

# Freedom

JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

Vol. XXIII.—No. 242.

JUNE, 1909.

MONTHLY; ONE PENNY

## NOTES.

### "The Right to Live."

The fulsome laudation by the Labour Members of the Government's scheme of labour exchanges and insurance against unemployment would be astonishing if one did not remember the numerous "official jobs" that will be going as a consequence of this legislation. These political lions are beginning to roar like sucking doves as they sing the praises of the Government. J. R. Macdonald, who is "very pleased indeed" with the proposals, describes them as a "judicious mixture of German initiative and Labour Party theory"—an explanation we should like to see explained. But the gem of these enlightening criticisms emanates from Will Crooks. After gushing about the "fruition" of many years' work, etc., he adds: "All the Labour Party's ideas gathered by a competent statesman into a working scheme are going to make our old country greater than a hundred 'Dreadnoughts' could make it." This ingenuous politician must be relying on the proverbial short memories of the people. For who could possibly imagine after this fine outburst that but a few weeks ago this "honourable gentleman" was voting with the Government in favour of an increased expenditure on "Dreadnoughts"! And to add to the mockery of the whole business, it must be remembered that in so doing he voted against his own precious Labour Party, the "fruition" of whose "work of many years" he has just been glorifying! We rather fancy this man will "get on."

### George Meredith.

The man who wrote "Diana of the Crossways" could hardly be expected to find a resting-place in the Abbey. By Anarchists his work can be valued for two reasons. He pierced in his inimitable way the conventional crust that hides the shams and hypocrisies of the bourgeois marriage market. In so doing he gave us the psychology of some women whose characters are likely to live. Besides this, he had the moral courage to sympathise with the struggles of the Freethought movement. Therefore he was doubly damned by all the Grundies, male and female, of that backless and boneless class who always row with the tide. We are glad his ashes rest at Dorking, and that the Abbey is being reserved for the idols of the "smart set" and the renegades of the Labour movement.

### Votes and Violence.

The public have been led to believe that Anarchists wish to settle everything by violence, and that were it not for those apostles of peace, the politicians, who ask for votes in order to rule us, we should all be at one another's throats. The *Daily News*, however, has to confess very reluctantly that this beautiful theory hardly works out in practice. Its news columns of May 29 were disfigured by three items that, according to the great lying Press, should only result from the chronicling of Anarchist assemblages. From Austria came the report of a duel between two Deputies, which, however, like Mark Twain's experience of a similar event, seems to have been rather more dangerous to the seconds than to the principals. But the report of a "set-to" between two American Senators shows it to have been quite a realistic affair. These champions of law and order seem really to have inflicted substantial damage upon one another. After which, no doubt, they proceeded to pass more laws to control the conduct of the common individual. From Australia the news is not quite so grave so far as mere violence is concerned, but the personal recriminations seem to have been quite up to the ordinary political standard. The barefaced treachery of Deakin, a fine sample of the professional politician, who went over bag and baggage to the enemy for the sake of power, fully justified the epithet of "Judas" that was hurled at him. Certainly, political action hardly seems destined to secure

that "peaceful transition" which is preached to us as "the only way" out of the capitalist jungle. We hope, also, the Trade Unionists will note that the passing of the Miners' Eight-Hour Bill is likely to be the cause of a strike that would have terrible consequences. We have always said that political action will not save us from the economic struggle.

### "The Showing Up of Bernard Shaw."

The gentleman who was regarded as very brilliant in his attempt to demonstrate the "impossibilities of Anarchism" is experiencing a rather severe lesson in the "possibilities of authoritarianism." Judging by the published statement, Mr. Shaw is not pleased with the Censor and the exercise of his discretion. But why should he complain, since Mr. Shaw himself believes in interfering with the liberty of the individual when such interference seems to him to be good? The Censor may be, and probably is, a fool of the first water. But that is not the question. The liberty to express one's ideas or opinions would be just as grossly outraged if it was denied by a majority of the House of Commons, or by a Cabinet of "Liberal" Ministers who are exercising a very humane and enlightened censorship over some Indian intellectuals. The whole question is a great deal bigger than Mr. Shaw and his play; but it is instructive sometimes to note how people who are continually compromising with the forces of reaction to keep themselves respectable, can cry out when their own toes are trodden on. Mr. Shaw will have nothing to do with Anarchism; in fact, he would suppress it, although it would assure to him the full personal liberty that he, as well as every other man, needs. Then let him take with a good grace the physic he prescribes for others.

### "Business is Business."

All employers are exploiters, but some are comparatively humane and intelligent, while others are stupid and brutal. The former are called "philanthropists," and philanthropy, as we know, covers a multitude of sins. At Bournville this virtue has been developed to an extent that proves how much worldly wisdom can go hand-in-hand with Christianity. A very interesting holiday scheme has just been arranged by the directors, by which the employees, numbering nearly 5,000, will be enabled to enjoy a holiday without loss of pay. Of course, each one must be very good to have this favour, as "punctuality and regularity of attendance would be taken into consideration in the scale of allowance, late time and serious records being disqualifications." That's where the wage-slave differs from his master, who can take his holiday quite irrespective of "late time and serious records." But the workers of Bournville must also be delighted to know that all this philanthropy *pays*. For Mr. George Cadbury said "he was sure their efforts to raise the standard of physical efficiency among their workpeople had paid, because healthy men were much more likely to do good work than unhealthy men. For the last three years the average death rate had only been 7 per 1,000. He thought the step they were taking in regard to the holidays would tend in the long run to the prosperity of the business. They had much to thank their employees for." Yes, indeed! They have to thank them for all the wealth they rob them of in the form of profit.

