

Freedom

JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM

VOL. XXII.—No. 235.

NOVEMBER, 1908.

MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

The Criminal and the Law.

The ferocious sentences of that ornament of legality, Littler, have evoked some indignation in the Press. One of his latest victims, a poor woman who was given five years for stealing a penny, is thus punished, we are told, because of previous convictions. The writer of a letter in the *Daily News* points out that when a prisoner has served the sentence inflicted, society, having had its revenge, is supposed to be satisfied. "If this is not so," the writer adds, "then a person may be imprisoned over and over again for a crime."—That is, in fact, what it amounts to, and in this lies the craft and cruelty of the Home Secretary's proposed Bill dealing with "old offenders." After the third offence they may be imprisoned for life—that is to say, punished "over and over again" in a continuous lifelong sentence for the same crime. The cant about "danger to society" is all rubbish, put forward to hide the law's delight in cruelty. Who is the greatest "danger to society"—the poor woman who steals a penny, or Sir Ralph Littler? The comparison is odious—to the poor woman.

"Unpolitical Persons."

In the *New Age* we are told that the country's great need is for "unpolitical persons who have a healthy contempt for decorous rules." If the *New Age* means what it says, the conclusion to be drawn is that the principles of Anarchism are likely to be of more use to the English people as a nation than any of the political action that is absorbing so much of the time and money of the Labour Party, the I.L.P., S.D.P., and all the rest of the bewildering organisations who are preaching a mass of political palliatives to an infinitesimal quantity of Socialism. In any case, it is quite evident something is needed; and if politics have failed to supply it, it might not be absolute waste of time to clear the people's minds of the prejudices and superstitions in regard to the State and its relation to the community. For the kernel of the whole question rests in that. If the State is the enemy, as we maintain; if it is but the embodiment of capitalist rule; and if, as the workers too well know, that rule means always and everywhere brute force; then let it be frankly admitted that for the workers to dally with political action is but to turn the big guns against themselves; and that nothing less than the destruction of the State will ever release the workers from the grip of the capitalist.

The Cloven Hoof.

One cannot but admire the way the Suffragettes have tricked the watch-dogs and disturbed the dignity of the 670 solemn humbugs in St. Stephen's. We have got rid of the divine right the "damned compact Liberal majority"? At any rate, the great of kings; are we at last beginning to get rid of the divine right of Parliamentary machine is being made to look very ridiculous. The women seem to have taken Danton's advice well to heart and to rely upon that audacity which is so lacking in popular movements to-day. And yet the irony of the situation is pitiable to dwell upon. Here is a body of women, certainly with the courage of their opinions, struggling with the utmost pertinacity for that most unsubstantial of all rights—the right to vote. They have, apparently, nothing but contempt for the very institution that some day they hope to use to keep their own sisters in subjection. This statement will be resented; but let us reason for a moment. Referring to the fact that Burns had once used in Trafalgar Square more inflammatory language than her own, Miss Christabel Pankhurst said in effect: "And he is now a member of the Government. What he has done, may we not do?" Why, certainly! And that is where the cloven hoof is seen. These women want to govern and to practise the arts of government. We shall then see how they will treat the

rebels who may try to "rush" their House. Be sure they will treat them as "horrid Anarchists," and send them to prison without the option.

Arbitration for Labour.

The wiseacres of the Labour movement have been clamouring for some time to have a Court of Arbitration for labour disputes established. That bright particular star of the *Clarion* staff, F. H. Rose, has made a lot of "copy" out of this subject. As no one is permitted to contradict him in the *Clarion* columns, there is not much light on the subject for its 80,000 readers. The *Socialist* of Melbourne has, after the bitter experience of the Australian Labour movement, shown the reactionary effect of the experiment. Now we have the *Labour Leader* whining because that unscrupulous young politician Winston Churchill has published a list of those who have consented to serve as chairmen on his Court of Arbitration for labour disputes, and it finds eleven titled persons out of seventeen; in other words, it is a "packed panel."—Well, what on earth do these Labour Members expect? Do they expect the capitalists to cut their own throats? Surely these "Labour leaders" are the most short-sighted and impracticable people on earth. Besides, some of them have got "jobs" on this Court of Arbitration—not very big ones, it is true; but if they behave themselves there, who knows but what it may not lead to £2,000 a year and a seat in the Cabinet some day?

The Coming Revolution.

"Some of us who live all the year round amongst the unemployed (who, by the way, I dare to say—even in the face of a Christian bishop—are not composed of scaramouches) are now fully determined that, if necessary, the same brute force which has been used for so long by a Christian plutocracy shall be used on behalf of chronic poverty. But we will at least use it with mercy, for our force shall not be the incessant and never-ending silent forces of the screw-jack, but rather the short, sharp, but merciful blow of the blacksmith's hammer."

This is a paragraph from a letter sent by the Rector of Blakley to the Bishop of Manchester, and published in the *Clarion*. If it can be taken as a sign of the times, it is somewhat remarkable; but to read it by the side of some of the sickening political platitudes of the Labour politicians, it is like a breath of fresh air. Of course, rectors are not the sort of people to be relied upon for revolutionary action, but every appeal that is made to the spirit of revolt is something to be welcomed in these days of "law-and-order" Socialism, and with Blatchford preaching against "violence."

Violence versus the Vote.

The confusion in the minds of the majority of people over this question of "violence" or force as used by mankind to attain certain aims, could never exist were it not for the perverse education they receive. Legal chicanery hides the real point at issue, and even intelligent persons like to deceive themselves with the sophisms of the law. It may be truly said that every liberty we now possess has been won, directly or indirectly, from the oppressors by force. Every man who votes is, consciously or unconsciously, relying upon force in the ultimate appeal. But it is so comforting, so respectable, to go peacefully to church, knowing you have 17,000 paid men to bludgeon the unemployed, and behind them tens of thousands of well-armed mercenary hirelings to spill the blood of the people—quite legally and orderly—to protect your sacred rights of property. Yet if these millions of downtrodden, workless ones, and the others who have work, knew their power, force would win them freedom and well-being. It has been so all through the ages, and the vote is only a dodge to destroy the people's power and to hide the brute force of the State. Motley, speaking of the brave Batavians, whose courage won the respect of the Romans, says that "the tax-gatherer never invaded their island." They knew how to fight.

SCIENSOCRACY: A NEW SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY.

By C. H. SPENCER.

(Concluded from last month.)

We have seen the condition of society at the present time, what it was in the past, the evils arising from the institution of Government, and what we may expect from its continued existence, as now constituted, in the future. We have shown that great changes have taken place in almost every realm, that these changes have been due to the application of scientific principles. We have seen that the great parties are unscientific, are helpless to prevent decline; we have seen that the amelioration of the people's condition by so-called progressive forces can only end in accentuating the evils from which we suffer; that those evils are due to false ideals dominating all classes; and we have found the scientific principle that, applied, shall do for human economy what mathematics and physics have done for mechanics. It now remains for us to outline the process by which the old order shall pass away, giving birth to science-rule, Sciensocracy, as the fit and worthy successor of an unenlightened past. As in France the Monarchy gave way to the Republic and its plutocracy; and the despotism of Russia passed its power to an oligarchy, so we shall see the plutocracies of Great Britain and America pass away as a vapour, leaving behind the Sciensocrat and the triumph of science in the affairs of life.

