

Freedom

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NOTES.

The Situation in China.

At the moment of writing it looks as though foreign Imperialism has succeeded in breaking up the unity of the Nationalist forces. General Chiang Kai-shek, who was until recently in command of the successful army of the South, has now broken with the revolutionary leaders of the Nationalists and established a Government of his own at Nanking, in opposition to the Nationalist Government at Hankow. He is now hailed as a moderate by the representatives of Imperialism at Shanghai, who will use him as a tool, in co-operation with Chang Tso-lin, the ex-brigand of the North, in preserving the privileged position they now occupy in China. It is not possible to prophesy the immediate outcome of this struggle between the contending factions, but we are quite certain that sooner or later the Chinese people will insist on being masters in their own house, and if the Western Imperialists insist on using force they will light a fire in the East which will consume millions of lives before it burns itself out. The British Government is sending out more troops and munitions of war every day, and the small force originally despatched for the supposed purpose of safeguarding British lives and property in Shanghai has now become an army which can be used as a means of intervention in the civil war. Divide and conquer is an old maxim of our rulers, and they hope to make it as successful in China as they have in India. We are being fed with the same lying propaganda as has done service in fomenting wars in the past, and every effort is being made to use the situation in China for an attack on Russia. The Chinese workers and peasants, we are told, would be perfectly contented with their present position if it were not for the Russian Communists. We think the massacre of students at Shanghai in 1925, the bombardment of Wanhhsien last year when the *Morning Post* gleefully recorded the murder of 5,000 Chinese, and the bombardment of Nanking a few weeks ago have been more deadly propaganda against the foreign Imperialists than could be achieved by many years of Communist propaganda; and if a ruthless war of revenge comes the Western Powers will have only themselves to blame.

Mobilising the French Nation.

On March 7 the French Chamber of Deputies passed a Bill for the mobilisation of the nation in time of war. The Bill was introduced by the Socialist Deputy, Paul-Boncour, and after four days' discussion was carried by 500 votes to 31, the Socialists voting in the majority. Every French citizen, without distinction of age or sex, is to be compelled to take part in "the defence of the country or the maintenance of its material and moral life." It is also said that no capitalist will be able to make profit during a war, but Paul-Boncour said that "capital will bear interest at the same rate as State loans during the war," which M. Loucheur, on behalf of the capitalists, said was "very reasonable," and preferable to the terms obtaining during the last War. As wars are fought for the protection or on behalf of their interests, we may be sure that capitalists will protect their profits. The Paris correspondent of the *Daily Herald* says "the unusual unanimity of Socialists and reactionaries in voting this National Defence Bill will doubtless cause astonishment in other countries." But why should it? To us Anarchists it is the logical outcome of State Socialism. Socialists are always calling on the State to do everything for the workers, and the State will expect the workers to give themselves to it in return. Wars between great Powers are now fought with the whole resources of the nations involved, and if a Labour or a Socialist Government is in office here when another war comes, it will do exactly the same as French Socialists already announce their intention of doing. The State giveth and the State taketh away; blessed be the name of the State.

The Anti-Strike Bill.

The Trade Union Bill brought in by the Government is on the lines we expected. The power to strike is to be hedged in by so many pains and penalties that the workers will be in an even more slavish position than they are to-day. Divorced from the soil, they have no option but to beg from the capitalists the right to live; but at least they can refuse to accept the terms offered if they prefer to starve instead. Now even this right is to be taken away from them. On another page we print an article showing how workers fared under the old Combination Laws. If this Bill passes in its present form, it will be almost as dangerous to go on strike as it was in those days. The Conservatives say they merely wish to protect the worker from the tyranny of the Trade Unions, and to give them the right to work for whom and on what terms they choose. Conservatives posing as the friends of freedom is a sight for the gods. The General Strike of May last year gave them the fright of their lives, and if Acts of Parliament can do it, they hope to make such strikes impossible in future. But economic pressure is the principal cause of strikes, and no power on earth will prevent men and women kicking when conditions become intolerable. The mismanagement of last year's strike has depressed the fighting spirit of the workers, who saw all their efforts brought to naught by their leaders; but if the Tories imagine they can take advantage of the present pessimism in the workers' ranks, we think and hope they are in for a rude awakening. Up to the present, the workers have put too much reliance on their leaders. Now that they see so many of them strutting about as Privy Councillors or as members of Governmental bodies, they must and will rely more on themselves, and from this spirit we hope for better and more lasting results than from the futile activities of their representatives in Parliament. But to fight merely for the right to strike and starve would be foolish. They must demand and enforce the right to the means of life without having to bow the knee to capitalist or landlord.

The Sacco-Vanzetti Case.

The two Italian Anarchists, Sacco and Vanzetti, who were tried and convicted in 1921 for the murder of a pay roll clerk and a guard in Massachusetts the previous year, and whose case has been appealed from Court to Court ever since, have now been condemned to be electrocuted in the week beginning July 10. Should this sentence be carried out, it will be the most dastardly judicial crime in the United States since our Chicago comrades were executed on November 11, 1887. Ever since May 5, 1920, when Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested, the prosecution has raked the "underworld" to find men and women who would commit perjury and help to convict these two men. The trial of Vanzetti alone for an attempted highway robbery on December 24, 1919, and the subsequent sentence of twenty-five years' imprisonment, was the first step in this diabolical case. Having secured his conviction on this charge, he was then linked with Sacco on the other charge for murder. Every effort was made to influence the public and the jury against them because they were Anarchists and pacifists, and had avoided being drafted into the Army during the War. Even Judge Thayer showed his prejudice against them during the trial. In such an atmosphere the accused were doomed before the trial opened. Since 1920 the case has resolved itself into a duel between the defence and the police, who feared that a new trial would expose their infamy. No trial of recent years has aroused such world-wide interest in the Labour movement, and workers in every country in the world are convinced that our two comrades are victims of one of the vilest police plots ever known. The many thousands of protests which have reached the Governor of Massachusetts during the past few days should make him pause before this crime is carried out, and thus make American "justice" stink in the nostrils of every honest man or woman.

Why China Is Anti-Foreign.

If we wish to find the cause of the outburst of hostility to foreigners now sweeping over China, we must study the history of China's experience of the aims and methods of foreign Powers. The story of Britain's Opium Wars is too well known to need retelling; sufficient to say that we forced opium on the Chinese and seized several ports, now termed "concessions," after slaughtering many thousands of Chinese.