## THE CONQUEST OF BREAD

By P. KROPOTKIN.

Now obtainable at 3s. 6d. post-free to all parts.

Originally published at 10s. 6d. net.

Send orders, with cash, to Manager, 127 Ossulston Street, N.W.

## OUR NEED FOR ACTIVITY.

### A Moral Argument for Communism.

From "*Morality Independent of Sanction or Obligation*," by M. Guyau.

We need to bring forth and to impress the form of our activity upon the world. Action has become a necessity for the greater part of mankind. The most constant and the most regular form of action is *work*, with the attention which it demands. The savage is incapable of true work—all the more incapable as he is more degraded. Those organisms among us which are the still living fragments of ancient man—the criminals—have generally, as a distinctive feature, a horror of work. They do not get tired of doing nothing. We may say that enipui is, in man, a sign of superiority—of fecundity of will. The nation which has known "the spleen" is the most active nation.

Work will in time become more and more necessary for mankind. Now, work is at the same time the most economical and the most moral phenomenon, in which egoism and altruism are most easily reconciled. To work is to produce, and to produce is to be useful both to one's self and to others. Work can only become dangerous by its accumulation in the form of capital; it may then take a frankly selfish character, and, by virtue of an inherent contradiction, may tend to its own suppression by the very idleness which it allows. But, in its living form, work is always good. It belongs to the domain of social laws to prevent the bad results of the accumulation of work—excess of idleness for one's self and excess of power over others—as one takes care to isolate batteries which are too powerful.

It is necessary for us to will and work, not only for ourselves, but also for others. We want to help others, to give a lift to the coach which toilsomely draws humanity along; in any case, we buzz round it. One of the inferior forms of this need is "ambition," which must be recognised, not merely as a desire for honours and for fame, but as a thing which is also and before all else a need of action or of speech, an abundance of life under its rather coarse form of motive power, of material activity, of nervous tension.

Certain characters have, above all, this fecundity of will; for example, Napoleon I. They upset the surface of the world, with the object of impressing their mark upon it. They want to substitute their will for that of others, but they possess a poor sensibility—an intelligence incapable of creating, in the largest sense of the word; an intelligence which is worth nothing in itself, which does not think for the sake of thinking, and which they make the passive instrument of their ambition. Others, on the contrary, have a highly developed sensibility, like women (who have played so great a part in human evolution and in the founding of morality); but in these intelligence and will are too often lacking.

Finally, life has two aspects. According to the one, it is nutrition and assimilation; according to the other, production and fecundity. The more it takes in, the more it needs to give out; that is its law. Expenditure is not an evil physiologically; it is one of the conditions of life. It is expiration following inspiration.

Thus, the expenditure for others which social life demands is not—everything taken into account—a loss for the individual; it is a desirable enlargement, and even a necessity. Man wishes to become a social and moral being; he remains constantly agitated by that idea. The delicate cells of his mind and his heart aspire to live and to develop in the same way as those "homunculi" of which M. Renan somewhere speaks; every one of us feels in himself a kind of pushing of moral life, like that of the physical sap. Life is fecundity, and, reciprocally, fecundity is abundance of life; that is true existence.

There is a certain generosity which is inseparable from existence, and without which we die—we shrivel up internally. We must put forth blossoms; morality, disinterestedness, is the flower of human life. Charity has always been represented under the guise of a mother holding out to her children her breast, overflowing with milk. That is so because, in reality, charity is but one with overflowing fecundity; it is like a maternity too large to be confined within the family. The mother's breast needs life eager to empty it; the heart of the truly humane creature needs to be gentle and helpful to all. Within the benefactor himself dwells the incentive towards those who suffer.

We have verified, even in the life of the blind cell, a principle of expansion, which prevents the individual being sufficient unto himself; the richest life is found to be that which most

tends to spend itself lavishly, to sacrifice itself within certain limits, to share itself with others. Whence it follows that the most perfect organism will be also the most sociable, and that the ideal of individual life is the life in common. Thus we find replaced in the very depths of our being that spring of all these instincts of sympathy and sociability which the English school has too often shown us as more or less artificially acquired in the course of evolution, and, in consequence, as more or less adventitious. We are far distant from Bentham and the utilitarians, who everywhere try to avoid pain, who see in pain the irreconcilable enemy; it is as if one would not breathe too strongly, for fear of too great expenditure. Even in Spencer there is still too much utilitarianism. Besides, he too often looks at things from the outside, and does not see in the unselfish instincts anything but a product of society. There is, we believe, in the heart of individual life itself an evolution corresponding to the evolution of social life, which makes the latter possible, and which is the cause of it, instead of the result.\*

## REVOLUTIONARY UNIONISM.†

This pamphlet puts forward the case for what is known in America as Industrial Unionism, as against the old form and method of "Trade" Union organisation. While there is a great deal to be said in criticism of the spirit and the methods of modern Trade Unionism in this country, especially the numbing influence of the legal mind and of Parliamentarism on the struggle of the wage-earners against capitalism, still it will require something more telling than this to transform, or even seriously modify, their present policy.

