerity; at any rate, a few days after his death the subject was dropped. Not, however, before the Greek Socialists in London, interviewed on the deed of their comrade, had energetically declined to recognise Schinas as theirs, and praised the dead King. Such a denial may serve to please and pacify the bourgeoisie when roused to uneasiness and consternation, but one would rather have expected from the Greek Socialists an indication that in time of slaughter like the Balkan war, human life, whether of king or subject, naturally begins to lose some of its sacredness.

United States.

The strike of the silk weavers of Paterson, New Jersey, has continued for the last two months. As usual in strikes where different nationalities are involved, the movement is led by the Industrial Workers of the World. This time the I.W.W. is actively supported in the struggle at Paterson by the Socialists, who, though hostile to the theory of Direct Action and of one big Union, are obliged to recognise the advantages of revolutionary tactics. The police have excelled themselves once again in zeal. The chief of police from the beginning of the strike prohibited all public meetings; the strikers, whether men or women and children, have been beaten; the speakers arrested and jailed. William Haywood, the well-known I.W.W. militant, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for the awful crime, confessed by him, of having marched at the head of a prohibited procession of strikers on a Sunday. Of course, everybody understands that his real crime was being the leader and organiser of the strike, for which the bosses through their humble tools, the judges, thought to pay him out. But the outburst of indignation at his sentence was so great that in a few days the authorities found it necessary to alter their decision, and Haywood was retried and released, "because the police have decided that he acted in pure ignorance." This foolish excuse does not blind anyone as to the real reason for letting him out.

President Wilson has created a separate Department of Labour, and nominated as its first secretary W. B. Wilson, formerly a secretary of the United Mine Workers, on the recommendation, it is said, of Sam Gompers, of the conservative American Federation of Labour. The whole idea of a Ministry of Labour comes originally from the

A.F.L., which clamoured for it as far back as 1883. Though it was created in 1884, for several years it had been united with the Department of Commerce. Now at last it is independent, and can develop full activity. But those who expected great things of the Ministry of Labour in France know that their hopes were disillusioned. When the workers want to get an amelioration, however small, they must fight for it.

Among the new publications destined to educate the people to class consciousness, and to liberate themselves by revolutionary Syndicalist tactics, are the *Syndicalist*—previously known as the *Agitator*—published at Chicago by the Syndicalist Propaganda League; and the *Social War*, published at New York.

Belgium.

There are men in Belgium who have three votes, others two, whilst the workers never have more than one—a condition of things not quite unknown on our shores! But in Belgium, thanks to the plural vote, the Clericals have held an uninterrupted sway of over twenty years, and the workers begin to feel tired of Conservative Governments. Elementary education has been allowed to remain entirely in the hands of the Roman Catholic clergy, with the usual result of ignorance, superstition, and degradation. Social reform has been talked of in times of electioneering, but never carried out.

The Belgian Labour organisations are nearly entirely under the domination of Social Democratic politicians, who feel themselves doomed to inactivity unless "one man, one vote," becomes a reality. Parliamentary action by the Socialists has not made the Clerical Government budge from their plural voting system. At their wits' end, the Socialist Party threatened the Government with a general strike. The Government replied that the last election was fought on the suffrage question, and had returned a Clerical majority; it forgot to remember, of course, that the election was fought with the plural vote! Then the Socialists began to make serious preparations for the general strike; the idea was enthusiastically taken up by the workers, tired of the forced inactivity of years. Besides, the general strike, though anathema to an orthodox Social Democracy, had been propagated and spread amongst all the workers, and the young and more daring sections of the Belgian proletariat were all aglow with fighting instinct. The leaders tried to put off the fateful declaration, but the special Easter Congress forced their unwillingness and hesitation. Once again we see what has become so frequent during the last few years: leaders led and pushed on by the men to activity. So the strike was fixed for April 14. One condition the leaders laid down most emphatically: the strike had to be peaceful. Up till now this has been the case; but this very peacefulness may yet be the cause of failure, as in the general strike of Sweden, where the strikers remained quiet and orderly and hungry, whilst the capitalists organised a systematic defeat of the strike by blackleg labour.

The number of Belgian strikers was at first 300,000, and has grown since to 400,000. The number is considerable, especially in the industrial and mining centres of Liège, Hainaut, and Charleroi; but economic life has not been paralysed, though the big shipping centres begin to feel the pinch.