This change of the old order to the new shall not be a fortuitous event; it will be a well-planned scientific scheme of national social economy carried out by men who know what is required and how it shall be brought to pass.

In every department evolution has been slow; but there came a time when an impetus was given which accelerated its rate tremendously, as in the case of shipping. It will be exactly the same with social science when the brain of the social body is organised.

The whole course of evolution throughout the countless ages that lay behind us have been necessary to develop the brain of an intellectual man. The genius of all past time has led us to the present, and, as its fruit, given us the scientist and machine maker. First the one cell, then the two-fold; the multiple, the organised centres of sensation; the rudimentary brain, growing by long and tedious processes into the prophet, poet, artist, scientist, the inspired thinker who conquers the world of thought. As the individual brain has been forming during all these countless aeons, so the social brain has been developing along fixed and certain lines. As in a less developed age the individual consciousness ruled the unit, so in the age to come the collective consciousness shall control the whole. Hitherto the imperfect means of communication made it impossible for the thinker to convey his thought to the social body. This no longer obtains; to-day the thinker, by means of books, newspapers, and the spoken tongue, can talk to millions, whereas a little time ago it was difficult to get publicity in his own town. All this is changed. Men to-day in the remotest parts of the world can be brought into contact with the thinker a few hours after he has communicated his thoughts. Hence the past years have seen a great development in the growth of the social consciousness. To us the time seems ripe for another, and an important impetus, for the aggregation of the nation's best units into what may be best described as a brain for the nation. The function of the brain is to think. The function of the organism is to act. Just as the individual brain controls the social unit, so the collective brain would direct the activity of the social organism, the collective whole.

We therefore advise development on these lines, suggesting that the first step in the direction of true reform is to form an institution that may be looked upon as the brain of the nation. This is the first and most pressing need of the time—a scientific institution where the nation's best thought may be collected and used for the benefit of the whole. Such an institution would be an inestimable boon; it would play the part of an initiatory, consultative, and advisory committee, open freely to all who had any thought or scheme that would be of benefit to humanity. It would prepare and devise the various activities that would transform our present chaos into some semblance of true order. This committee would be, as the aristocracy of learning has always been, voluntary. It would be open for any citizen, either by writing or speech, to lay before it any scheme that he thought of service to his fellows. The incentive this would give to thinker and inventor cannot be over-estimated—the certainty that his thought would receive

proper scientific treatment, to be adopted if suitable, or rejected if otherwise.

Not being an elected authority, it would have no power to impose the results of its deliberation upon the nation, but it would be able to lay its decisions before the country, saying, "We, your social brain, advise this; if there is any man amongst you who can show we are wrong, or can produce something better, step forth and let us have it."

Let us suggest an illustration. To-day we have a necessity to maintain an Army and Navy which cost enormous sums of money and take from productive industry vast numbers of men.

From what does this necessity arise? The Sciensocrat has the true answer to this question.

Why after the Boer War did we police the country with soldiers? Was it fear of an invasion from Germany? No, it was to keep the conquered under control; to prevent them rising in rebellion against the foreign yoke. The Transvaal will, in the ordinary course of things, be so garrisoned for many years to come, until the present generation will have passed away; the next generation will find, as we do, a "Chester Castle," and accept it as the normal condition of things, never dreaming that the reason for its existence is the same now as it was then.

The abolition of subjection would almost do away with the necessity for an Army and Navy. Sciensocrats would deal with this question in a scientific manner. If it was necessary to maintain an Army and Navy to repel foreign attack, the nation would have a sufficient fighting strength to repel an invader.

Just as under subjection the War Department controls these matters, so under Sciensocracy the case would be reversed. We should have a "Peace Department." With the former the chief interest is to fight; with the latter the incentive would be to refrain from fighting.

Or, take the arts of engineering and architecture. No engineer, no architect, can give the world his best work to-day; but under the new order that we suggest the disabilities of his art would be removed. Architecture would be free from the money aspect. How often do we hear it said, "That is the building I would have erected, but it was too costly"; "This is the scheme they should have adopted, but it would have cost too much." The science and art of architecture is to produce great, beautiful works of art. Under Sciensocracy there would be unlimited scope for the display of architectural genius. It would be the same with every other department of life.

The disability of money being removed, the era of cheap manufactures would go. The profit aspect would be gone, and men would manufacture for use instead of profit.

This National Advisory Committee, then, would be the first institution necessary to call into existence. We name it the Sciensadvisum (from science, and *visum* to advise).

There is no reason why this Committee should not be immediately formed. Its first work would be to consider how the principles of science-rule could be administered; how subjection was to be replaced by freedom; how industry was to be organised for the common-weal; how wealth was to be distributed; how the entire nation could be best administered in the interest of all.

The Sciensadvisum would split itself up into departments to consider these matters, and lay the results before the country either by means of the press or by other ways to be devised.

The importance of this Committee cannot be exaggerated. It would be as much superior to Parliament as the railway is to the stage coach. Its importance would pale the Government into insignificance, and men would marvel at their old contentedness with such a cumbrous machine.

To have abolished the stage coach at the advent of steam would not only have been impossible, but folly. The course adopted, the natural course, was for the railway to exist side by side with the coach. In a like manner we do not want to abolish either the Lords or the Commons, nor the Privy Council. It is not possible; it would be folly even if it were. But what we can do is to act naturally. We can do as was done in the case of the railway. We can build up the new institution that will do its work better, scientifically; and the day would come as it did to the coach, when neither the Lords nor Commons would be any longer of service. We should say to them as we say to the stage coach, "You have served your day and generation; we are grateful, but you are no longer necessary; we leave you now to perish of inanition."

By the adoption of our scheme we can see the day when the electorate would refuse to send Members to Parliament, when they would decline to pay taxes to the Government. We can see them sending their Members to an administration that would

certainly come into existence to apply, by means of expert departments, the various offices of State.

We can see the time coming when our system of taxation shall be entirely abolished; when taxes will be no longer necessary.

There is a better way than taxation, and Sciencocracy would use this better method.

THE MESSAGE OF CHICAGO.

Twenty-one years have passed since the great tragedy of Chicago was concluded, and four innocent men were executed in the name of capitalist and bourgeois law. The shedding of their blood but served to fertilise the seed of human liberty which shall yet supersede the cowardice and tyranny of modern capitalism and class domination. The labour struggle in the States had taken on an acute phase, and in all parts there were strikes and lock-outs, and threats of a mutual character between worker and exploiter. The acceptance by the Governmental authorities of an eight-hour day as a maximum working period several years previously had not involved its extension to the great mass of workers up and down the States. Recognising the subserviency of law to economic pressure, the general conference of the National Labour Union determined that the eight-hour day for the whole of Labour should be introduced throughout the States by a universal strike on May 1, 1886. Great preparations were made to this end, the agitation proving hottest in Chicago, where the Anarchists and Socialists were called on to play their part in the struggle.