The writer does not take sufficiently into account the long experience of the organised wage-earners, particularly the skilled artisan and mechanic. It would almost seem that he has an idea that the paid officials manipulate these bodies, and that they are in a conspiracy against the members. As a matter of fact, it would be far nearer the truth to say that the officials who are quite safe in their position are those who are always willing to carry out the wishes of the members, whether right or wrong. No doubt that is quite correct from a democratic point of view; but, as was proved in the recent case of George Barnes and the Engineers, a strong, honest—though, as I think in his case, an entirely mistaken—man, would rather resign than carry out what he felt to be wrong. If the present methods are to be altered, it will not be by talking one minute about the "treachery of officials," and the next about one set of workers blacklegging another; but by educating the rank-and-file, spreading a spirit of revolt, and creating a feeling of solidarity which would make the things complained of impossible. In fact, it is not so much a matter of an alteration in the form of organisation as a change in the outlook and spirit in the minds of the workers themselves. Why, many of the biggest struggles between Labour and Capital in this country have been won by the workers without any previous organisation, Industrial or Trade Union! The great Dock Strike of 1889 was of such a character, and the splendid solidarity of the other workers who joined them, equally unorganised, together with the magnificent financial help sent from Australia, secured them their victory. Even the General Confederation of Labour in France, in spite of its splendid revolutionary leaders and officials, cannot get very far ahead of the bulk of the rank-and-file. They are left with very few to lead or officer if they do. Friend Allen has yet to learn, apparently, that to take up a propagandist position is a very different thing to accepting an administrative office in a Union—to become, in fact, a servant of your fellows.

It has been said that grumbling and fault-finding were probably the first crude attempts at criticism, though there can often be a great deal of the former without any genuine attempt to arrive at the truth, which should be the true function of the latter. One is reminded of this in reading the pamphlet. There is too much petty fault-finding, a

\* "The objection has been made to us that the fecundity of our different inward forces could find its satisfaction as well in the disagreement as in the agreement with others, in the crushing of other personalities as well as in the raising of them. But, in the first place, one forgets that the others do not let themselves be so easily crushed; the will which seeks to impose itself necessarily meets the resistance of others. Even if it conquers this resistance, it cannot conquer it quite alone—it must lean on its allies, and in this way reconstitute a social group, and impose on it, with regard to this friendly group, the very servitudes from which it tries to get free with regard to the other men, its natural allies. Therefore all struggle always, in the end externally limits the will; in the second place, it changes it internally. The violent man stifles the whole sympathetic and intellectual part of his being—that is to say, that in him which is most complex and most elevated from the point of view of evolution. By brutalising others he more or less brutalises himself. Violence, which thus seemed a victorious expansion of internal power, becomes in the end a restriction of this power; to make the humiliation of others the object of one's will is to give it an inadequate aim, and to impoverish one's self. At last, by a final and deeper disorganisation, the will itself loses its equilibrium completely by the use of violence; if the will has become used to meet no obstacle from outside, as happens with despots, every one of its impulses becomes irresistible; the most contradictory inclinations succeed each other; it is a complete ataxy. The despot becomes a child again; he is given up to contradictory whims, and his objective omnipotence ends in bringing about a real subjective impotency" ("Education and Heredity," p. 59).

† *Revolutionary Unionism*. By E. J. B. Allen. 1d. London: The Industrialist League, 32 Princes Road, Notting Hill, W.



straining after mistakes in the present Unions. The implication would seem to be: "Only change the form of organisation, and human nature will change with it. Adopt Industrial Unionism, and then there will be no errors of judgment on the part of committees, or lack of solidarity among the workers."

Several strange slips occur. Speaking of the origin of the old Unions, the author says "the skilled craftsmen united themselves for benefit purposes," and goes on to give the names of several societies to prove this. It would almost seem that he is unaware that the reason for this was that Trade Unions, as such, were for a long time illegal societies, said to be acting in restraint of trade; that to get round that disability the workers formed benefit societies confined to those working in their occupation; and under cover of this discussed trade matters, and often took action accordingly. Even after the legal disabilities were removed, they still continued to start societies under the same form.

Speaking of the development from craft to industry, one learns with surprise that Liptons "in reality control many other companies, such as the Tee-To-Tum Tea Co., the Empress Tea Stores, and it is rumoured the United Kingdom Tea Co., and the Mazawattee and probably the Maypole Co." In this case rumour is evidently the usual "lying jade." Friend Allen might make a good imaginative journalist, but it is to be feared he has not the instinct of even "intelligent anticipation" so essential for a reliable one. To talk of Liptons controlling the "Maypole," only shows at once how very little he knows of these companies or their likely line of development. The "Empress," which was always controlled by Lipton himself as a sort of personal sideshow, has been absorbed by Liptons Limited some time now.