Though we, as Anarchists, naturally do not attribute any value to the vote, we heartily sympathise with the struggle of the Belgian workers to assert themselves. Their victory over an obstinate Clerical Government and Conservative governing class would mean a triumph for the whole proletariat gained by direct action over the common enemy of reaction and Clericalism. Once our Belgian comrades have found out that a general strike can be organised, and may be successful for political purposes, they are sure to make use of the same weapon when more important economic questions have to be settled with their exploiters. Therefore, success to the Belgian workers, and long live the General Strike!

Germany.

Of all countries of Europe suffering under the burdens of militarism, Germany is undoubtedly one of the worst. And yet in view of "the dangers threatening the Empire," the increase of armaments in the camp of the "hereditary foe"—the French Republic—the German people were exhorted by Kaiser and Ministers to make still greater sacrifices this year. As usual, all the grumbling and protests of the exhausted taxpayers were not heeded, and all was going smoothly for the plans of the militarists. Suddenly a real bombshell has been thrown down by young Liebknecht, the Social Democratic Reichstag Deputy, who has made his party sometimes quite uneasy by his active antimilitarist propaganda. He has proved by documents and letters how the German people are swindled into the belief that more armaments are necessary by press campaigns organised by the big arms factories, like the famous Krupp, who, on the other hand, show their patriotism by selling their wares cheaper to foreign Powers than to their own country. When the German papers could not stir up enough patriotism, these gun manufacturers by their agents influenced the French press—and we doubt not also other foreign papers—to insert news of the increase of the French Army; the news telegraphed to Germany produced the necessary flutter to warrant new expenses for the German Army and Navy.

The whole denunciation by Liebknecht reveals such a disgusting play with the people by the ring of armour-plate firms that it seems as if for ever after the demands of the militarists will be treated with

suspicion and refusal. But we know only too well that the present indignation, real or feigned, of the bourgeois press, the talk of investigations and arrests of the guilty, will soon die down. The real culprits occupy too high a place in the capitalist set, in the Army, Navy, and Government, to be brought to justice for their gamble with the lives and the very means of existence of the workers. Who could bring them to justice? Justice, as all other institutions of our capitalist society, is in the hands of those highly placed criminals; and though they may offer up a few of their subordinates to outraged public opinion, their game will be soon resumed, and the humble, patient producers will shoulder their crushing burden again—till the day comes when, together with the liberating truth, will come the will to shake off those parasites of State and Capitalism.

New Zealand.

The Syndicalists and Revolutionary Socialists are more and more becoming a power to be reckoned with. The wonderful Labour legislation of New Zealand, of which we hear so much in Europe, has proved to be an absolute failure. The Trade Unions are openly opposed to the law of compulsory arbitration. Under the present reactionary Government, a flaw in this law made it possible for fifteen blacklegs to form a new Union and to register it. This Union, by concluding a labour contract with the employers in their branch of industry, may compel hundreds and thousands of organised workers to accept conditions of labour against which they fought for years to get abolished. Several Unions have in this way been forced back to conditions created by blacklegs. But one good thing has resulted from all this: it has opened the eyes and ears of the masses of workers to the propaganda of Syndicalists and Revolutionary Socialists, and the movement is making excellent progress. A new paper, the *Industrial Unionist*, has recently been published at Auckland (113A Victoria Street West).

Our comrade Josephs writes that the demand for Direct Action literature is increasing every week, several Trade Unions having given him orders on behalf of their members.

Russia.

April 17 was the first anniversary of the Lena massacres, when hundreds of peaceful workers on strike were shot down by the troops for the benefit of the Lena Goldfield Mining Company, the majority of whose shareholders are English. In all large towns and industrial centres the workers, students, and Socialist organisations commemorated the day by a 24-hours' strike, whilst street demonstrations were held in Kief, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kharkoff, and other places. In St. Petersburg alone over 45,000 persons took part in the demonstrations. The Government was prepared; the whole week before the anniversary searches and arrests had taken place among workers and students, and those known as leaders or conspicuous in any way were imprisoned. The Ministers were confident that they had nipped in the bud any anti-governmental outbreak. Nevertheless, from the morning in all quarters of St. Petersburg the workers braved police brutality and arrest; processions were formed, and in many places, squares and open spaces, thousands of workers, often unfurling the red flag, sang revolutionary songs and the Requiem in commemoration of the fallen comrades. As usual in Russia, the streets were full of police, gendarmes, and Cossacks, who treated the public brutally, arresting hundreds of demonstrators; but nevertheless during the whole day one manifestation followed upon the other. To every impartial observer it was evident that the population of St. Petersburg is not only disgusted with the terrible system of hanging and exiling by the thousand, but that it is in full sympathy with all efforts to demonstrate hatred of the Tsar and his criminal Government. "The revolution is approaching," was said by many; and this time even the middle classes have fixed their hope on the growing movement of discontent.