Whilst pointing out that short of Socialism all was illusion, they did not hesitate to encourage the revolutionary spirit implied in the movement. Foremost amongst those who were most active in the agitation were August Vincent F. Spies, Albert R. Parsons, Samuel Fielden, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, Michel Schwab, Louis Lingg, and Oscar Neebe. Of these, Spies was born on December 10, 1855, at Friedewald, Kurhessen (Province Hesse-Nassau since 1886), Germany, being the son of a forester—in Germany a Government official. Proving himself unusually bright in his studies, he was educated by private tutors, and also attended the Polytechnicum for one year, subsequently choosing his father's profession. By the age of fourteen he had become a religious sceptic, and had read all the great German classics, as well as studied Kant and Hegel's philosophy. The death of his father, when he was sixteen, necessitated the abandonment of his studies and his joining his relatives in America. Arrived in New York, he learned the upholstery trade, and proceeded shortly afterwards to Chicago, where he lived from October, 1872, up to the time of his murder by the authorities. Becoming a Socialist in 1876, he believed in a political class struggle up to 1880, when he repudiated the practicability of political action, and came to believe in the economic struggle only.

Albert Parsons, born on June 24, 1848, in Montgomery, Alabama, was brother of Major-General W. H. Parsons; and in the course of his mental evolution had held several positions of trust in various Labour organisations, and did active literary work on behalf of the revolutionary movement.

Samuel Fielden first saw the light on February 25, 1847, at Todmorden, Lancashire; and inherited from his father that love of truth and hatred of hypocrisy which later brought him into conflict with the authorities.

The son of a Bremen worker, Adolph Fischer received but a poor worker's education, and at fifteen sailed for America. His father, who was a member of the Socialist Party of Bremen, gave him an early insight into the rottenness of society, and laid the basis for his acceptance of the Anarchist ideas he afterwards defended.

George Engel, Fischer's colleague in the Chicago struggle, and a native of the German city of Cassel, where he was born on April 15, 1868, was left parentless when but twelve years old, and learned his Socialism in the bitter school of experience. It was in the same school and under the same harsh teacher that Michel Schwab, born at Kitzingen, Central Germany, on August 9, 1853; Louis Lingg, born at Mannheim, September 9, 1864; and Oscar Neebe, born in Philadelphia of German parents, came to realise the nature of the poverty problem.

Such were the type of men who played their part in the agitation which, as the fatal May Day approached, tended more and more to frighten the employers and to paralyse industry. Cunning, cowardice, and brutality were ever the prerogatives of the capitalist class and their dirty spies. A meeting on May 3 was attacked and broken up by the hirelings of the capitalist

class, the police, who, firing on unarmed men, women, and children, left six dead and several wounded. On the following day a meeting of protest was held in the Haymarket, at which Spies, Fischer, Engel, Fielden, and Parsons spoke, each speaker pointing out the scientific basis of their antagonism to the capitalist system, and urging the workers to economic revolt, not indiscriminate bomb activity. This did not suit the police, who advanced upon the meeting with loaded rifles and in fighting formation. The throwing of a bomb—by a traitor of the Coulon type, without doubt—killed and wounded many of the police, and indiscriminate firing on their part at once became the order of the day. Houses were ransacked, crowds arrested, and the comrades already arrested indicted.

Time passes, and the next act of the tragedy is enacted in Judge Gary's court on October 7, 8, and 9, 1886, when the historical figures of the agitation addressed the court in their own defence. Dignified in bearing, his handsome face now lighted up with satire, bold, defiant, and fluent in delivery, Spies' speech, so rich in historical detail and philosophical generalisations, has for the cowardly judge, the dirty, lying witnesses, and the inane, packed jurymen, many an unwelcome truth. Schwab, his pale, earnest face eloquent of his contempt for the legal curs around him, exposes the whole damnable conspiracy of which he is a victim. Neebe follows, only to regret that he is deprived of the honour of dying. Fischer, erect in bearing, is his successor, his tall form contrasting strongly with the cringing persecutors around him. Lingg, speaking in German, impassioned in his utterances, is proudly defiant and fiercely calm; whilst Engel, who succeeds him, speaks easily and with the calm stolidity of the Teuton and the Stoic. Then follow lengthy speeches from Fielden and Parsons. Moderate in language, his arrangement of his matter renders the former's address none the less telling; whilst the intense power and latent passion of the Texan's speech rightly entitles it to be deemed a brilliant agitation speech—the most powerful speech of a formidable propagandist.

The scene changes—November 11, 1887, draws nigh, and months of petitioning have proved to be of no effect. Bourgeois law, founded on an ignorance as dismal as the tyranny of power, must have its way; and well do the heroes of the struggle realise the meaning of the message their death will send throughout the world. "Let no attempt be made to avert the final tragedy of the Eleventh of November; make no effort to avenge our deaths." Such was the brave, dignified message of these men a few days prior to their death—a fate which Louis Lingg anticipated by suicide the day previous to that on which Engel, Fischer, Parsons, and Spies were executed.

And now it is the fatal day—November 11 has arrived at last. Now listen to their last words on the scaffold. "There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle to-day," prophetically asserts Spies; "Hurrah for Anarchy!" triumphantly exclaims Engel; whilst Fischer adds to this shout of triumph, "Hurrah for Anarchy! This is the happiest moment of my life." Albert Parsons remarks are cut short, as he requests commandingly, "Let me speak, oh men of America! Will you let me speak, Sheriff Matson? Let the voice of the people be heard! Oh—"

The tragedy is at an end, but the story is not yet closed. On June 26, 1893, Governor Altgeld, in a complete statement of the case and of his reasons for granting an absolute pardon to Samuel Fielden, Oscar Neebe, and Michael Schwab, asserts that the jury was packed, the jurors incompetent, the testimony bought, the judge prejudiced and subservient, and the conviction one of personal revenge. Thus out of its own mouth is capitalist justice condemned. May the workers, out of the very tyranny and oppression of Labour, see to it that it shall ere long be non-existent, but an ugly nightmare of the past, to be placed in the same category as the Holy Inquisition, the Crusades, chattel slavery, and feudalistic serfdom—past witnesses to the desolating pestilence of mental ignorance and economic power. The message of Chicago is a message of freedom. Let us recall the stirring words of Danton: "Daring, ever daring to dare!" and though we but enter into annihilation's peace for our trouble, the sleep will cost us naught but the negation of life's pains, our endeavours spell the world's emancipation. Courage, brothers, courage; let us put on the dauntless armour of resolution, and, as if by magic, the chains of wage-slavery shall pass away, and freedom for all be ensured.