If, too, his handling of matters in other Unions, where at times lack of judgment has been shown by the Executive Committee, is as perverted as those dealing with three individual cases in the Shop Assistants Union, then it is to be feared any slight value that might have attached to this pamphlet as a criticism of present Trade Unions is altogether destroyed. If this is the worst that can be raked up, then indeed those institutions are models of human fidelity. Tennyson wrote, if I remember rightly, "A lie that is all a lie can be met with and fought with outright; but a lie that is half a truth is a more difficult matter to fight." The half-truths here given, on which to hang a charge of "despicable treachery," vitiate, to my mind, all the other charges brought against Unions about which the present writer is not in a position to express an opinion. It is only for me to say that while it has been my misfortune, or otherwise, on several occasions to differ strongly with the E.C. of my Union both on matters of judgment and policy, I know that they have been quite as honest and sincere at heart as myself. If experience has generally justified my attitude, it has rather been due to a wider knowledge and clearer theoretical insight, than to any difference in the degree of straightforwardness.

The whole question of the form of organisation, of the desirability or otherwise of financial benefits being attached to Labour Unions, is open to debate. Personally, I remain unconvinced of the advantage or superiority of Industrial Unionism as a matter of form. If, at least, no financial help is afforded an unemployed member of a Union by those remaining at work, then on what grounds are they justified in taking the higher wages which are the outcome of their fellows refraining from undercutting them. If a man, his wife, and children are starving, and he has only "principle" to sustain him, who can wonder that when he has nothing else to swallow, principles are bolted, and a reluctant blackleg is created?

No, it is not this petty, carping spirit that will give our Industrialist friends a footing in this country. If they took the big fights of Labour in the past, and showed how, on account of a temporary strong feeling of solidarity among the workers, great things were done that in ordinary times were thought to be impossible, they would then prove to their fellows where their real strength lay.

If they would deal with the tendencies toward this solidarity that have been going on among the Unions of this country, as evidenced by the Miners' Federation, and the drift toward the Industrial form of Unionism, as shown in the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants and the Shop Assistants' Union, much more good would, it seems to me, be accomplished than by what reads like small and spiteful fault-finding. And if, finally, they would remember, as propagandists, that the workers from whom the Unions draw their members are influenced just like other folk by the ideas and opinions dominant at the time, they would rely far more on the spirit than the form.

Forty to fifty years ago the English Trade Unions were influenced by the Radical political and philosophical ideas of that period. Not that they were all Radicals, by any means. To-day they are largely moulded by State Socialist and Social Democratic teaching. To-morrow they will come under the domination of whatever opinions gain the ascendancy for the time.

In France to-day Anarchist and Revolutionary Socialism has made its influence felt in the minds of the workpeople, and they are giving expression to it through the General Confederation of Labour. In that Confederation are all forms of organisation.

Let our Industrialist friends remember this, and they may perhaps then realise that it is their revolutionary outlook upon the industrial world, and not the particular form of organisation they advocate, that gives any strength or value to their movement.

JOHN TURNER.

## Failure of Legislation and Morals.

At the County Forum, Manchester, on Saturday, May 8, Comrade Kean opened an interesting debate on the above subject. Illustrative of the futility of legislation, he demonstrated the condition of society. Government was organised violence.

Morals were abortive unless they bore universal application. They consisted of a code forced upon the community. Murder could be good or bad, wholesale or individual. The soldier was considered moral when he committed wholesale murder.

The result of the moral code and legislation was the necessity of the masses to be dishonest, indulge in theft—or perish. (Dissent.)

Punishment for "crime" was actuated through desire of vengeance. It was neither curative nor deterrent. Causes of crime must be removed. Moral codes and legislation were ineffective and aggravative.

Kean put a poser to his audience in the following proposition: As we were liable to disapprove of yesterday's decisions to-day, and had no guarantee we should not alter to-day's to-morrow; consequently, not knowing what is best for ourselves, why presume to know what is best for others?

Several speakers took part in the subsequent discussion of our comrade's thesis, the trend of which consisted in a defence of "morality," legislation in the "interests" of the people the best remedy; the alleged similarity between Christianity and Anarchism, which Comrade Paley clearly controverted; and a clever though brief exposition of "unmorality" by Comrade Winter, who made short work of the flimsy structure built up by the moral-mongers.

Our opener also disposed of the main objections to his views.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### LIVERPOOL COMMUNIST SUNDAY SCHOOL.

DEAR COMRADES,—May we draw your attention to the above Sunday School (1 Clarendon Terrace, Beaumont Street), which was founded some months ago for the purpose of propagating Socialism amongst the younger children, to whom our ordinary meetings have no appeal?

We have struggled on during the past winter with the financial help of but a few comrades. It seems impossible, however, to do this any longer, and we are therefore endeavouring to gain wider support in order that our work amongst the children may have the opportunity of continued development.

The summer months are likely to prove a very trying period, and with the object of keeping the children together we intend to organise an outing (to take place on August 7, at Derby Arms, Halewood), and this is likely to involve us in further liability.

May we ask for such help as you can give? We believe that the work is a necessary one, and will in time bear good fruit for our movement. It is on this ground that we appeal for your help.—Yours fraternally,

JAS. H. DICK, 15 Boswell Street, Liverpool.

W. D. FAIRBROTHER, 23 Great Orford Street, L'pool.

### AN APPRECIATION OF "FREEDOM."

COMRADES,—I herewith enclose my annual subscription, which I see is now due. In doing so, I feel I ought to express to you the pleasure which FREEDOM now gives to me.

Somehow, I hardly feel sufficient confidence in myself to be able to say that I am an Anarchist; the idea of government in which I have been nourished is as difficult to shake off as the old ideas of the "Bible god," which were forced into my mind when I was helpless.