And this movement is really extending, not only in large towns, as in 1905-6, but in small provincial townlets and in the country among the peasants. Landowners and rural police besiege the central Government with their reports on agrarian disorders and unrest, complaining that the younger generation has no respect for authority, law and order; that the nobility and bureaucracy find it nearly impossible to live in their country seats; even the clergy, especially those that distinguished themselves by zealous loyalty to the Tsar and reaction, feel that they are surrounded by dislike and distrust by the people. Reactionists and Government supporters try to call this state of unrest simply hooliganism; the conservative press has been full of the subject for the last few months. A special law has even been passed against "hooliganism." But rural authorities and police know quite well that if they meet with disobedience, ill-will, and even ill-treatment, it is not from a spirit of sheer hooliganism, but from a deep feeling of popular unrest and discontent.

Denmark.

In Denmark the employers have followed the example set by their powerful German neighbours, who crush partial strikes by threats of a general lock-out. The Danish master painters and decorators have rejected the conciliatory proposals of the official arbitrator who tried to bring peace between the masters and the striking men. Now the Employers' Union has taken up the quarrel, and proclaimed a general lock-out in the whole building trade unless the men submit at once. The employers' executive notified the Central Trades' Council of their

decision, saying that the difficulties and troubles in the building trade oblige the employers "to put again some order in the situation." The lock-out will apply to about twelve to fifteen thousand workers in the country.

The men, on the other hand, are determined to resist the arrogance of the masters. It is lucky for the strikers that building is in full swing, and the State and municipalities both desire to see work resumed. It is said that in the places where the municipal councils have a Socialist majority the works in construction will be taken over by the municipalities, which will engage the workers locked out by the employers. That would be at last some useful work by the Socialist politicians after all the disillusionments Parliamentarism has brought in Denmark as elsewhere.

In Copenhagen the painters' strike begins to be felt after three weeks' duration. On April 15 hundreds of houses had to be ready which are now waiting to be finished. The employers are in a tight corner, and, instead of coming to terms with the men, have widened the breach by the lock-out.

CORRESPONDENCE.

METHODS OF PROPAGANDA.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—I see that at the recent Conference propaganda was discussed. I do not think the results of the work done in that direction will be satisfactory till the stumper makes propaganda the purpose of his or her life; and the time is now with us that allows that to be accomplished. If there were fifty flying stumpers willing to take the tub and to rough it if need be, their purpose to promote Anarchy, the people with their voluntary offerings would give as much as would keep them, not like lords, but, considering the time they would have at their own disposal for self-improvement, they would be much better off than workshop drudges. Besides, there are few men fit to do forceful propaganda and work; and there are few men able to work up to the necessary speed after spending Sunday holding forth. Now, the fifty stumpers would need to be without wife or child. If single, and if they threw themselves into the work, they would want for nothing, excitement included. I have been out of work for four weeks last Sunday, and that day I felt a new man. It was no trouble for me to hold the fort for two hours in the afternoon and two and a half at night, and to meetings that were a flattery to me or to Anarchy. No false modesty: I believe it was to both, for, as Kropotkin has said, Anarchy in its elucidation must have clear-cut speech, no guesswork as regards its meaning; and on that account Anarchy and its advocates find always an abundance of people eager to give an attentive hearing, and eager and glad of the opportunity to give a donation for the upkeep of the advocate of the cause that has yielded hope and pleasure.

Now, if fifty flying orators were to take that position and sell on an average four quires of FREEDOM and a corresponding amount of pamphlets, don't you think it would make things hum? It would without a doubt. As regards literature, my notion is, pamphlets numerous, but papers few. One journal is enough to work with, any more handicaps the stumper; and when there are two papers, I can't sell double the number that I did of one. Sometimes the sales of the two do not come up to what was previously sold of one; but the worst of it is that it imposes too much on the stumper. A weekly journal in the winter is a dead frost in this movement, where we almost wholly depend on outdoor work. I have seen three wet Sundays in succession, and, taking three quires of a weekly paper, they were thrown in a corner and afterwards given away for nothing. That knocks the bottom out of a propagandist who is on the rocks. And this new paper starting the first month of the year; few sales and poor payments for the first three months, and by May your stock of money would be used up. No; if there's a time for success, May is the month. But my advice is not worth much on this, as I am not ardent or warm.—Yours fraternally,

Edinburgh.