GUY A. ALDRED.

"Parliamentarism seems to have done for the English people what it has done for a part of the Irish—turned them into mendicants and cringing slaves."—*Gaelic American*.

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Monthly, One Penny; post free, 1d.: U.S.A., 3 Cents; France, 15 Centimes.

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

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

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

THE MANAGER, 127 Ossulston Street, N.W.

The Editors are not necessarily in agreement with signed articles.

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Political Action or Revolution?

The people, it has been said, are always in advance of their institutions. The incidents of the past few weeks bring this subject once more to the front. For, certainly a growing spirit of indignation, mingled with a good deal of contempt, has dealt some heavy blows at Governmental institutions. Carlyle, Ruskin, William Morris, Herbert Spencer, and last but not least, Charles Dickens,—all these men have hurled ridicule and contempt on the House of Commons and the various departments of the Civil Service. They have shown in their various ways the trickery, the ineptitude, the stupidity, and the scandalous indifference of politicians and the heads of departments where matters affecting the people's welfare have been concerned.

The Anarchists have gone further, and criticising without fear or prejudice the whole of the basis and structure of the State organisation and administration, they have drawn therefrom the conclusion, which has never been refuted, and which daily experience proves again and again to be correct, that the evil consists in Government itself, and is expressed in the State, which is organised to protect the interests of the exploiting class, and to hinder the development of all popular movements.

Yet, notwithstanding that the House of Commons and its Circumlocution Offices had become a byword to the nation in the days of Dickens, for the past twenty years there has been an increasing desire amongst the working classes to turn to Parliament for the alleviation of the ills, or some of the ills, that capitalism inflicts upon them.

Why is this?

It can be traced to the time when the revolutionary spirit that had been awakened amongst the workers by the S.D.F. and the Socialist League, began to be turned to account by the ambitious spirits of both organisations for the advancement of their political aims. The great Dock Strike was the culminating point in this revolutionary spirit; and on the flood of this tide Burns was carried, first into the L.C.C., and then into Parliament.

After that, everything was to be done by the vote. The eight-hour day, the housing problem, the unemployed question—all these were to be remedied by voting men into Parliament. But once the people's noses were in the ballot box, the reactionists saw their opportunity. There was to be no more talk of revolution; and this was the cue for Chamberlain and Co. to play the game which ended in the South African war and all its evil consequences. Their end came; and at the General Election the workers, still imbued with ideas of State help, sent thirty-one members to St. Stephen's to voice their wrongs.

These are the reasons why Parliament has of late years become at any rate partially rehabilitated in the estimation of the people. Fortunately, the treachery of Burns and the ignominious failure of the Labour Party to achieve the smallest fraction of what they had promised the workers to obtain for them, have produced a searching of heart amongst the more thoughtful section of the workers which is beginning to shake their confidence in representative Government. And this, as we said, has been greatly helped both by Grayson's defiant act in the Commons, and Frank Smith's fight in the L.C.C.

Both these acts have their value because they tear the veil

that hides so much from the people. Everyone now sees what cowardly hypocrites are the men who make the laws; what scoundrels these well-fed men must be, to sit and talk platitudes while the people starve. But if that is true of the capitalist section, what can we say of the Labour men? They have no right there at all—that is what men are beginning to say, and that is what forebodes a great parting of the ways in the Socialist movement.

"Is there to be discord?" asks Hardie in an article in the *Labour Leader*, where he defends his party as best he can. Yes, there is going to be something more than discord. There is to be a division, sooner or later, that will divide once for all those who are for political action from those who are for the revolution. Signs of this division are manifest in most of the great European nations. In England it has hitherto not been so developed. But the events we have been discussing will urge it on. Grayson's act has brought the Labour Party to the bar of popular judgment. They may revile him, but their defence will be their own accusation.

The Russian Crisis.

I.

One often hears that the Russian revolution has been crushed definitely, that autocracy has triumphed, and that the White Terror is reigning in the whole of the vast Empire of the Czar. Such statements one hears even from revolutionists.

If one considers the present state of things in Russia from the point of view of this or that Socialist or progressive party, it must be recognised that the Czar, bureaucracy, and militarism have triumphed, because all those parties—the Constitutional Democrats, the Revolutionary Socialists, as well as the Social Democrats—during these two years have suffered great losses, are weakened, and nearly disorganised. In this way one may say that the revolution, if not crushed definitely, at least has received a heavy blow.

But if the word "revolution" is taken in its real, historic conception, that is, as a national uprising against the existing order, like the Dutch revolution in the sixteenth century, the English in the seventeenth century, and the great French revolution—and they are the only real revolutions, because they changed the political and partly the social order fundamentally—in this sense the Russian revolution has not only not been crushed, but is only at its beginning.

Without exaggeration, it may be said that the general strike of October, 1905, was the first act accomplished by the united opposition of all classes and nationalities of the Empire. Previous to that date, during the last forty years, there had been more or less energetic and successful revolutionary propaganda and conspiracies, but all this remained rather party activity without becoming general and popular. Manifestations, sometimes very sanguinary, were held; rural disorders took place, not very often, it is true, and always followed, according to the cruel tradition of the Government, by executions and devastations. The revolutionists of the various parties revenged themselves by attacks on governors, police, ministers, and even the Czar. But I repeat that all this remained, though a heroic struggle, in reality the action of this or that revolutionary party.

The great demonstration of January 22, 1905, drowned in the blood of women and children, may be considered as the first rumbling of the revolution which was approaching. It was the first time in Russia that the people—not the workers belonging to some particular party, but the whole of the working class of St. Petersburg, including members of all parties—formulated a general demand of the Russian people: representative government and the land for the peasants.

This formula is neither Socialistic nor Social Democratic, also not purely democratic or political; but as a really national and popular demand it imposed itself on all parties and on the Government.

During the nine months which elapsed between January 22 and the month of October, the Russian Government and its military forces suffered the humiliation of unprecedented defeats in Manchuria. The army was beaten and demoralised, the fleet annihilated. Discontent had become general, even in the Army. When the railway strike of Moscow had spontaneously become general, and was supported by the postal and telegraph Unions, the despots in St. Petersburg, frightened and isolated by the stoppage of the means of communications, acceded to the

general demands; and the Manifesto of October granted the Constitution, the liberty of the press, of association, and of meeting.

The whole of Russia was jubilant. Meetings and processions were organised, revolutionary songs were sung. Everybody, even the most ferocious revolutionists, forgot that as long as all the bureaucratic and police institutions, those real organs of oppression, remained unchanged and intact, every manifesto promising liberties was nothing but a document which might be repealed at any time, according to the will of its author. They had forgotten that rights and liberties are guaranteed, not by papers and manifestoes, but by institutions.