The municipality of Shanghai, dominated by British merchants, has been more responsible for the anti-foreign spirit than any other foreigners in the country. After many years of struggle against the opium curse, a bargain was made between China and Great Britain in 1907, by which China agreed to diminish poppy cultivation for a period of ten years, Great Britain agreeing to a proportional decrease in the imports of Indian opium. The bargain was kept, and by 1917 China was almost free from the native-grown drug, and foreign importation into China had practically ended. But these honourable and honest British merchants in Shanghai and other concessions, whilst keeping to the letter of the agreement, were treacherous where the spirit of it was concerned. At the beginning of the anti-opium campaign in 1907 there were 700 opium-smoking dens in the native city of Shanghai, and 1,600 in the International Settlement. The Chinese closed their dens and shops at once. In the Settlement the dens were not closed until two years later, and the number of the shops increased by leaps and bounds, for whereas in January, 1908, there were only 87 shops in the Settlement, by April, 1914, there were 654, the monthly revenue from these shops increasing from 338 taels to 10,772 taels (a tael equals about 2s. 6d. to-day). Whilst the import of opium into China proper gradually diminished from 1907 onwards, the import of British opium into the Treaty ports increased in value from £1,031,065 in 1906-7 to £3,242,902 in 1912-13.

In these Treaty ports and settlements the Chinese Government has no control over its own people, and natives addicted to the drug habit flock there in their thousands, and find shops where opium is sold as freely as beer is sold in London. This contempt for the feelings of the more intelligent Chinese is at the bottom of much of the anti-British feeling. The lying British press is telling us every day that the word of the Nationalist leaders cannot be trusted. The Nationalists have had bitter experience during many years as to how little trust can be placed on the word of Britishers in China.

Other Powers have been just as brutal and dishonest in their dealings with China, and have followed the example set by Great Britain, if not on quite such a large scale. We have before us "China's Past and Future," by the Hon. Chester Holcombe, published in 1904. The writer was for many years interpreter, Secretary of Legation, and Acting Minister of the United States at Peking. He made a study of the Chinese character, and whilst not inclined to overlook their weaknesses and faults, he has been able to put himself in their place, and understood their attitude to Western peoples as far as their official representatives were concerned. His book is a story of double-dealing and intrigue since Westerners first forced their way into China.

On one occasion when negotiations were proceeding between France and China, a number of French vessels of war dropped quietly, one by one, into the harbour of Foo Chow. They lay there for several weeks, their officers exchanging visits with the local authorities. Suddenly, one August afternoon, they opened fire upon the Chinese arsenal and upon some Chinese gunboats lying in the harbour, and continued the bombardment until arsenal and ships were destroyed, involving the loss of many lives and much property. No notice was given; war had not been declared; no state of war existed. At the very day and hour when this bombardment took place, diplomatic negotiations were being conducted in Peking, the French Minister and his suite were living there in peace and safety, and the Chinese authorities were eagerly seeking a reasonable adjustment of affairs, offering mediation, arbitration, anything short of abject submission to the outrageous demands of the French. The author says that to-day the various French concessions, or areas of territory at the various open ports of China in which the French have full sway, are "hotbeds for the propagation of every form of native and foreign vice." They are not the centres of French trade, for there is none. They are simply hideous and disgusting cancerous growths upon humanity.

Many years ago the Portuguese made a piratical raid upon the coast of China, near the mouth of the river near Canton, and established a fortified settlement upon the peninsula of Macao. After many conflicts between the Chinese

troops and the invaders, a treaty was made, by the terms of which the Portuguese were permitted to remain there upon payment of an annual ground rent to the Chinese Government, the latter retaining sovereignty over the territory. This treaty was written in French, Portuguese, and Chinese, the French text being the authoritative version. A Roman Catholic missionary drafted the several texts, and certified to their identity in substance. After a number of years, when the treaty came to be ratified, it was found that according to the French text China had relinquished all sovereignty over Macao. As the Chinese found that the wrong could only be righted by war, they reluctantly ceded Macao to the Portuguese, who for many years used it as a base for an infamous traffic in slaves. Chinese were kidnapped and sent by shiploads to labour in the sugar plantations of Cuba and Peru. When the slave trade was stopped, the Portuguese opened Macao as a gambling resort, and to this day the Portuguese Government derives a small revenue from those who have the right to establish gambling tables there.

When we read of the methods by which Western Powers have forced these abominable treaties on successive Chinese Governments, we can no longer wonder that the latter attach no sanctity to them, and will tear them up as soon as they are strong enough to do so. All Chinese, Northerners as well as Southerners, are agreed on this point, even if they quarrel among themselves. Mr. Holcombe relates that he was once travelling in Japan with four diplomats representing European Governments at Tokio. He remarked to them that a certain line of action upon the part of China and Japan would best tend to the development of those countries into great nations. Whereupon one of the diplomats replied: "But, monsieur, it is not the policy of my Government to permit the growth of China or Japan into a first-class Power." To which the other diplomats gave assent. Now that China shows signs of being able to stand on her own feet, as Japan has done, these great Powers are concentrating troops and battleships and all the diabolical weapons of modern warfare in their efforts to prevent it.

Emerson on Education.

The charm of life is the variety of genius, these contrasts and flavours by which Heaven has modulated the identity of truth; and there is a perpetual hankering to violate this individuality, to warp his ways of thinking and behaviour, to resemble or reflect your thinking and behaviour. A low self-love in the parent desires that his child should repeat his character and fortune; an expectation which the child, if justice is done him, will nobly disappoint. By working on the theory that this resemblance exists, we shall do what in us lies to defeat his proper promise and produce the ordinary and mediocre. I suffer whenever I see that common sight of a parent or senior imposing his opinion and way of thinking and being on a young soul to which they are totally unfit. Cannot we let people be themselves, and enjoy life in their own way? You are trying to make that man another *you*. One's enough. Or we sacrifice the genius of the pupil, the unknown possibilities of his nature, to a neat and safe uniformity, as the Turks whitewash the costly mosaics of ancient art which the Greeks left on their temple walls. Rather let us have men whose manhood is only the continuation of their boyhood, natural characters still; such are able and fertile for heroic action; and not that sad spectacle with which we are too familiar, educated eyes in uneducated bodies. It does not make us brave or free. We teach boys to be such men as we are. We do not teach them to aspire to be all they can. We do not give them a training as if we believed in their nobler nature. We scarce educate their bodies. We do not train the eye and the hand. We exercise their understandings to the apprehension and comparison of some facts, to a skill in numbers, in words; we aim to make accountants, attorneys, engineers; but not to make able, earnest, great-hearted men. The great object of education should be commensurate with the object of life. It should be a moral one; to teach self-trust; to inspire the youthful man with an interest in himself; with a curiosity touching his own nature; to acquaint him with the resources of his mind, and to teach him that there is all his strength.

I believe that our own experience instructs us that the secret of Education lies in respecting the pupil. It is not for you to choose what he shall know, what he shall do. It is chosen and foreordained, and he only holds the key to his own secret. By your tampering and thwarting and too much governing he may be hindered from his own and kept out of his own. Respect the child. Wait and see the new product of nature. Nature loves analogies, but not repetitions. Respect the child. Be not too much his parent. Trespass not on his solitude.

Eugenics Run Mad.