I am glad to say, however, that I can look back with a smile to the day when I used to follow the banner of the political Socialists, and say, "What a fool I was!" my only excuse being that I knew no better.—Yours fraternally,

R. S. (Belfast).

### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

*Bibby's Annual, 1909.* 1s. net. Liverpool: J. Bibby and Sons, King Edward Street.

This is a really beautiful production, the colour printing being very fine. It contains several very interesting articles, among which we notice particularly one by Mrs. Besant on "The Coming Race," in which, she says, "the tendency to free co-operation will be clearly marked," and "the enlightened conscience will more and more take the place of the compulsion of outer law." With the editor's article on "Unemployment," however, we totally disagree. He says that soon "it will dawn upon us that unemployment is a punishment for incapacity." Surely he must know that at the present moment there are thousands of highly skilled and competent workmen walking the streets looking for an opportunity to show their ability, and looking in vain. This state of things is bound to continue until the people obtain free access to the means of life. The man who owns the land owns the people who live on the land.

*Entre Proletaires.* Par Dixelles. 15c. Paris: *Génération Consciente*, 27 Rue de la Ducé.

The receipt of a free copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe. 1s. 6d. per annum.

# Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

Monthly, One Penny; post free, 1½d.; 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.

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

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

## Anarchists and the Situation.

The First of May having become a sort of annual review of the Labour forces, it is well on such an occasion for Anarchists to ask themselves what their action should be in view of the constantly changing position of the movement.

This year also the First of May has passed very quietly, without anything exciting (in a revolutionary sense) happening. And yet never before has the situation been so full of promise and encouragement as in this year.

It is especially France which, retaining the vantage conquered during the revolutions of the past century, gives a revolutionary character to the situation.

The workers show clearly that they have at length lost all confidence in Governmental parties, even when these call themselves Socialist. They begin to understand that for emancipation they can count only on themselves, on direct action against Capitalism and against the State. Labour resistance becomes daily more intense, solidarity develops, strikes follow each other with increasing energy and combativeness. Already for the politicians—so-called Labour or Socialist, who go forth to preach peace and arbitration, to promise beneficent laws, profiting by the occasion to climb into some place as Deputy or Municipal Councillor—already for such there is no longer room on the field of strikes. Now, if "Socialists" wish to be elected, they must seek the support of some section of the bourgeoisie.

Conscious workers act—and already we begin to see blazing factories and fleeing masters. These are the first scenes of the great Revolution which will put towns and countryside in flames and produce a radical transformation in every social relation.

The peasants also emerge from their passivity and begin to throw off that prejudice against town-workers which has for so long been a power for reaction.

Again, the State employees who until recently boasted of their position as public functionaries, and held themselves aloof from the industrial proletariat—these commence to understand their true interests and to test their capacity for paralysing the State by disorganising its services. The postmen's strike and the meeting in the Paris Hippodrome, where thousands of State employees fraternised with workmen in private industries in the name of the Social Revolution to be accomplished, marked a decisive step forward along the road to emancipation. And whatever may be the immediate result (still uncertain at the moment I am writing) of the second postmen's strike, it is indisputable henceforth that the revolt has penetrated amongst the employees of the State, and is bound to grow.

On the other hand, the patriotic prejudice has been breached with success, and antimilitarism filtering through the ranks of the Army saps at the base a society which only maintains itself by the brutal strength of soldiers and police.

And as in France, so more or less everywhere the spirit of revolt grows; direct action takes the place of a blind confidence in the elected and the protection of the law.

The Revolution is advancing.

Such are the Anarchistic ideas which force themselves even upon those who resist them. Anarchists, by their position as vanguard and their high ideals, have ever been unable to be more than a numerically small minority: they have been decried, calumniated, and persecuted in every way—and yet the new outlook of the whole contemporaneous social movement is due to the infiltration of their ideas.

Revolutionary Trade Unionism (Syndicalism), which sums up the new tendencies, is certainly not Anarchism; but the spirit

that animates it is Anarchist, and all that it has of good is Anarchist.

But this is matter of history. What is important at present is to see what should now be our actual conduct when rendering to the revolutionary cause the services we are prepared to render.

It is evident that the dominant class will not permit the revolutionary tide to submerge them without making every possible effort to arrest it.

The methods which the Governments and the bourgeoisie can employ in order to check the revolutionary movement may be summed up under four heads—(1) persecutions, to smother the movement in the germ; (2) war, to evade the storm by provoking an outbreak of the atavistic savageness which still manifests itself in race and national hatreds; (3) corruption, in order to turn the movement aside from its emancipatory aims; (4) ferocious repression, the bloodshed which drains the best forces of a people and postpones the struggle for another fifty years.

The ordinary persecutions of police and magistracy have failed; and although Governments, owing to the anti-freedom instinct which forms the basis of their nature, do not renounce these, it is evident that they now only serve to render the conflict more bitter and violent.

War has become a little too dangerous, and could well precipitate rather than prevent the Revolution. War will not take place. In any case, we should simply have to intensify our antipatriotic and antimilitarist propaganda to render war less probable and ever more dangerous to the Government which had recourse to it.

There remain, therefore, two principal dangers for us to guard against—corruption and repression.