JOHN MCARA.

PAMPHLET PROPAGANDA.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—It was decided at the Liverpool Conference that a fund be raised in order to reprint several valuable pamphlets now out of stock. The scheme to which the Conference agreed was that comrades should contribute a fixed amount per week for a certain period; not as a free gift (unless so wished), but comrades to receive in return pamphlets to the value of amount contributed.

In accordance with the wishes of the Conference, I have to request that comrades will forward to me at the address below all contributions they may wish to make. If secretary of a group or in touch with other comrades in their district, they might place this letter before them, and collect and forward their contributions to me as regularly as possible, stating where pamphlets should be sent in return. Comrades are requested to reply at an early date.—Yours fraternally,

19 The Haymarket, Bristol.

BERT PLATTIN,
Propaganda Secretary.

BOOK NOTES.

The Conquest of Bread. By Peter Kropotkin. 1s. net. London: Chapman and Hall.

At last we have a cheap edition of Kropotkin's well-known work, and we hope comrades will do their best to get it into the hands of those who are disappointed with the results of Parliamentary agitation. The author, with his glowing faith in the workers, shows how everything for the well-being of all could be produced with the expenditure of a few hours' work each day, once the land and instruments of production were in the hands of the producers. But our readers need no introduction to this book, which will immensely help our propaganda wherever it goes. It is nicely bound in cloth, and well printed, and we hope it will sell in thousands.

La Science Moderne et l'Anarchie. Par Pierre Kropotkine. 3fr. 50c. Paris: P.-V. Stock, 155 Rue Saint Honoré.

This is the French edition of "Modern Science and Anarchism," but in addition it contains "L'Etat: Son Role Historique" (67 pp.) and "L'Etat Moderne" (101 pp.), from the latter of which has been taken the articles on "Modern Wars" commenced in this issue of FREEDOM.

Other Publications Received.

Syndicalism and the Co-operative Commonwealth (How We Shall Bring about the Revolution). By Emile Pataud and Emile Pouget, with a Foreword by Tom Mann, and a Preface by Peter Kropotkin. Translated from the French by Charlotte and Frederic Charles. Paper 2s. 6d. net. Oxford: The New International Publishing Company, 37 and 38 Park End Street. We hope to review this book in our next issue.

The Burning Question: Rational Education of the Proletariat. By Dr. Paul Luttinger. 10c. New York: Rational Education League, 963 Washington Avenue, Bronx.

The Socialist Movement in Germany. By W. Stephen Sanders. 2d. London: Fabian Society, 3 Clement's Inn, W.C.

Esbozo de un Plan de Educacion Razonada: La Escuela Ideal. Prof. Laureano D'Ore. No price. Montevideo: Liga Popular para la Educacion Racional de la Infancia, Yatay 45.

La Contribucion de Sangre. Fermin Salvochea. 10c. Barcelona: *Salud y Fuerza*, Provenza, 177, principal, 1a.

Das Anarchistische Manifest. Von Pierre Ramus. 12c. Zurich (III.): R. Trindler, Agnesstrasse 22.

Parlamentarismus und Arbeiterschaft. Von Luigi. 10pf. Hamburg: *Kampf*, Sternstrasse 39, Haus 18.

Klassenpolitik. Von Luigi. 10pf. Same publishers.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

DURHAM.—A few years ago an active Anarchist or "Workers' Freedom Group" in the heart of the Durham coalfield would have been set down as impossible. But the impossible has been attained, and away among the miners of Durham are what may be looked upon as the forerunner of a real rank-and-file movement, selling FREEDOM pamphlets and books.

At Chopwell, one of the largest collieries, is a body of rebels who go out to the outlying collieries propagating the awful doctrine of Anarchism. Two meetings have been held at High Splen, with good sales of literature, and inquiries galore as to our intentions. And, as the Yankee says, it is right here, where the workers are, where the real work is to be done.—W. L.