In an earlier issue of FREEDOM we drew attention to the legal compulsory sterilisation of the "unfit" in the United States, but until recently we were unaware of the extent to which the various States of the Union had adopted the new law. This information is given in "Eugenical Sterilisation: 1926," by Harry H. Laughlin, published by the American Eugenics Society, New Haven, Connecticut. This book gives full details of the laws passed for this purpose, and the extent to which they have been enforced. Some fifteen or more years ago a Committee was formed to study and to report on the "best practical means of cutting off the defective germ-plasm in the American population," and it seems that most of the laws dealing with sterilisation are based on the report of this Committee. Indiana was the first State to pass a Sterilisation Act, in 1907; and since then twenty-three of the forty-eight States have enacted eugenical sterilisation statutes of one sort or another. At present the Federal Government has left the States to deal with the matter, but Mr. Laughlin hopes that when all or nearly all the States have followed the example of the others, the Federal Government will be forced to come into line and deal with those who are not liable under State laws. Among these he includes "immigrants, who personally are eligible to admission, but whose family stock-standards are such that, under the model State law, they would be considered potential parents of socially inadequate offspring," and soldiers and sailors.

Even if the science of eugenics was as well established as other sciences, it would be a terrible tyranny to leave individuals at the mercy of members of a profession whose financial interests were bound up with the enforcement of these laws; but considering how little is known on the subject at present, the operation of these laws would be simply an experiment on the bodies of the "down-and-outs." Mr. Laughlin says that, in order to avoid class legislation, sterilisation must be "rigidly applicable to all members of the same natural classes in the whole population"; but we know only too well how easy it is for the rich to buy immunity from the law in every country.

Up to July, 1925, the Acts have been enforced to any extent in only six States, California, the most reactionary State in the Union, heading the list with 4,636 operations out of a total of 6,244. Nearly half of the victims of this disgusting operation were women. In most cases the State's motive is given as "purely eugenic," but in others it is said to be "punitive." In Iowa, for instance, sterilisation is "absolutely mandatory in cases of persons twice convicted of felony, or of sexual offence other than 'white slavery,' for which latter offence one conviction makes sterilisation compulsory." In olden times they hung men for sheep-stealing; now they castrate them. Hanging did not stop sheep-stealing, and it is certain that a man or woman who has suffered this degradation is unlikely to be improved mentally or morally by it.

It may be news to many of our readers that Marie Stopes, the most prominent apostle of birth control, advocates sterilisation, but is opposed to castration, as it would "deprive a man of his manhood and injure his personal consciousness." She suggests an operation which is "trivial, scarcely painful, and does not debar the subject from experiencing all his normal reaction in ordinary union; it only prevents the procreation of children." How glibly these people talk when they are discussing the welfare of the race. What qualifications have they for deciding whether men and women are to be emasculated by knife-wielding medics? Every official appointed to carry out these statutes would quite naturally seek for victims to operate on to justify his appointment and the salary paid him by the State. He would always be looking out for "feeble-minded" men and women, "potential parents of socially inadequate offspring," to use the eugenicists' terminology. Officialdom has many weapons against those who come into its clutches, but none more damnable and brutal than this.

Mr. Laughlin looks forward to a time when the eugenical code "will cover such features as human migration, marriage and mate selection, eugenical sterilisation, birth control, eugenical education, and many other factors in the regulation of quality and quantity of population." Thus would the dream of the State Socialist be realised! Bernard Shaw has advocated compulsory mating, but he never sank quite so low as to advocate the castration of his fellows. The Eugenists, however, have no qualms. When their "eugenical code" has been worked out to its logical conclusion, we shall have State stud farms for those men and women whom the Eugenic specialists consider best to breed from, the rest of the population being sterilised. The love of personal liberty is not very widespread to-day, but we hope there is sufficient to resist the devilish schemes of these feeble-minded Eugenists.

The World of William Clissold.

Coming only recently upon the late Mr. William Clissold's world, I have not previously had an opportunity of making some sort of comment upon his dream, his ecstatic dream, of a World Republic. These three volumes came as a godsend. Reading matter dealing with the very stuff of life of so individual and provocative a quality is rare.

I regret Mr. Clissold's untimely demise exceedingly. It would have been a pleasure to dispute with him, more especially so since Mr. Wells declines to be completely identified with the ideas of his protégé. When he dilates, at extreme length, upon sexual ethics, or, as some critics may say, his lack of them, I do not quarrel with him, but I do want violently to quarrel with his advocacy of an open conspiracy to promote a World Republic governed by scientific business men. Delightfully and suavely as this idea is outlined and propagated, amiable and efficient as we are told these superhuman business men may be, I feel that both the system and the men are anti-physical and completely opposed to that condition of continual flow and urge to change of which Nature is the parent and "onlie begetter." Any system that involves subjection and slavery—and by slavery I mean not toil alone, but years, lifetimes, of ceaseless repetition, of dull monotonous tasks with no opportunity of changing the course of one's life, never a possibility of mentally and physically adventuring afresh in this strange welter of life—any system that involves this soul-rending, maddening material monotony, is mental and physical slavery, whatever means may be used to disguise the chains. I do not overlook the material inducements this dream may be decked out in, the short hours, the frequent leisure, the societies that will benevolently promote communal games, community singing, Morris dancing (God preserve us!), and music; and here, Mr. Clissold, what will you say if these misguided slaves prefer jazz to Gounod, or is it Debussy?—I do not overlook the seductive quality of these bribes; for a time they may be successful, but there is no outlet in this materialistic, scientific dream for the drama of man's struggle with life and his desire to attain, in his own way, a mode of personal expression peculiar to him. At times this desire, this urge, this compelling force that needs freedom, is akin to madness, the glorious intoxication that drove coarse unlettered men to the barricades, drove them to risk their lives, their all, to destroy the boring tyranny of the established. To tame souls like Mr. Clissold, this is incomprehensible; this spectacle of individual man struggling desperately toward a dimly apprehended ideal is something beyond his conception.

Whether material slavery approaches under the guise of centralised States, scientific management, Communist, Socialist, or Fascist government, is no matter; whatever their form, they inevitably and unalterably involve the subjection and meek submission of the great mass of humanity.

Man's most priceless possession, the very stuff of his individual life, is this insurgent, even irrational, urge to do as he wishes despite all outer corporate bodies that would use him against the desires of his own ego. The decline of this urge within the individual would mean that the life-force, or Nature, had decided to relegate man to the scrap-heap of discarded experiments, whilst it moves on to some other mode of expression more suited to its purpose of continual change. Mr. Clissold may have at some time been other than a tame armchair philosopher, but in his declining years he had lost sight of his soul and become a materialist. For myself, I find Mr. Masfield nearer to the truth when he sings the praises of man's soul—the soul that

"—takes its earth's contentment in the pen,
Then sees the world's injustice and is wroth,
And flinging off youth's happy promise, flies
Up to some breach, despising earthly things,
And, in contempt of hell and heaven, dies
Rather than bear some yoke of priests or kings."