Corruption has already completely succeeded with the Parliamentary Socialists, in such wise that in every country where Socialism was somewhat of a real menace to the existing system there has arisen an aristocracy formed of Socialist Deputies or would-be Deputies, which has become one of the best forces at the disposition of the bourgeoisie to divert or strangle the popular movement.

The same course will be tried with Revolutionary Trade Unionism.

Revolutionary Trade Unionism is not safe from corruption and degeneration. Apart from the question of individuals, who are always subject to mistakes and weaknesses, Trade Unionism by its very nature is a movement which cannot remain stationary. It must advance, develop; and its development either will approach more and more to Anarchism and make the Revolution, or modify itself, assume a bureaucratic character, adapt itself to the claims of capitalism, and become a factor in social conservatism. To endeavour to lead Trade Unionism in the latter direction is at present the effort of every intelligent Conservative.

Old-age pensions, arbitration, the official recognition of Trade Union delegates, collective contracts, profit-sharing, co-operative societies, the recognised right of Trade Unions to hold property and to appear in a law court, are some of the methods employed by the bourgeoisie to arrest revolutionary impulse, and to stifle the growing desire for full emancipation and liberty by the ephemeral and illusory concession of some immediate ameliorations, and especially by the formation of a self-satisfied bureaucracy which will absorb the most intelligent and active elements among the proletariat.

It is, in the first place, against this danger that we must direct all our forces. We must take a more and more active part in the Trade Union movement, strenuously oppose the formation in its midst of a bureaucracy of paid and permanent officials, propagate our tactics, fight against every idea of conciliation and compromise with the enemy, as well as against every tendency towards the pride and selfishness of individual Trade Unions. We must especially prevent the "workers' secretaries" taking the place of Members of Parliament, and see that Direct Action does not in its turn become a lie like the so-called sovereignty of the people.

In this way we can enable Syndicalism to retain its revolutionary character and become an increasingly powerful instrument of emancipation.

But then we will be faced with a final crisis. Of itself, and driven by the alarmed bourgeoisie, the Government will wish to put an end to the movement. Repression will commence seriously, and the Army, not as yet sufficiently permeated with the antimilitarist propaganda to be inoffensive, will be called upon to play its murderous rôle.

Will the revolutionists be in a position to successfully face



military repression? This is the question upon which all depends: according to which way it is answered, it will be triumphant revolution and the inauguration of a new civilisation, or rampant reaction for twenty years and more.

We must, then, prepare ourselves for a struggle in arms. How is it to be done?

It cannot be done in Trade Unions, nor in public groups open more or less to everybody. Neither can it be discussed in the newspapers. And yet it must be done.

Let Anarchists, and all who foresee the coming Revolution and would have it triumphant, ponder over the matter.

The above, having been written for Englishmen, may strike some as fantastic. England has not reached this point yet; but she will reach it, and sooner than is expected.

To-day, even if it would, a civilised country cannot remain separate from other civilised countries; and the French and Continental movement will not be without influence on the proletariat of this side of the Channel.

Besides, English workers have the solid qualities of perseverance, the spirit of organisation, and personal independence, which will soon enable them to regain the time lost, once they escape from the noxious influence of politicians.

E. MALATESTA.

### SOME SOCIALIST SIDELIGHTS.

"Capital" is etymologically derived from the Latin word *caput*—a head, source, or beginning. "Capital" is an economic term signifying that which, on the application of *energy*, is capable of producing wealth.

A capitalist is one who *owns* capital, the source of wealth. He therefore *owns*, and to a great degree controls, the lives and destinies of the non-possessors of capital, for wealth is that which has an exchange value—necessities of life.

The non-possessing producers are called workers. They have nothing but their *energy*, physical and mental, which they can, directly and indirectly, apply to capital in order to produce wealth.

But they have not the free access to capital which Nature ordains. They have, through ignorance and credulity, allowed capital to become the *property* of a few unscrupulous and cunning men, thereby encircling themselves with a yoke of bondage. This cunning class having wrongfully appropriated capital, conceived a scheme whereby they could live in luxury and indolence—the creation of an artificial value designated "profit." That is to say, they would allow wealth to be produced only so long as they were able to retain a large share, representing payment for the privilege of existence.

Hence we see from the very first moment that humanity became divided into the producing class, and the exploiting class with all its attendant flunkies, an antagonism of interest based upon the class struggle became manifest. This feeling of dissatisfaction and unrest among the workers gave birth to various systems and philosophies which were calculated to alleviate the misery, degradation, and privation existing among the dependent class.

Among these systems and philosophies we find Socialism, which is, in its quintessence, nothing more than an *economic theory*. It is not the *raison d'être* of this article to show that the *economic theory* of Socialism is adverse to the *philosophy* of Anarchism, but rather to illustrate the futility of the workers endeavouring to bring about their emancipation through "their representatives" in Parliament.

Seeing that class antagonism is a necessary appendage to society as at present constituted, and that the *abolition* of classes is the professed aim of both Socialist and Anarchist, any compromise between the two classes must be regarded as an act of treachery by the genuine opponents of the present system.

Now, has there been any compromise between the two principal Socialist parties, the I.L.P. and the S.D.P., and the two powerful capitalistic parties, the Liberals and the Tories? The very use of the bourgeois capitalistic House of Commons by the representatives of the proletariat constitutes in itself a compromise! But this is not all. The Labour "leaders" who have been explicitly elected to guard the working-class interest and to abolish the present system of society have times out of number rendered assistance to the Tories and Liberals, the enemies of the working class! Such is the corruption of professional politicians.