EAST LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP are doing splendid work in spreading Anarchism among the workers of the East End. We note the results in that we get large audiences and the sale of literature is increasing rapidly. Our Sunday night meetings at the Triangle Club Rooms are also a success. On Sunday, April 6, Josiah Wedgwood gave an interesting lecture on the Single Tax. During his lecture he openly admitted that all forms of Government were futile; but at the same time he is advocating a Governmental reform by which he thinks the workers will be emancipated. There were plenty of questions and discussion, and the collection amounted to 10s., being a record one. On the 13th, S. Carlyle Potter gave an interesting lecture on Kropotkin's "Mutual Aid." On Sunday, April 26, Arthur D. Lewis, of the *Daily Herald*, spoke on Syndicalism. There were plenty of questions, which followed into a lively discussion. Some of the comrades apparently were not in agreement with him. The audience was a fairly good one, and the sale of literature was the same.

We have formed an antimilitarist sub-committee for the purpose of organising a procession from the East End to Trafalgar Square on May 25. Any comrade wishing to give a helping hand in pushing things along, should communicate with D. Freedman, 11 Lyme Grove, Hackney. The number of members for our library has not increased much; so will comrades and sympathisers who wish to join buck up?—D. F.

FRENCH BOOKS ON SALE.

The following volumes can be obtained from FREEDOM Office. Price 3s. post free:—

BAKOUNINE: "Œuvres" (reprints of scarce early pamphlets and articles, first publication of unpublished manuscripts). 6 vols.

JEAN GRAVE: "L'Individu et la Société."

" " "Réformes, Révolution."

" " "La Société future."

P. KROPOTKINE: "La Conquete du Pain."

" " "Autour d'une Vie."

LOUISE MICHEL: "La Commune."

ELISEE RECLUS: "L'Evolution, la Révolution et l'Idéal anarchique."

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(April 4—April 23.)

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—S. Corio 1s 6d, H. Glasse 6s.

FREEDOM Subscriptions.—E. E. Rimbach 3s, J. Walters 1s 6d, J. Blundell 1s 6d, J. Hoyle 1s 6d, P. Reclus 6s 6d, R. Stubbs 1s 6d, E. Duchemin 1s 5d, W. MacGillivray 2s, W. Lewcock 1s 6d.

Printing Fund.—See page 36.

Hyde Park—First of May. Anarchist Platform is marked A.

International Revolutionists

Will Form up with Band and Banner, at 12.30 sharp, at
MANETTE STREET, CHARING CROSS ROAD, W.

After the Demonstration,

A MAY DAY SOCIAL

Will be held at the

DELICO RESTAURANT, JAMES STREET, OXFORD STREET
(Back of Selfridge's).

6 till 11 p.m.

Tickets 6d. each.

Tea and Refreshments can be obtained at moderate charges.

GREAT ANTIMILITARIST DEMONSTRATION

Will be held in

TRAFALGAR SQUARE

ON

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 25, at 3.30 p.m.

For list of Speakers and Processions, see Handbills.

EAST LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP.

Indoor Lecture List.

Triangle Coffee Rooms, 72b Mare Street, Hackney,
Opposite Morley Hall.

Sunday Evenings at 8 o'clock.

May 4—Mrs. E. WEDGWOOD, "Social Theories and Political Practice."

,, 11—Vacant (see *Reynolds's*)

,, 18—P. VALLINA, "The Struggle for Freedom in Spain."

,, 25—W. WESS, "The Teachings of William Morris."

Outdoor Meetings.

Sunday Mornings—Victoria Park, 11.30; Ridley Road, Dalston, 12.

Wednesdays—Outside Hackney Town Hall, Reading Lane, 8 p.m.

Communist Club, Room 2, 20 Islington, Liverpool.—Lectures
Every Sunday Evening, 7.30 p.m. Discussion and Educational
Classes, Tuesdays and Thursdays at 8 p.m. Admission Free.
All Welcome. Anarchist Literature always on Sale.

M. ROCHE, Hon. Sec.

Syndicalism & the Co-operative Commonwealth (How We Shall Bring About the Revolution).

By EMILE PATAUD and EMILE POUGET, with a Foreword by TOM MANN
and a Preface by PETER KROPOTKIN.

Translated from the French by CHARLOTTE and FREDERIC CHARLES.

Cloth 3s. 6d. net. Paper 2s. 6d. net.

FREEDOM PRESS, 127 OSSULSTON STREET, LONDON, N.W.

BIRMINGHAM.—Comrades are informed that a Bookstall for the sale
of Anarchist literature is now open every Saturday in Smithfield
Market.