Such restless rebellious thoughts as these are not for the Clissolds of this world, the tamed and shabby tigers who accept and make the best of captivity with its regular meals and certain slumber rather than beat life out on the bars of the cage; they are more fitting for the great and glorious company of the born insurgent, the very salt of the earth

A. B. MACF.

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China To-day—Asia To-morrow?

With huge labour and amid unspeakable confusion, for the setting is a strange one and the machinery for its arrangement old-fashioned and inadequate, a new scene in Life's never-ending drama is being staged. With much difficulty the new actors are rehearsing their various parts, for the language used is often strange, and the script hard to decipher. Nevertheless, under the whip of necessity they are learning fast, it being clear to all that the old entertainment no longer draws, and that the audience which hisses to-day may send them running for their lives to-morrow.

The one thing that can be said with assurance about the present situation is that there is a general breaking-up, and that desperate efforts to postpone the inevitable are being made. That the breaking-up is inevitable no reflective person any longer doubts; and it is to be remembered that, whatever else we may think of them, the ruling classes are, as compared with the masses, reflective. It is essential to their safety that they shall look ahead and plan; foresee danger and guard against it; yield where yielding pays, and suppress with pitiless severity where that seems to be the wiser course. This is the settled strategy adopted long ago, and followed now with the persistent energy natural to those who have their all at stake. For, let us not doubt it for a moment, in the eyes of those charged with the defence of the existing order, the present situation is extraordinarily critical. To them the one thing absolutely vital is that the masses shall not get out of hand; that they shall not take the bit between their teeth and bolt, carrying their riders God knows where, and finally unhorsing them.

Now, that is precisely what the masses have been showing an increasing determination to do within the last few hundred years; and in racial history centuries are little more than minutes. Of tremendous significance was that revolution against spiritual authority which we call the Protestant Reformation, for it opened the portals of free thought, and brought the Scientific Age to birth. Of great significance was the revolt of the American colonies, for it was political Imperialism's first serious defeat, and was followed almost immediately by the far more destructive French Revolution, which swept away the Ancient Régime, and attempted to shatter the then existing civilisation. Even more fateful in all probability was the recent overthrow of the German, the Austrian, and the Russian Imperialisms—great landmarks which rival Imperialisms unwillingly assisted the masses to erect. And now the masses press on, instinctively but for the most part unconsciously, to further conquests. The British Empire, for the moment strengthened greatly by the extirpation of competing Empires but weakened still more gravely by the fact that the Spirit of Revolt has won the day against Powers previously regarded as invulnerable, is now the central target of attack.

That is the meaning of the Chinese upheaval—an upheaval which almost certainly is only now at its beginning. Great spiritual and moral forces are being stirred into abnormal activity, and it would be the profoundest of mistakes to under-rate them, for men obsessed by new ideals of social righteousness will fight to the last ditch. The record of our own Anarchist movement should have taught us that, and all the experience of the past affirms it. Every great movement has had its warriors who cared for nothing but the triumph of their cause, and always those warriors have set on foot crusades which eventually swept all before them. It will not be different to-day.

Taking a broad survey of history, it is impossible to believe that the British Empire will continue indefinitely as we know it to-day. It was always unthinkable that a country, so vast as China, inhabited by nearly a quarter of the human race and with a civilisation that had withstood the assaults of some five thousand years, would for any considerable length

of time consent to be parcelled out among a few commercial Powers. India has some three hundred million inhabitants, and it is hard to believe that they will be contented for all time to play the part of British money-bag. And what applies to China and India applies with equal force to Africa, and to the military Imperialisms the United States is trying to establish in Mexico, Central and South America, as she has established them already in the Philippines, Cuba, and other possessions acquired as spoils from Spain. It applies to all Imperialisms, every one of which rests upon a sword, forged and thrust into the hands of Governments by an economic system founded on human slavery, and therefore undemocratic and completely out of date.

It is preposterous that either Governments or individuals, pooling their economic forces and enlisting in their support the military and other powers modern Governments have at their command, should be allowed to annex this globe, fence in as their private preserves its inexhaustible resources, and shut the gates of economic independence against the disinherited millions, who have, and eventually will assert at any cost, an equal right to life. It is ridiculous that a people so virile and self-assertive as we English have been should find its very existence dependent on the capture and control of foreign markets that can be compelled to absorb the products our factory slaves, driven inexorably by hunger to their thankless toil, pour out in such profusion. And to the maintenance of these and similar absurdities the ruling classes of all Imperialisms stand pledged. By sheer force of arms; by secret treaties that depend for their validity on force of arms, and by what is called diplomacy, but is always the mailed fist concealed within the velvet glove, they grab territory from the weaker nations, that they may enjoy a monopoly of its natural resources, convert them into saleable commodities by the use of cheap native labour, or obtain for a mere song the raw material on which their own factory slaves are set to work.

This system, as barbarous as it is stupid, is breaking down, and nothing else could be expected. As every one knows, the world's markets are habitually overstocked, and it has become necessary to restrict production, to form colossal combinations which are simply economic dictatorships, and to throw on the scrap-heap millions of formerly independent producers and distributors, now rendered superfluous, and treated accordingly. Such a system—if system it can be called—responds in no way to Life's most elemental needs, and therefore is doomed. It has become a straitjacket, and mankind will be compelled to burst it all to pieces. Toward that end humanity is now struggling energetically, and as the pressure grows more and more unbearable it will struggle with constantly-increasing and invincible ferocity. However constitutionally timid he may be, the cornered rat will fight. However unwelcome the new birth, at the appointed time it comes. The pity of it is that the vast masses of mankind, trained to servile obedience and unaccustomed to facing realities, still imagine that these fundamental issues can be dodged; while the governing classes are determined that, if possible, they shall be. So long as Cerberus merely growls, they throw him sops. If he breaks away and becomes really dangerous, they apparently propose to kill him.

Transition periods are proverbially painful, and the one through which we are now passing, implying as it does far-reaching changes, is certain to be exceptionally agonising. We should aim to shorten it as much as possible, and, by bringing all our intelligence to bear on it, facilitate the new birth. For clear, straight, well-informed, and fearless propaganda, the need was never greater than it is to-day. At present there is chaos, but out of that chaos, if we are true to ourselves, light and life will come.

W. C. O.

"FREEDOM'S" BIRTHDAY FUND.

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A Long-Needed Book.