Except in Guria, a province of Georgia, and in the Baltic provinces, no attempt was made in the whole of Russia to paralyse the despotic police and judicial administration; everywhere the existing order remained untouched. And when the first bewilderment of the Government had passed, when it saw all those institutions of oppression intact, at the same moment and in the same way all over Russia the most sanguinary and barbaric counter-revolution broke out.

The Anti-Semitic pogroms at Odessa, at Kiev, and elsewhere; the burning of the Zemstvo House at Tver, Tomsk; the massacres of Tiflis, Baku, Odessa, followed by those of Moscow, inaugurated the reaction which still continues.

The Government of the Tsar hopes by these atrocities to intimidate the nation. It would be even disposed to revoke all the promised liberties and the Constitution, and to re-establish autocracy. But it is already too late. Good or bad, the Constitutional order has been gained; the first part of the popular demand of the demonstration of January 22 has been realised.

When the first Duma was assembled, the second part of the formula, "the land for the peasants," was brought immediately to the front. The Duma, though bourgeois, proposed very radical agrarian reforms, nearly equal to the nationalisation of the land, by proposing to give the peasants the domains of the State and of the Imperial family, and the obligatory expropriation of the land of the rich nobility and clergy, with a national redemption. The people, all nationalities, applauded the Duma. The Government understood that the agrarian question had become the most important problem in the life of the Empire. Then the Emperor and his councillors had the idea to keep for themselves the glory of the solution of the agrarian question.

The Duma was dissolved. A manifesto of the Czar ordered a new solution of the agrarian question. But in this new project of the Czar's there was no mention of compulsory expropriation of the land of the nobility and of the clergy, nor of national redemption.

Dissatisfaction was shown everywhere. The Government answered by creating courts-martial and by declaring the whole of Russia in a state of siege. The policy of wholesale execution was inaugurated.

But this time autocracy found itself confronted by the peasantry and working class of the country. Disorders and agrarian terror in the villages, attacks on the police and high officials as well as on the State treasures, followed on the dissolution of the first Duma and the creation of courts-martial. Eighty per cent. of those accused of these acts of revolt are peasants and workers. The account of this struggle is terrible. The number of victims officially recognised is as follows:—

From February, 1905, till August, 1907.

Killed in the streets	19,144
Executed and lynched	3,481
Killed by escorts	1,350
Wounded	20,704
Various	935
Total	45,614

From the beginning of the month of August, 1907, till the end of the year, the military tribunals executed 735 persons. During the first three months of this year these tribunals executed 412. Every day an average of 3 or 4 persons, without distinction of age or sex, are executed. Young girls are hanged and killed as well as boys of ten years, like little Rybnikoff, pupil of the preparatory class of the Gymnasium of Tiflis.

To this number of killed, executed, and wounded, must be added 5,000 condemned to hard labour, and 13,000 under preventive arrest, who will be executed, sent to hard labour, or exiled. This will bring the number of victims up to 64,761 persons.

But even this is not yet all. "By administrative order," by the police and the military administration, up to March, 1908, more than 78,000 men, women, and students and pupils of

secondary schools have been deported to Siberia and to the Northern provinces. Towards the end of March of this year, the total number of victims was 142,761 persons!

Of this number 4,000 fell as defenders of autocracy by the hands of the revolutionists. It may be said that the instigators and organisers of oppression and massacre have paid for their crimes. During the last six years have been killed: 8 ministers or retired ministers, 1 archbishop, 1 grand duke, 12 generals, commanding and staff officers, 14 governors of provinces and large towns, and more than 20 chiefs of police and commanders of punitive expeditions. The remainder of those 4,000 were officers, police inspectors, Cossacks and soldiers.

142,761 victims! For what cause? To save the autocracy of a crowned neurasthenic, a plaything in the hands of spiritualists, of cheating and rapacious monks, of brutal grand dukes and ignorant military men, cowards before the Japanese, ferocious with unarmed peasants, women and children. But the most astonishing fact is that, notwithstanding all the blood which has been shed, autocracy is lost for ever. Even the third Duma, elected by the police and the Black Gang, refused the Czar the title of Autocrat.

Twice the Czar and his ministers have falsified the Constitution and the electoral system; they have condemned, deported, and executed 142,000 persons whom they considered most dangerous...and nevertheless the people have gained one of their two claims: representative government, a Constitution. It is true, a bureaucratic and clerical Constitution, but not much worse than that of Prussia and of other German States.

W. TCHERKESOFF.

(To be continued.)

FRENCH NOTES.

The liberation of Ponget, Griffuelhes, Yvetot, and the other members of the Executive of the General Confederation of Labour took place on Saturday, October 31, the prosecution, examining the results of three months' criminal investigation, concluding that there is no case against them to go before a jury. At this moment the reactionaries are pouring out all the indignation they can on this result, but it will be of no avail. For Clemenceau prefers the case to end in this way, for which he can put the blame on his colleague, the Minister of Justice, the ex-Socialist Briand, rather than in the sweeping verdict of a jury, which would be another straight blow in his own face—a repetition of the verdict of acquittal of February last, when he tried the same game against the same men. He may also hope, by getting rid of the "leaders," to obtain the surer severe sentences against the *menu fretin*, the small people, the local comrades of Draveil and Villeneuve, arrested for resisting being cut down by soldiers, and similar "crimes." Even if their sentences were small, they would always help to increase the golden roll of Clemenceau's achievements since he became Prime Minister:—

- 14 workers killed,
 - 367 workers wounded,—
 - 312 Government officials sacked for Syndicalism,
 - 148 years 4 months imprisonment for Anarchists and Syndicalists—
- figures given by M. Jaurès' *Humanité*.

As this old Republican seems determined to remain Emperor of France to the end of his days, his record by that time may well bear comparison with that of Napoleon III., whom, when young, he imagined himself to combat, driven perhaps only by secret admiration and jealousy! But he will never beat the record of the Czar; he started too late in life for that.

The *Voix du Peuple*, the organ of the Confederation, of October 23, gives long abstracts from the minutes of the final interrogatories of the accused, when the examining Judge charged them with all the evidence accumulated, and it amounted to next to nothing. The paper concludes:—

"We have shown:

That the members of the Confederation were arrested by order [of the Government]. That to sham a motive for their arrest, a lying report of Prefect Autrand was relied upon.

That there was no sign of guilt against them.

That they took no part in organising the [Draveil] manifestation of July 30.

That those who organised it [the Paris Building Trades Federation, July 28, acting against the advice of Griffuelhes] were not interfered with, in order to be able to incriminate the Executive of the Confederation.

That the baffled prosecution was on August 18 still looking out for proofs of the participation of the Confederation in organising the manifestation.

That this proves that they had no proofs, which, however, were indispensable to justify arrests.

That they could not have these proofs, because no participation existed.

That the prosecution, having no other witnesses, took to mobilising police witnesses.

That it fared badly by this, because the charges fell altogether to pieces—the false testimony of Maugras.

That of more than eighty witnesses, not one stated a definite fact against our comrades.