An instance? Yes; it would be unfair to make a statement detrimental to character without furnishing definite, incontrovertible proof. One example is insufficient to justify a general

indictment. It will, therefore, be necessary to enumerate several instances, although there are countless others which it is unnecessary to bring forward in order to justify the accusation. The more grievous and more numerous charges are directed against the I.L.P., and we will first occupy ourselves with a consideration of these.

These highly respectable Socialists recognise the "class war"; at least, they appeared to do so at the Amsterdam International Congress, when they referred to "the tried and victorious policy based on the class war," although in the same edition of their official organ in which the report appeared (*Labour Leader*, August 26, 1904) they referred to the class war as a "reactionary and Whiggish precept, certain to lead the movement away from the real aims of Socialism." There seems to be a little contradiction somewhere! But let that pass. The class war exists whether these gentlemen think so or not.

In view of this, can anybody explain how it was that Messrs. James Parker and J. Ramsay Macdonald stood down at the by-elections respectively for Halifax and Leicester, the Liberals at these constituencies similarly withdrawing at the last General Election? (See the *Leicester Daily Post*, January 16, 1906.) Had it any connection with Keir Hardie's ambiguous utterance in the House on April 1, 1907: "Those who pay the piper call the tune?"

Can anybody explain how the two opposing camps of Capital and Labour can logically arrange for an exchange of support as is seen by E. R. Huntley's letter in the *Labour Leader* of March 15, 1902; *I.L.P. News*, October, 1900; and J. W. Allerton's letter in the *Labour Leader* of November 22, 1902? The outcome of this was that R. Roberts, a member of the I.L.P., supported a Liberal in the Tong Ward, Bradford, in opposition to C. A. Glyde, the I.L.P. candidate.

One of the reasons why the I.L.P. candidate opposed H. Quelch at Dewsbury was that otherwise they would lose the support of the Liberals for F. W. Jowett at Bradford! This seems curious conduct for the uncompromising opponents of the present system of society.

But surely the red-tied and strong-lunged "comrades" of the S.D.P. who are perpetually preaching the class war are not in favour of palliatives and compromise? Have they not, in their official organ, *Justice*, March 12, 1904, declared that we are "face to face with a system which makes all reform impossible"? May be; but nevertheless they are as guilty as the I.L.P. in betraying the working class. They look down upon the I.L.P. and refuse to affiliate with it nationally, but recognise affiliation of branches. (See 27th Conference Report, S.D.P., 1907.)

If we turn to the Conference Report of 1900, we find that the S.D.P. supported John Burns, the Liberal candidate for Battersea; H. Labouchere, Liberal candidate for Northampton; and Philip Stanhope, Liberal candidate for Burnley. And this is the party uncompromisingly opposed to capitalism!

The *Trades and Labour Gazette* of March, 1904, reveals the startling fact that H. Quelch, editor of *Justice*, rendered assistance to five Liberal-Labour candidates for the L.C.C. election, viz., Ben Cooper, Dew, Gosling, Gregory, and Steadman. And this is the editor in whose journal appeared the words, "We are face to face with a system which makes all reform impossible!"

These facts concerning the gymnastics of Labour fakirs are by no means unheard of. They have repeatedly appeared in the public Press, as well as in the publications of the S.P.G.B., and are, as yet, unrefuted. I am much indebted to all the sources of information where I have been able to show the futility of the workers endeavouring to bring about their emancipation through "their representatives" in Parliament.

It is not by trusting in self-interested individuals who wish to lead you to economic and social glory through the cumbersome and unjust Parliamentary machine that you will attain emancipation. It is by formulating the ideal of Liberty, by keeping it ever before you, by sacrificing all to it, by acting on your own initiative, that you will bring about a state of society wherein all will be happy and none will be slaves. "He who would be free, himself must strike the blow."

TOM WINTER.

### "SCOTLAND YET!"

#### SPEED THE FIERY CROSS!

Who said "Surrender"? Come, comrades, come together and get ready, as Charlie Kean the Propagandist is coming to Glasgow on June 10 for ten weeks or more. He intends visiting the suburbs around the city, also Kilmarnock, Ayr, etc.; will be in Ayr "Glasgow Fair Week." Comrades who want us to give them a look up, also comrades unattached who want to be active, might send their names and addresses to A. B. Howie, 165 Rosebery Street, Glasgow, S.S.

## DREAD EVERYTHING.

Where are the champions of the people's cause, and where are the unanswered unemployed questions? Are all the unemployed now satisfactorily employed?

The Governmental Labour Party had the chance of a lifetime when the unemployed question was before them, if they had used their united efforts in direct action, demanding the full birthright of man, the right of each to live his own life unmolested by State or Church. But they did not rise to the occasion. They are the flatterers of this system of society, and the Conservatives and Liberals are smiling pleasantly upon them, as they know that these new power-seekers are playing the old game and their game in a new form.