"Anarchism from Proudhon to Kropotkin: Its Historical Evolution in the years 1859 to 1880,"* by Max Nettlau, of Vienna, is the second of a triad, the first of which, "Anarchism's Early Spring," was reviewed in our issue of February-March, 1926. Let me say at once that this is not merely an important but a necessary book, because the period of which it treats laid the foundations of the modern Labour movement, with all the schisms and bitterly-opposed philosophies amid which we of to-day must play our part. It was a period of great disturbances, in which the European proletariat made determined attempts to escape from the slavery that still holds it with an ever-tightening grip. Those attempts ended, for the moment, in disastrous failure; but by the very struggle, and by the severity with which events chastened what had been a far too easy optimism, the workers were given, at least, some inkling of the sternness of the quarrel in which they were engaged, and were taught by the rude hand of practical experience that only on themselves could they rely. The intensity of the pressure forced them to probe beneath the surface, and stirred into extraordinary activity a number of exceptionally brilliant minds. Thanks to the persistent toil and penetrating eye of Max Nettlau, a full and accurate record of those probings is now at our command; and on that account I speak of his work as necessary. It supplies us with the key to labyrinths in which the vast majority still wanders blindly. It enables the serious student to pass those discriminating judgments on which alone unshakeable conviction and fruitful action can be based. Armed with this knowledge, he becomes a power. Without it he remains little better than a reed shaken by every gust of passing passion.

In the voluminous writings of Marx, Proudhon, and Bakunin the social question is explored from almost every angle, and Nettlau's citations of their addresses, publications, and most intimate correspondence enable us to follow step by step the paths of their researches. However, before making from them such limited quotations as our space permits, let me translate a few lines from Nettlau himself, as proof that the problems that confronted them were just such as we ourselves have still to solve. In an introductory chapter he writes:—

"The year 1848 had thrown up to the surface three main questions, which stood in one another's way and were exploited by the enemy. The simultaneous desire to limit the power of the State, to secure or strengthen national independence, and to mitigate the boundless domination of the bourgeoisie clashed with one another, for their realisation would have led at once to a weakening and a strengthening of the State. Inasmuch as the existing State organisations were not shaken seriously, and inasmuch as everywhere they were the main props of the counter-revolutionary movement, the speedy result of all these struggles was a decisive defeat for Socialism (in June, 1848) and a heightened Nationalism and new Cæsarism, which were the forerunners of contemporary Fascism and Napoleonic Kaiserdom. During a period of from twelve to fifteen years Socialism was reduced to dull silence."

Surely those are pregnant lines, and most applicable to the situation now facing us. To-day the more thoughtful among the Socialists view with ill-disguised alarm the towering figure of the State—that Frankenstein their own party nourished so trustingly and so largely brought to birth. In this country the so-called Left Wingers, tired at last of sterile Parliamentary talk and longing for some kind of action, find the police, increased constantly in numbers and with continually enlarged authority, barring the way. They see the Army and Navy ready to turn their guns upon the rebel, and such political liberties as they formerly enjoyed filched from them by despotic legislation. It is becoming more and more difficult for them to believe in the State as Labour's redeemer, and they edge farther and farther away from the MacDonalds and the Snowdens who still preach that decadent doctrine. Moreover, those gentlemen can have no real belief in their own shibboleths, for they were formerly Liberals, and Liberals stood pledged to the curtailment of State authority. Thus the Socialists of to-day are merely repeating the disastrous history of their predecessors, as Nettlau has sketched it in the paragraph quoted above.

Again, take the case of the Trade Unions. Anarchists put their trust in revolutionary thought, and rely on Labour, when once saturated with such thought, for its translation into action. But our Trade Unions are split asunder by the conflicting doctrines of trusting to the State and relying on their

own economic power, as the result of which the much-vaunted Councils of Action remain a tragic joke, and the one attempt at a General Strike was a pitiable fiasco. In a word, it is as true to-day as when Kropotkin wrote it something like half a century ago, that the quarrel between the Individual and the State does more to block the progress of the Labour Movement than all the armed forces Governments command. On this crucial point the workers are still hopelessly divided, and therefore, instead of being all-powerful, are helpless.

Believing in individual freedom, Anarchists are necessarily opposed to all that centralisation of power which deprives men of self-mastery and places them at the mercy of authoritative bodies. It may perhaps be said with justice that never has centralised authority had a bolder, more persistent, or more intelligent opponent than was Proudhon, who, to make only one quotation from his voluminous writings, declared that "the capitalistic and the monarchical, or government, principle are one and the same; the formula for the abolition of exploitation of Man by Man and for the abolition of government of Man by Man is one and the same." To this he added—the passage being written in 1849, after the failure of wide-spread revolutionary upheavals under centralised leadership—that Communism and Absolutism are "mutually-interchangeable faces of the authoritarian principle." This last sentence may well be read by the light of our own experience of to-day's Communist movement, which has as its settled tactic the determination to rule where it can, and where it cannot, to ruin. The fallacy, fully exposed by Benjamin R. Tucker long ago, that Proudhon was a Communist has been circulated widely; but his teaching was that Economic Freedom for every child of man must first be won, after which Life, free Life, could and should be conducted by mutual agreement, the element of coercion, with all the gigantic machinery of repression it necessarily involves, having been eliminated automatically. And who are they most certain to be crushed by that machinery? Obviously those least capable of resistance: the very poor.

The major portion of this volume is devoted to Bakunin, an audacious, energetic, and far-sighted rebel. A single sentence from the address to Spanish workers adopted in 1868 by the conference of the International at Geneva seems to me to give in a very few words a concise summary of his general position. It runs: "Workers! Strike the iron while it is hot. Federate on a revolutionary basis in order that you may be unconquerable; and, since you have the power, destroy whatever is hostile and opposed to justice for the people—institutions even more than persons—and your Revolution may be the signal and beginning of the emancipation of the oppressed throughout the world." It may be not uninteresting to note that in a letter to Engels, dated August 3, 1869, Karl Marx stigmatised this address, which Bakunin had only a partial hand in editing, as "idiotic." Or, again, in an address commemorating Baudin's death, we find Bakunin declaring: "He who says State says Fortress; says the forcible separation of one portion of mankind from all the rest; says rivalry, competition, and permanent war as between the various States; says conquest, robbery, and the patriotic glorification of slaughter at home and abroad; says the oppression and legally regulated exploitation of the working population for the benefit of the ruling minority." Let any reasonably well-informed man survey the situation in which our civilisation finds itself at this very moment, and then ask himself candidly how far Bakunin missed the mark.

There might also be quoted a passage in which Bakunin declared emphatically that he was not a Communist but a Collectivist, believing in the annihilation of Special Privilege, by which the road to co-operation on the grandest scale would be thrown open. What he hated above everything was the centralisation of power, which divides humanity into two classes, the rulers and the ruled; thereby reduces the worker to impotence, and robs the world revolutionary movement of all its natural strength.

In conclusion, I can only repeat that it seems to me invaluable, precisely because it gives a carefully-documented account of the revolutionary thought thrown up by a great revolutionary period which was unquestionably the forerunner of that into which, but on a vastly grander scale, we ourselves are now about to pass. It is the thought that is all-important; for in proportion as thought is strong and brave it will be simple, and by that very fact will be easily comprehended by the masses. Meanwhile, if the world needs movers, surely it needs even more movers of the movers; those who, having already carefully explored the various trails, can march confidently ahead, knowing that they are steering straight for the appointed goal. Only by study of the past can one become a competent guide to the future, and because I believe this book will help to make the reader competent I recommend it. If possible it should be translated into English. W. C. O.