That Marie was arrested for—having from motives of humanity intervened in favour of the son of the deputy-mayor of Villeneuve.

From all this it results that, as the mere presence at a manifestation cannot be held to be criminal (the law is explicit on this point), our comrades are victims of a striking denial of justice."

Moreover, all the others who days and weeks afterwards were arrested in the locality of the massacre cannot legally be included in a collective monster trial for rebellion, but only be charged individually with small offences. As I said before, Clemenceau thinks it safer to let the Court state this than the jury; and Briand may have to go for not having been able to bring together a more successful case for the prosecution. He will go with a clean conscience: it was *not his fault* that the prosecution failed so miserably!

Meanwhile, from October 6 to 10, the Marseilles Congress of the Confederation took place, and ended by confirming the anti-Parliamentarian, antimilitarist, direct-action tactics of past years. This was done by 947 votes against 109 abstentions, whilst the antimilitarist resolution was accepted by 681 votes to 421, with 43 abstentions. This resolution ends with the words: "Whereas political frontiers are changeable at the will of those who possess, the workers recognise only the economic frontiers which separate the two hostile classes: the working and the capitalist class. The Congress recalls to memory the words of the International: 'Working men have no country.'"

The Congress encouraged also the constitution of large federations of allied trades, which has already been done by the building trades, and is proposed to be done for all metal workers. Here lays a weak point. The painters, from reasons of their own, refused to join the building trades federation. What other means but persuasion are applicable to such cases?

As the above figures show, opposition was not missing at the Congress; and they also, the so called Reformist wing, claim a victory, as they are numerically stronger than the revolutionists, and are placed in a minority by the voting system of these Congresses, which is by groups and not by the number of members of these groups. The debates were often excited, but all ended well, and to me the difference between sincere reformists and Syndicalist revolutionists seems to arise more from the different situation of various trades, differences of personality and temperament also, than from theoretical reasons. Some trades create a fighting spirit, others are more sedate; some are prosperous, others depressed, etc. This means that the workers of some trades are quicker, easier moved, more determined than those of other trades where machinery and routine crush their spirit. Again, the larger a Union becomes, the greater the proportion of late comers, rather moderate and indifferent members, unfit for quick action. Hence both sections have an importance of their own—the small fighting groups, and the large organisations which rely upon their numerical strength. When the situation will require it, revolutionists and sincere reformists will be found side by side.

I say "sincere reformists," because here the demoralising influence of Governmental Socialism sets in and is trying to undermine Socialism. Social Democrats in all countries cry for Ministers of Labour, and when one of them becomes Minister of Labour, as M. Viviani in France (following up M. Millerand, Minister of Commerce in a previous Government), he knows nothing better than to use all the means at the disposal of the Government to coax into submission—plainly speaking, to corrupt—as many Socialists and Trade Union leaders as he possibly can. French Syndicalism was long fettered by the system of Governmental and Municipal subventions to the local Trades Councils; it is, happily, emerging from this, and gaining independence. Still, there are endless ways by which the Ministry of Labour, aided also by the Socialist Members of the Chamber, who, to secure their re-election, must not cut off their connection with the Radicals on one side, and Governmental benevolence on the other,—there are endless ways, then, to undermine Syndicalism of a Reformist type, and this explains the bitterness of the revolutionists in this struggle, in which, at Marseilles, they won another victory.

The Toulouse Congress of United Political Socialists showed merely the utter shallowness of these politicians, whom Gustave Hervé sometimes galvanises into life for a moment; but Jaurès, by his endless oratory, always brings it about that things are left exactly as they are.

Anarchists and Antimilitarists continue to be persecuted, George Durupt, of *Le Libertaire*, being sentenced to three years' imprisonment for a speech at Draveil.

October 31.

N.

ANARCHISM.

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

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CORRESPONDENCE.

ANARCHISM AND THE UNEMPLOYED.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—May I make a few remarks on Anarchism and the unemployed? A problem of suffering humanity ought not to be considered from an exclusive propaganda standpoint but at the same time none of our ideas ought to be relegated, even temporarily, to the background. We believe that our ideas will help us to find an adequate solution for all such problems, only our own different personal dispositions make us sometimes disagree on these proposed solutions, which, after all, experience alone can verify.

Thus I fail to see that authoritarian measures can ever lead to any good; and compulsory taxation, which the proposed levies from the rich would practically amount to, and a National Convention, which would be another majority-ruled, time-wasting Parliamentary assembly, are weapons which our enemies would soon use against ourselves, the absolute opponents, if anything, of compulsion and majority rule. If the French Revolution resorted to authoritarian measures, it was digging its own grave thereby, undermining and destroying the spirit of freedom hardly roused in the people; and it prepared the way for increased authority, culminating soon in the dictatorship of Bonaparte, the military leader.

The present unemployed movement is about to lead to a considerable extension of State Socialism, which, as we all know, simply means new strength added to the existing State machinery, new links forged to the chains of the workers. The Right Honourable ex-John Burns lays down the principle: work for the capitalists in periods of brisk trade and full employment; work for municipalities and the State in periods of slack trade and want of employment. This will soon be achieved by creating the frame and machinery of permanent relief works, and what with old-age pensions and workhouses—not forgetting the attractions held out by the recruiting sergeant—the worker will be like a caged squirrel in a permanent grinding mill from cradle to grave, and all will be for the best in this best of all possible worlds. He will linger in that state of abject dependency and semi-starvation which so admirably keeps down his spirit and perpetuates his enslavement.

What can we do against this? "Back to the land" is a beautiful cry, but it is of no avail in the present situation. To the few of us who are fortunate enough to know the sunny-side of country life, such a cry is enchanting. But to the mass of town-bred people it has lost its meaning; and those labourers who from village tyranny took refuge in the towns are not too eager either to heed that cry. Again, a man competent in his trade does not wish to give it up and to begin afresh as an inexperienced toiler on barren soil, having to create almost all out of nothing. This seldom succeeds even among the enthusiasts whom their ideas and the fellowship of comrades support when an agricultural Communist colony is formed. How is it to succeed with people whose energies the miseries of unemployment have already somewhat crushed? "Back to the land," then, is a solution for the few who really want it, not a general remedy.

There is too much looking for general remedies. As Anarchists, we reject laws because they pretend to be general, uniform solutions applied to given questions. From the same standpoint we are opposed to generalising of any description. To classify a man as an unemployed, to create a special position for him, means simply to perpetuate the unemployed class and to absorb it into some department of the huge State machinery. To us, an unemployed is, before all, a man who belongs, first, to the circle of his family and his friends; second, to that of his fellow workers of the same trade; and lastly only, to that mixed and confused agglomeration, the Unemployed. We ought to try to disentangle the webs by which they are gradually being encircled, and out of men become particles of some State-supported relief body, if they are not sucked up by that ever-greedy consumer of men, the Army.