"FREEDOM" MAY BE OBTAINED of

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

NATIONAL LABOUR PRESS, St. Bride's House, Salisbury Square, Fleet
Street, E.C. (Wholesale).

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

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

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

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

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

A. ROSE & Co., Clerkenwell Road (near Holborn Hall).

F. GOULDING, 10 Gordon Road, Manor Park, E.

ISENBURG, Cleveland Street, W.

F. BENDY, 270 York Road, Bridge End, Wandsworth, S.W.

A. TOLEMAN, 54 Battersea Rise, S.W.

STEVENS, 56 High Street, Islington.

GOLUB, 10 Osborne Street, Whitechapel.

A. RAY, 49 Little Surrey Street, Blackfriars Road, S.E.

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

SUGARMAN, 329A Mile End Road, E.

J. YATES, 114 High Road, Willesden Green, N.W.

H. ELLIOT, 329 Lillie Road, Fulham, S.W.

Modern Science and Anarchism.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

This is a New and Revised Translation, with three additional
chapters, and a useful and interesting Glossary.

112 pages; Paper Covers, 6d. net; also in Art Cambric, 1s. 6d. net.
Postage, paper 1½d., cloth 3d.

God and the State.

By MICHAEL BAKUNIN.

A new edition, revised from the original Manuscript.

With a new Portrait.

Paper cover, 6d. net; cloth, 1s. net. Postage 1d.

PAMPHLET AND BOOK LIST.

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

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

ANARCHIST MORALITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

ANARCHY. By E. MALATESTA. 1d.

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

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

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

EXPROPRIATION. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

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

THE SOCIAL GENERAL STRIKE. By ARNOLD ROLLER. 1d.

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

LAW AND AUTHORITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.

THE PLACE OF ANARCHISM IN SOCIALISTIC EVOLUTION.

By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

THE COMMUNE OF PARIS. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

ANARCHISM AND OUTRAGE. ½d.

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

WAR. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION. By ELISEE RECLUS. 1d.

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

USEFUL WORK v. USELESS TOIL. By Wm. MORRIS. 1d.

THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CONGRESS, 1907. 1d.

THE CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL: A MARXIAN FALLACY. By

W. TCHERKESOFF. 1d.

ANARCHISTS AND ESPERANTO. 1d.

KROPOTKIN: THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE. By T. SWAN. 1d.

THE JAPANESE MARTYRS. With Portrait of Kotoku. 1d.

ANARCHY. By ANDRE GIRARD. ½d.

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

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

ANARCHISM AND MALTHUS. By C. L. JAMES. 2d.

THE MODERN SCHOOL. By FRANCISCO FERRER. 2d.

DIRECT ACTION. By VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE. 3d.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL SOCIETY. By EDWARD CARPENTER. 3d.

STATE SOCIALISM AND ANARCHISM. By Ben. R. TUCKER. 3d.

TRADE UNIONISM AND ANARCHISM. By JAY FOX. 2d.

THE GREAT FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1789—1793. By PETER

KROPOTKIN. 6s. net.

THE CONQUEST OF BREAD. By P. KROPOTKIN. Cloth 1s. net.

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

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM. By PETER KROPOTKIN. A

New Translation. Paper 6d., Cloth 1s. 6d.; postage 1½d. and 3d.

FIELDS, FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS. By PETER KROPOTKIN.

New and Revised Edition. Cloth, 1s. net.

GOD AND THE STATE. By MICHAEL BAKUNIN. Cloth 1s. net, paper

6d. net, postage 1d.

ANARCHISM AND OTHER ESSAYS. By EMMA GOLDMAN. 4s. 6d. net.

PRISON MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST. By A. BERKMAN. 6s. 6d.

net, postage 4d.

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

NEWS FROM NOWHERE. By WILLIAM MORRIS. Paper covers, 1s.;

cloth, 2s.; postage 2d.

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

FAMOUS SPEECHES OF THE EIGHT CHICAGO ANARCHISTS.

1s. 3d., postage 2d.

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

THE EGO AND HIS OWN. By MAX STIRNER. 2s. 6d. net.

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

A VINDICATION OF NATURAL SOCIETY. By EDMUND BURKE

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

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

FRANCISCO FERRER: His Life, Work, and Martyrdom. 1s. net.

FREE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS. By L. SPOONER. 1s. net.

All orders, with cash, should be sent to

FREEDOM PRESS, 127 OSSULSTON STREET, LONDON, N.W.

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