*"Der Anarchismus von Proudhon zu Kropotkin. Seine Historische Entwicklung in den Jahren 1859-1880." Von Max Nettlau. Brosch., Mk.5: leinen, Mk.7. Berlin O34: Der Syndikalist.

The Beauty of Sex.

From beginning to end, there is no feeling of our nature against which asceticism has made so dead a set as the sexual instinct. It has spoken of it always as one of "the lower pleasures"; it has treated it as something to be despised, vilified, slighted. It has regarded it as a function to be ashamed of, a faculty allied to all things gross and coarse and evil—a mark, as it were, of our "fallen" condition.

I maintain, on the contrary, that everything high and ennobling in our nature springs directly out of the sexual instinct. Its alliance is wholly with whatever is purest and most beautiful within us. To it we owe our love of bright colours, graceful form, melodious sound, rhythmical motion. To it we owe the evolution of music, of poetry, of romance, of *belles lettres*; the evolution of painting, of sculpture, of decorative art, of dramatic entertainment. To it we owe the entire existence of our æsthetic sense, which is, in the last resort, a secondary sexual attribute. From it springs the love of beauty; around it all beautiful arts still circle as their centre. Its subtle aroma pervades all literature. And to it too we owe the paternal, maternal and marital relations; the growth of the affections, the love of little pattering feet and baby laughter; the home, with all the associations that cluster around it; in one word, the heart and all that is best in it. Our æsthetic emotions, our family and social affections, our arts, our loves—these are part of our debt to what asceticism would tell us are our "lower" faculties.

If we look around among the inferior animals, we shall see that the germs of everything which is best in humanity took their rise with them in the sexual instinct. The song of the nightingale or of Shelley's skylark is a song that has been acquired by the bird himself to charm the ears of his attentive partner. The chirp of the cricket, the cheerful note of the grasshopper, the twittering of the sparrow, the pleasant caw of the rookery—all these, as Darwin showed, are direct products of sexual selection. Every pleasant sound that greets our ears from hedge or copse in a summer walk has the self-same origin.

If we were to take away from the country the music conferred upon it by the sense of sex, we should have taken away every vocal charm it possesses, save the murmur of the brooks and the whispering of the breeze through the leaves at evening. No thrush, no linnet, no blackbird would be left us; no rattle of the nightjar over the twilight fields; no chirp of insect, no chatter of tree-frog, no cry of cuckoo from the leafy covert. The whip-poor-will and the bobolink would be mute as the serpent. Every beautiful voice in wild nature, from the mocking-bird to the cicada, is in essence a love-call; and without such love-calls the music of the fields would be mute, the forest would be silent.

Not otherwise is it with the beauty which appeals to the eye. Every lovely object in organic nature owes its loveliness direct to sexual selection. The whole æsthetic sense in animals had this for its origin. Every spot on the feathery wings of butterflies was thus produced; every eye on the gorgeous glancing plumage of the peacock. The bronze and golden beetles, the flashing blue of the dragon-fly, the brilliant colours of tropical moths, the lamp of the glow-worm, the gleaming light of the firefly in the thicket, spring from the same source. The infinite variety of crest and gorget among the iridescent humming birds; the glow of the trogon, the barbets among the palm blossoms; the exquisite plumage of the birds of paradise; the ball-and-socket ornament of the argus pheasant; the infinite hues of parrot and macaw; the strange bill of the gaudy toucan, and the crimson wattles of the turkey, still tell one story. The sun-birds deck themselves for their courtship in ruby and topaz, in chrysophrase and sapphire. Even the antlers of the deer, the twisted horns of antelopes, and the graceful forms or dappled coats of so many other mammals have been developed in like manner by sexual selection.

The very fish in the sea show similar results of æsthetic preferences. The butterfly fins of the gurnard and the court-ing colours of the stickleback have but one explanation. I need not elaborate this point; Darwin has already made it familiar to most of us. Throughout the animal world, almost every beautiful hue, almost every decorative adjunct, is traceable to the action of these "lower" passions. Animals are pleasing to the eye just in proportion to the amount of æsthetic selection that their mates have exercised upon them; and they are most pleasing of all when most sexually vigorous, especially at the culminating point of the pairing season.

Everybody knows how love, in one form or another, subtly animates all our romance and all our poetry; our Sappho and our Catullus, our Antony and Cleopatra, our Romeo and Juliet, our Othello and Desdemona, our Faust and Marguerite,

our Laura, our Beatrice, our Paolo and Francesca, our Epipsy-chidion. Everybody knows that without it we would have no Titian, no Donatello, no Raphael, no Andrea. The beauty of woman gives us half our painting and three-fourths of our sculpture. Our most exquisite imaginings realise themselves in marble as the Venus of Melos, or on living canvas as the Madonna della Sedia.

Filch away from external nature what it owes to the sex-instinct, and you will have lost every bright flower, every gay fruit, every songbird, every butterfly, every wearer of brilliant plumage or decorative adjuncts; filch away from human art what it owes to the sex-instinct, and you will have lost the best part of our poetry, the best part of our romance, the best part of our painting, and all but the whole of our sculpture.

Now, who are the people who make the most of what Puritans would have us believe are our "lowest" passions? Are they the coarsest, the vulgarist, the most money-grubbing among us? Not a bit of it. They are the Dantes, the Petrarchs, the Shelleys, the Keatses. They are the poets, the painters, the composers, the singers. They are the salt of the earth, the pick and pink of humanity. They are the most gifted, the most imaginative, the most beautiful-minded, the most dainty-souled. Wherever we find the world well lost for love, it is not by a Methodist haberdasher or a prize-fighting coalheaver, but by an Abelard and an Héloïse, by a George Sand and a Chopin, by a Mary Wollstonecraft, by a Mary Godwin, by a Claire Clairmont, by a George Eliot. It is our Chastelards and our Rizzios who live in song and story. It is our Goethes and our Rousseaus who leave us a history of their loves.

Search the Dictionary of Biography through, and, if you find a man in whose life these "lower passions" played a conspicuous part, you may be sure it is a Del Sarto, a Lippi, a Byron, a Rossetti, a Liszt, a De Musset. Poets never make light of these "lower" feelings; painters never make light of them. In contemporary literature will any man learn to despise "mere sex," think you, from Browning and Meredith, from Swinburne and Hardy? What say you, Norman Gale? What say you, Le Gallienne? Even in Puritan England, when you get a great poet, like our virile Milton, you find him rebelling against "Whatever hypocrites austere talk of purity, and place, and innocence." Even in Puritan America, when you get a great soul, like good gray Walt Whitman, you find him proclaiming with a trumpet voice "the equal honour and dignity of all our members and our functions."