How can anything be practically done in this direction? The moment anything becomes what is termed a general problem, nearly everybody ceases to take an interest in it, knowing that either this or that part of the State machinery or representative assemblies will deal with it, and a private person has only to submit and pay; or that ambitious people and busybodies will take the matter up, and they also strive to hand it over to public bodies, after having gained some notoriety out of it. It is for us to emphasise that the unemployed problem is not such a general problem which every private person can but leave untouched, but that much, if not all, can be achieved by real private and personal energy, the best kind of direct action. There are certainly in this country as many groups and organised bodies—each possessing a certain, however small, sphere of influence—as there are unemployed; on the other hand, most of the unemployed are or have been in touch with circles of friends, of fellow workers, etc. Our appeal ought to go to all these numberless groupings of people, to let each one try to do something, not for the unemployed, but for a proportionate number of unemployed, for one unemployed if the respective limits of influence extend no further. *Individual effort exercised by collectivities*—that seems the right way to handle this problem, and not to let it drift, by tacitly approving authoritarian measures, until the unemployed are fitted in as a permanent body of half-enslaved men into the mechanism of the capitalist State.

If this way of action, or rather of advice, be practised on ever so small a scale; if only a few men are thus rescued from that new army

of semi-slaves, something will have been done, the spirit of independence will have been aroused in however few; and this is (as I saw it explained in another part of last month's FREEDOM) the primary condition of all further progress.

October 26, 1908.

M. N.

Answers to Correspondents.

S. WERMONT, Manchester.—The 4s. received clears your account with FREEDOM.

"NEFAS," Brisbane.—You forgot to send your name. Judging from your scheme, I should say it is Ned Kelly—or is it Coulon?

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

GLASGOW.

On Saturday, October 3rd, Comrade Kean arrived in Glasgow. On Sunday two meetings were held, afternoon and evening. The first was on Glasgow Green; subject, "Direct Action versus Legislation." After Kean had delivered a splendid speech, showing the fallacy of government, questions were invited. Then he did shine; his audience were struck by his answers, completely carried away. I never saw an audience so well pleased; it was hard to get away. Literature sold well.

The second meeting was held on Jail Square, a well-known place in Glasgow; subject, "The Unemployed Question." Kean's address was to the point. "You are unemployed," he said, "because too much is produced. If you had the money—which would be needless under a properly organised system—you could get your wants satisfied." The meeting ended by questions being put, which were answered to the delight of the crowd. Large sale of pamphlets.

On Monday night a meeting was held on Cathedral Square; subject, "What to Do." In spite of interruptions, Charlie kept pegging away, until he won over the interrupters. Was surprised when one of our opponents spoke in favour of Kropotkin's pamphlet, "An Appeal to the Young," giving it great praise, which was the means of selling it out.

On Wednesday night we went to Rutherglen, where a good meeting was held. Kean's subject was to have been "Tolstoy and his Message," but owing to disappointments he gave instead "What is Anarchist Communism?" When he was finished, up got Malfew Seklew, the Egoist Libertarian, who has a style of his own; all the time he is speaking, he pictures the workers' acts and conditions, making them laugh at themselves. Kean answered questions which were put by well-known I.L.P. members of the town, one of whom admitted that Anarchist Communism was the best, but we must go through State Socialism.

Thursday night at Paisley, a few miles from Glasgow, where we were met by comrades. Just going to start a meeting at Abbey Close, when the police interfered, stating that we could not hold a meeting there. Comrade Kean thought over it, and after a few remarks from the crowd, he said to the police, "You can do what you like; I am going to hold a meeting here," which he did to a large crowd. After speaking in his lucid style for an hour and a half to an attentive audience, showing plainly that Anarchist Communism was the only system worth having, there were lots of questions, which were clearly answered. Kean appealed to those who wished to learn more of our ideas to purchase our literature, the result being a large sale. The meeting ended in a fraternal spirit, everybody being delighted; but we had to go.

Friday night was the farewell meeting. It was on Jail Square; a good attendance, and an interesting speech. Comrade Kean was very enthusiastic in his remarks, and some of the crowd were convinced that Anarchists are not what they read about in the press. Their questions proved it.

Charlie left on Saturday morning, after a good week's propaganda, promising he will come back again.

A. B. HOWIE.

LIVERPOOL.

We are forging ahead in Liverpool. We have started a Sunday School which promises to be a success. Let us hope our comrades will rally round this new departure of the Liverpool Communist Group.

Comrades Kavanagh, Beavan, Despres, and Sidler are still pushing forward the propaganda with all the determination and ability they are capable of.

Our Thursday meetings are not as good as they might be. Where are the comrades? It is no use criticising the anticipated failure of the November meeting unless the comrades take a more lively interest in the said meeting.

D.

LEEDS.

The unemployed agitation still continues, and has been marked by great brutality on the part of the police. On Saturday, October 10, Mr. Asquith addressed a meeting at the Coliseum. The unemployed and Suffragettes attempted to present resolutions to him, but without any warning the police, mounted and on foot, charged the crowd, numbering about 8,000, lashing out at every one they could reach. In

the crush that ensued, Comrade Kitson (whose efforts on behalf of the unemployed were noticed in last month's FREEDOM) was seized by five policemen, brutally beaten, and "frog-marched" to the police station. This was evidently planned beforehand, as they thought that if they could imprison our comrade, who has been the life and soul of the unemployed agitation, comparative peace would be restored. Kitson was brought before the Magistrates with Mrs. Baines, the leader of the Suffragettes, and both were ordered to take their trial on Saturday, November 7, for riotous assembly and inciting people to a breach of the peace.

The agitation soon fell flat, as the politicians at once took advantage of Kitson's compulsory silence; but a letter to Charlie Kean, who was at Birmingham, soon brought him to Leeds, and his speeches on direct action so scared the vote-catchers that they fled. He did splendid propaganda during the time he was here, explaining Anarchist Communism to large crowds, and many have by this time a clearer idea of our principles.

E. FOX.

LONDON.

Comrades Kean and Kitson paid a short visit to the Metropolis from Leeds, and attempts at propaganda were made; but owing to the lack of organisation and energy on the part of the London comrades, very poor results were obtained. Kitson addressed a fairly good crowd at Deptford Broadway on Sunday, October 25; but returned to Leeds on Monday night, to await his trial on November 7. We hope to see him in London again. Charlie Kean spoke at Canning Town on the Sunday evening, and to the unemployed at Walthamstow on Monday, the Wednesday engagement at the latter place being cancelled by the Social Democrats, whose feathers were sadly ruffled at the Monday meeting. Thursday evening found him at Mile End Waste, Comrade Ponder, of the Industrialist League, opening with a good speech, which made us hope that he will soon be found on our platform again. Kean made a good impression, but the opposition was very weak. His last meeting was on Friday night, at Lambeth Cut, where our comrades Ray and Carter also assisted. The audience was poor in more senses than one, and not likely to inspire a speaker to flights of oratory; but Kean tackled his subject with the fortitude of a martyr. Although the chief vendor of literature during the week was large, the sales were small.