And who, on the other hand, are they that dare to decry this mother-sense of the affections and the æsthetic faculties? The lean and haggard ascetics of the Thebaid; the vile St. Antonies, pursued by swinish dreams and unclean images; the monks and nuns of the Middle Ages; the like-minded fanatics of the nineteenth century. The idea of the essential impurity and danger of sex began with the savage. To avoid its fancied perils is the object of all initiations and mysteries. Repression and mutilation were enjoined on priests. Asceticism hates the light, the air, the tub, the sunshine. It hates social life, wide sympathy, broad thought, intellectual freedom. It hates painting and sculpture, nude limbs of classic nymphs, romance and poetry, the drama, the dance, innocent love, innocent pleasure. It refuses and restrains. It worships its pain-loving god with painful exercises. It works out its own salvation in fear and trembling; its own selfish salvation is all it cares for. It dwells in bare whitewashed cells of dreary monasteries, scourging its own shoulders with the thong of St. Dominic, or "turning the treadmill of repeated prayer." It substitutes for culture, æsthetic feeling, the domestic sympathies and expansive sentiments, its own vile ideal of salvation by self-torture. . . .

The hedonist, therefore, recognises in the sex-instinct the origin and basis of all that is best and highest within us. He is not ashamed of it, like the hermits who find that uncleanness is next to godliness, and hold fresh linen an abomination. He is not afraid of it, like the timid moralists who think our instincts and impulses were given us by heaven in order that we might disobey them. He faces facts, and fears no phantoms. His object will always be so to use these functions as not to abuse them, either by enforced abstinence or by acquiescence in a hateful *régime* of vice, disease, and practical slavery for a large body of women. He knows that to be pure is not to be an anchorite, and that chastity means a profound disinclination to give the body where the heart is not given in unison.—GRANT ALLEN.

The Mutualist.

Mutualism—The Doctrine of Individual Liberty, Political and Economic Justice.

Edited by EDWARD H. FULTON.

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Tories Want Combination Laws Again.

Probably the most serious event in the early history of the Trades Union Movement in Great Britain was the passage of the Combination Laws in 1799. Prior to this date it was the policy of the different Governments to pass laws making it illegal to combine in given trades and callings. The reason for this was alleged to be that it was the province of Parliament to fix the conditions of industry, and that, therefore, any interference by combinations of workers was unnecessary. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, wage-fixing, in any wide sense, by local authorities under Act of Parliament, had long fallen into disuse, and, in some cases, the Combination Laws were not enforced. There are instances where the Government recognised Trades Union agitations and granted demands for legislation.

What is humorously described as "free contract" was in general operation during the last years of the century. In 1799, fearful of the contagion of the French Revolution and of the rapid growth of Unionism among the textile workers of Yorkshire and Lancashire, the Government introduced a general Combination Law, the effect of which was to make all Trades Unionism penalizable as an act of sedition against the State. . . . This law was rushed on to the Statute Book without so much as giving those concerned an opportunity of making a protest. Within twenty-four days after its introduction into the House of Commons it had received the Royal Assent. Only one Union, the Calico Printers' Society in London, had the opportunity of petitioning against the measure, and in their objection they stated that although the Bill professed merely "to prevent unlawful combinations," it created "new crimes of so indefinite a nature that no one journeyman or workman will be safe in holding any conversation with another on the subject of his trade or employment." No other Unions took action, and the Bill, unaltered, passed into law. In 1800 the Act was reaffirmed. Subsequently it was supplemented by strained interpretations of the common law and of ancient statutes, and in 1819 (four years after Waterloo had "freed" Europe from French militarism) by the infamous "Six Acts" which made all public meetings illegal, enabled magistrates to search for arms, compelled all working-class papers to pay a crushing stamp duty, and harshened the law of seditious libel. Under these oppressive laws thousands of workers were imprisoned and deported, Unions were broken up and their funds sequestered.

One or two cases of persecution will show how these Acts were used by the exploiters to injure Unionism and to ward off strikes. In 1817 the Bolton constables, hearing by accident that ten delegates of the calico printers from various parts of the Kingdom were to meet on New Year's Day, arrested them and seized their papers. They were given three months' gaol although no dispute with the employers was in progress. In 1816 seven scissor grinders were sentenced to three months' gaol for belonging to a "Misfortune Club" which paid out-of-work benefit. In 1812 the employers in the Scottish weaving industry refused to accept the rates which the Justices had declared to be fair. Workers on 40,000 looms struck. The Government straightway arrested their central committee of five and gave them from four to eighteen months' imprisonment. The Weavers' Association was afterwards broken up. These cases could be multiplied indefinitely.

Of course, apologists for the Combination Laws say that they also applied to the employers. This was so in the letter but not in the fact. Lord Francis Jeffrey, speaking at a dinner to Joseph Hume, the great Radical politician and writer, said: "A single master was at liberty at any time to turn off the whole of his workers at once—100 to 1,000 in number—if they would not accept the wages he chose to offer. But it was made an offence for the whole of the workers to leave that master at once if he refused to give the wages they chose to require." Sydney Webb, in his "History of Trade Unionism," says that, "During the whole epoch of repression, whilst thousands of journeymen suffered for the crime of combination, there is absolutely no case on record in which an employer was punished for the same offence."

These Combination Laws were repealed mainly through the instrumentality of Francis Place, a master tailor in London, whose work for Unionism and the freedom to organise should be more widely known and appreciated by the Movement. He was first moved to work for the repeal of these laws by the atrocious treatment of some printers employed by the *Times* newspaper. About this he wrote: "The cruel persecutions of the journeymen printers on the *Times* newspaper in 1810 were carried to an almost incredible extent. The Judge who tried and sentenced some of them was the Common Sergeant of

London, Sir John Silvester, commonly known by the cognomen of 'Bloody Black Jack.' . . . No Judge took more pains than did this Judge on the unfortunate printers, to make it appear that their offence was one of great enormity, to beat down and alarm the really respectable men who had fallen into his clutches, and on whom he inflicted scandalously unfair sentences." On another occasion, writing of the degeneration of conditions in the textile industries, Place said: "The sufferings of persons in the cotton manufacture were beyond credibility; they were drawn into combinations, betrayed, persecuted, convicted, sentenced, and monstrously severe punishments inflicted on them; they were reduced to and kept in the most wretched state of existence." The Combination Laws were repealed in 1825.—*Maoriland Worker*.

Our Spanish Martyrs.

We have received from the Spanish Anarchist Federation, in Paris, a manifesto issued on its behalf by the Political Prisoners' Committee; a manifesto that makes us furious and at the same time fills us with despair. It tells a story similar to those that come to us all the time from countries so far apart as Bulgaria and Peru; but perhaps among all the Dictatorships that have sprung up since the Great War, none is more ruthless than that now ruling Spain. Anarchists and Syndicalists are necessarily its special victims, for it is they who are still struggling, against overwhelming odds, to keep alive those liberties which the Dictatorship is bent on destroying, root and branch. Being a Military Dictatorship, it can think only in terms of savage violence, its sole remedies for social discontent being imprisonment, torture, death.

Spain has been always brutal in her methods, and a single example will show how the brutality has increased under the present régime. Prior to its establishment, the maximum penalty for holding a "clandestine" meeting (Think how we should feel if private meetings were prohibited!) was imprisonment for a year. But in Barcelona thirty members of the "Las Planas" society were arrested for holding such a meeting, and, after lying for three years in what is called "preventive" imprisonment, they have been condemned to twelve years' imprisonment! The infamous "Ley de Fuga," under which prisoners can be shot down under the pretence that they were trying to escape, is still in operation, and for those who have the courage to protest against authoritarian injustice there is no mercy.

The question that harasses us incessantly is—What is to be done? According to this manifesto, all radical labour organisation has been effectively suppressed, and our Parisian comrades state that they have gone to the extreme edge of their possibilities in their efforts to collect money for and otherwise relieve the unspeakable hardships to which the imprisoned, and those dependent on them, are subjected. They themselves are largely helpless, because they are refugees in a country now passing through a most serious industrial crisis; and when Frenchmen find it impossible to get a job, the foreigner, especially when under a cloud and shadowed by the police, has hardly any show. They appeal, therefore, to International Labour; but International Labour is itself struggling desperately against huge seas of troubles, and has the utmost difficulty in keeping its own head above the water. For our own part, what can we do apart from giving this manifesto, and others of a like character, all the publicity at our command, and urging those who can assist to do so immediately and to the utmost of their power?

We may be certain that conditions will become worse everywhere until the masses take the situation firmly in hand, and bring about those fundamental changes which alone can make them better. Spain, for example, is a thoroughly decadent Power, and it is the frantic struggle of her rulers to save themselves from the extinction awaiting them that makes them more pitiless than the grave. The law is universal, and the entire Imperialistic and Capitalistic system, in proportion as it finds the ground slipping from beneath its feet, will go back without a moment's hesitation on all its libertarian promises, and stick at nothing to prolong its life. Will Militarism let go because the majority desires it? Will Caste voluntarily abandon its special privileges, and admit to its exclusive circle the proletariat now beginning to thunder at its gates? Can we imagine Big Business throwing up its hands under the influence of humanitarian sentiment? Such questions answer themselves, and only one answer is possible.

The contest between the dying régime and its legitimate successor is one of strength, and so long as we remain the weaker, we shall be crushed. If we have not already learned that lesson, we are unteachable, and all our past sufferings have been in vain. Meanwhile, every possible assistance should

be given to those who are suffering for a cause that is the cause of all the disinherited, and the fight in which they have fallen, or have become disabled temporarily, should be waged with added vigour; for it is only by awakening the indignation of the masses that such atrocities as are recorded in this manifesto can be rendered no longer possible. Those who can give financial or other temporary aid should communicate with the Secretary of the Comité Pro-Présos de Paris, Mme. C. P. Gascon, 74, Rue des Prairies, Paris, France.

How YOU Can Help "Freedom."

We are still desperately in need of financial assistance, but of even greater importance is an immediate increase in the circulation of FREEDOM. New readers will mean an increase of interest in Anarchism, besides an increase in our income. For this purpose we ask our readers to take part in a campaign to push the sale of the paper at meetings and wherever the workers congregate. Years ago at every large meeting in London and the provinces comrades used to have FREEDOM and Anarchist books and pamphlets for sale, with the result that our sales were almost double what they are to-day. Why is it that comrades are so seldom doing this good work now? Again, there are newsagents in every large town who stock Labour papers, Socialist papers, and Communist papers. But how often do we find FREEDOM in these shops? It would not be very difficult to get newsagents to stock our paper providing it was on sale or return, and that someone would take the trouble to collect unsold copies and send us the cash. We cannot expect newsagents to go to much trouble to push an Anarchist paper, but we feel certain that few of them would refuse to stock it.

If comrades will canvass newsagents and send us the addresses of all those who are willing to place it on sale, we will send them a dozen copies of each issue, on sale or return, direct from the office. But comrades must undertake to collect unsold copies, and send us the cash every three months.

We will also send six copies or a dozen or two dozen on sale or return to anyone willing to undertake to sell them at meetings or Trade Union branches. The price is 1½d. per copy, post free, for small or large quantities, but we give thirteen copies for 1s. 6d. These are also the terms for newsagents.

Who will give FREEDOM a helping hand in this way? It means a little hard work, but we hope to find many to whom this will be no obstacle. It is not everyone who can afford to send money to us, but it is in everyone's power to work for FREEDOM and Anarchism.

This month's issue is an excellent number, and would be a good introduction to our paper. We have printed more than our usual circulation, and have copies on hand we can let you have as soon as we hear from you.

Now for a united and persistent effort by one and all.

Publications Received.

"Facing the Chair." Story of the Americanization of Two Foreign-born Workmen. By John Dos Passos. 50 cents. Boston, Mass.: Sacco-Vanzetti Defence Committee.

"Background of the Plymouth Trial." By Bartolomeo Vanzetti. 25 cents. Boston, Mass.: Road to Freedom Group.

"Commonwealth of Massachusetts v. Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti." January Sitting, 1927. Defendants' Brief. Statement of the Cases. Boston, Mass.: Sacco-Vanzetti Defence Committee.

"Individual Liberty." By Benjamin R. Tucker. Selected and Edited by C. L. S. 50 cents.—"The Conquest of Bread." By Peter Kropotkin. 50 cents. New York: Vanguard Press, 70 Fifth Avenue.

"The Fascist Dictatorship." 25 cents. New York City: The International Committee for Political Prisoners, 2 West 13th Street.

"Agriculture." By H. B. Pointing and Emile Burns. 6d. London: Labour Research Department, 162 Buckingham Palace Road, S.W.1.

FREEDOM.

STEWART.

CASH RECEIVED (not otherwise acknowledged).

(March 9 to April 20.)

"FREEDOM" SUBSCRIPTIONS.—J. Cosson, S. Sakurai, J. Petrovich, W. Douglas, A. Petersen, M. Tiboldo, R. B. Garcia, D. M. Ballard, H. A. Bertoli, G. Teltsch, E. D. Hunt, J. Blundell, T. Winokour, J. Manin, F. Hart, S. Horowitz, J. Baer, M. Joseph, E. Brilliant, A. D. Bennett, A. Sosnovsky, S. Hartman, C. Rothberg, A. S. Shuman, M. Schwartz, G. Piscetello, R. Pesotta, F. Luchkofsky, I. C. Pilotofsky, B. Yellin, S. Weisman, H. K. Odel, L. Kaplan, A. Winokour, M. B. Hope, C. Hansen.

PAMPHLET AND BOOK LIST.

ANARCHIST COMMUNISM: ITS BASIS AND PRINCIPLES. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 3d.

THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 4d.

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