Comrade Kitson's impressions of the London movement were very cautiously summed up in the words: "You've got a cosy club"; but Kean, who writes from the safe seclusion of Birmingham, gives us a good dressing down. In a long and interesting description of his tour, which included the Midlands and Glasgow, for which it is impossible to find room, he says:—

"Movement in London, you have none! Is it because there are no comrades? No, not a bit; there are plenty. But their concern is not so much propaganda as it is clubs (and all the nonsense that they entail), and personal enjoyment and amusement. The Suffragettes, in saying they are after votes for women, impress me by their sincerity and action, and I readily believe they are after votes. But the London Anarchists, if they are after reforming the world, or a more rational state of society, do not impress me by their action, but rather that they are satisfied with things just as they are. The meetings held were the tamest and poorest attended, both by comrades and crowd, that it has been my lot to speak to—anyhow, in England. Maybe your concern is to have clubs and talk tenth-rate Anarchy in them. Well, if so, come out in the clear and be honest about it. But if it's propaganda, it's high time you pulled yourselves together. Wake up, the alarm has gone! Take a leaf out of the Suffragettes or I.L.P.'s book, and put a bit of go and action behind the dreaming. Freedom will never drop into your lap, it must be taken, and when taken, rightly valued, and, most important, held. Comrades, we have not so much to reform the world as ourselves."

Chicago Martyr meetings will be held at the "Workers' Friend" Club on November 11, and the I.W.M. Club, 83 Charlotte Street, on November 12.

DEPTFORD.

On Sunday, October 25, several comrades from far and near paid us a visit on the Broadway, including Kitson from Leeds. In his speech he showed us quite clearly the absurdity of looking to Parliament for Socialism. He then went on to tell us what had been happening in Leeds, and how events had led up to him being charged with riotous assembly and bound over to take his trial on November 7. Altogether, it was a very interesting speech. Comrade Monk, from Canning Town, followed, and with his funny sayings kept the crowd highly amused. Greenbourn next addressed the audience, which seemed to appreciate his remarks quite heartily. Carter closed down the meeting, which was highly successful.

In the afternoon our comrade Kitson endeavoured to hold a crowd at the Catford tram terminus, but when he touched on the subject of the King, he was pulled down off the plinth by a stalwart policeman, who demanded his name and address.

On a previous Sunday, Comrade Payne and myself went to the Hilly Fields with the object of holding a meeting. However, our comrade had not been on the platform long when the crowd became very turbulent, shouting and boing when he referred to the worship of the gods by the people. Closing around with the words, "Get down! Get off!" we were finally compelled to abandon our position.

Taking a survey of our work during the summer, we have done effective propaganda.

E. GOULDRING.

MEETINGS.**CHICAGO MARTYRS COMMEMORATIONS.**

November 11, at the "Workers' Friend" Club, 163 Jubilee Street, Mile End, E. Speakers in all languages. Commence 8.30.

November 12, at the International Working Men's Club, 83 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, W. Well-known speakers will attend. Commence 8.30.

DEBATE AT WALTHAMSTOW.

Sunday, November 29, at the William Morris Socialist Club, Greenleaf Road, Hoe Street. Debate between John Turner and F. Sturge, S.D.P. Subject: "Social Democracy v. Anarchist Communism." Commence at 7.30 prompt.

CONCERTS.**International Working Men's Club,**

83 CHARLOTTE STREET, FITZROY SQUARE, W.

A Grand Concert to celebrate the opening of the above Club will be held on Saturday, November 7. Commence at 8.30. All comrades heartily invited.

"Workers' Friend" Club and Institute.

163-5 JUBILEE STREET, MILE END, E.

A Concert and Ball in aid of this Club will be held on Saturday, November 14, to commence at 8 p.m. Good programme.

SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

The East London Anarchist-Socialist Sunday School meets at 3.30 every Sunday at the Workers' Friend Club and Institute, 163 Jubilee Street, Mile End. Children in the district invited. An Esperanto class for adults and children is specially conducted by Comrade Dusa.

The West London Sunday School meets at 2.30 prompt at the Club, 83 Charlotte Street, W. Children over six years of age invited.

LIVERPOOL COMMUNIST GROUP.—Young folk are invited to the Sunday School at Toxteth Co-operative Hall, Smithdown Road (near Lodge Lane), at 3 p.m. every Sunday. We are in urgent need of funds for school requisites. Who will help?—J. H. DICK, 15 Boswell Street, Liverpool.

Notice to Lecture Secretaries.

S. C. Potter, The Camp, Billericay, Essex, is open to discuss Socialism and Anarchism with I.L.P. and S.D.P. branches in London during the winter months. Conditions: Permission to sell Anarchist literature, and travelling expenses from Upper Holloway, London, N.

To Readers in Paris.

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Group Notice.

The Newcastle-on-Tyne International Anarchist Communist Group hold their meetings and lectures every Wednesday at 8 p.m. in 51 Douglas Terrace.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

October 9—November 4.

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund—M. Brodman 2s, H. Glasse 5s, J. Hose 1s, Anon £1, W. Cohen 1s 6d, Lu. 1s, B. A. G. 1s, E. A. F. 1s, S. B. 6d, R. Clarke 6d, N. £1.

FREEDOM Subscriptions—W. J. Pike 2s, P. Marchand 1s 7d, A. Pratelle 1s 6d, A. Lilburn 1s 6d, A. Bushell 2s, W. Jago 1s 6d, W. West 5s.

Sales of FREEDOM.—A. Bushell 7d, H. Glasse 2s 6d, Hendersons 3s 6d, S. Dreen 1s 11d, G. Ballard 6s, J. Isenbourn 7s, Essex 2s, E. G. Smith 11s, Holtz 2s 10d, Greenbourn 1s, Goodman 2s 3d, S. Carter 9s 6d, McAra 10s 6d, A. B. Howie 3s, D. Wormald 1s 6d, H. Karpin 10s, F. Large 2s 4d, Office 1s, Gundersen 6s, F. Olson 9d, L. Kavanagh 3s, B. Greenblatt 6s, A. Goldberg 3s.

Pamphlet and Book Sales.—C. Kean 6s 9d, Ballard 10s, E. Batthyany 2s 8d, E. J. B. Allen 2s 6d, E. Ward 1s, Mother Earth £2 1s 11d, J. Sugar 1s 1d, F. Caison 3s 1d, Office 5s, W. Cohen 2s 6d, Gundersen 2s, F. Olsen 4s 5d, L. Kavanagh 6s 2d, McAra 3s, A. E. Plattin 5s, J. Isenbourn 2s 6d, Ray 3s 6d, S. Wermont 4s, B. Greenblatt 14s, W. West 2s.

Carter Fund—R. Becker (collected in a workshop) 11s 6d.

McAra Fund—Deptford Group (per A. Ray) 2s 6d.

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