This Labour Party requires a measure of freedom especially for themselves, a freedom in which they can use power. The old claptrap of politicians that government and laws are quite all right *they accept*, but not that special kind now in force. They will revise the whole regulations and make them just, etc.—the old parrot-talk, nothing new. Even as politicians, they might have gained the ear of the public and tried to prove their sincerity had they been more energetic regarding the amelioration of the suffering and demoralisation of unemployment. Instead, they allowed the Jingoism (not numskulls, as some people call them—they are clever) to drag the red herring of the Naval scare across their path.

Is there a man prominent before the public, belonging to the Labour Party or any political party, who would dare to say boldly: "Not only can we do with four 'Dreadnoughts' instead of eight, but we can even do without the four"? What difference can it make to any sane man who rules England—Edward or William? Ruled and bossed we shall be while there is a class of people whose interest it is to rule, and as long as there is a sufficient number of workers content to be ruled and to supply the rulers with all the necessaries and unnecessaries of life gratis.

While a sufficient number of workers can be led to believe that armies and navies are for our protection, for the defence of our shores and commerce; and while they will shout themselves hoarse for eight instead of four battleships to protect their country, their land—a commodity they do not possess, not even to the extent of a plot 6 ft. by 2 ft. wherein to be buried—yes, as long as these workers are so soft, so unthinking, capitalism, wage-slavery, and this senseless barbarism called living and getting a living will flourish.

Why is it those Socialists who believe in legislation are now lying low, not daring to raise their voices? Is it not because they in their turn are seeking just as energetically as the other governmental parties to rule and boss the workers, only in a new form, along the lines of their special insanity, in the interest of the whole, the State—a meaningless phrase?

Comrades in Manchester will remember my asking Hyndman two questions in the Free Trade Hall, which he failed to answer. He had been speaking on Universalism and Brotherhood, and later in his address advocated a Citizen Army. My first question was to this effect: "How can one advocate Universalism and Brotherhood, and at the same time citizenship and preparation for war?" Hyndman replied: "It is for defensive purposes." This is wriggling and twisting. Fancy us training a gun on our neighbour's back door, and then hastening to assure him we are just as friendly as ever, "only you know, old chap, prevention is a surer guarantee of peace." Next morning he has a Gatling gun trained on our door, but assures us his intentions are quite brotherly. We then proceed to get barrels of gun-powder and boxes of cordite to help to maintain peace. Each of us would be very emphatic that we were trying to establish social feeling, Universality, Brotherhood, and Love, only we have a peculiar way of expressing it. To say "for defensive purposes only" appears to be an admission of the grossest barbarism, the final argument between man and man being brute force, murder.

The workers of all nations are making towards solidarity, and they will gradually undermine the power of the place-seekers, impudent, audacious coercers. Daily the lie that the interest of the workers of one nation are opposed and detrimental to the interests of the workers of another nation is becoming more apparent. When the workers of all nations become conscious that their interests are identical, then will the power-hunters have to form their own army. Thinking men and women who are not led away by patriotic Jingoism, your work is clearly defined—to assist in helping the workers to become conscious of the deceit of Governments, Socialistic or otherwise.

My second question to Hyndman, a question which was also put to Leonard Hall at Birmingham, and which I now put to any Socialist who believes in legislation and Governments, was and is: Explain your basis. By what line of reasoning, non-speculative, do you come to the conclusion that you have the right to settle any question for another? I contend that your basis is speculative, and you proceed to act on your speculations as if they were non-speculative.

Now, of course, we can blink question No. 2, just the same as any crackbrain could contend he never had a mother; but to answer it entails use of one's reason and some common sense (now at a discount); and *en route*, willy-nilly, you hit the Anarchist basis, and providing you are not lower in development than a Fiji Islander, you may catch on. For those who now govern, and the latest edition who are sniffing round after a bit of power, the political Socialists, and for all those who

use the old phrase, "We must have some one to govern us," I have unbounded contempt.

Instead of the argument, Shall we have four or eight "Dreadnoughts"? it may be advisable and profitable for us to consider whether a complete change in the whole of our system would not be advantageous; whether it would not be better to study the question of the natural grouping of the people for mutual aid and co-operation, rather than prepare the whip for our own backs by giving powers to new parties composed of fallible beings like ourselves, to inflict their will upon us.

C. H. KEAN.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### Italy.

What bourgeois journals dub a "fatal riot" occurred at Monteleone, in Southern Italy, about a month since. A new tax was imposed by the municipality upon the already overburdened workers. They rose under the injustice, broke into and wrecked the interior of the town hall, and carried away the commune flag—in these days always more or less the emblem of oppression. The Mayor sent for his gendarmes: result, four workers shot dead and many wounded.

The trial has just concluded at Lucca of the sixty Trade Unionists arrested about a year ago for "inciting and leading" the great strike of peasants around Parma. The true facts being that the strike was a purely agrarian one; that after holding out two months against the landowners, these had recourse to blacklegs, which so infuriated the Parmese people, who entirely sympathised with the peasant movement, that a general strike began spontaneously as a protest. The police at once began their usual tactics, and were heartily stoned by the hot-heads among the general strikers. The Labour Exchange was then raided by the authorities, and sixty Trade Unionists arrested and thrown into prison—where they have lain for *ten months* without being brought to trial. The monstrous prosecution was a pure fiasco and fell to pieces at once, all being acquitted. The police, in fact, had recourse to fabrications as their only means to support the accusation that these men had started a "revolution," the Police Commissary stating in his report that one of the principal organisers and participants was a man whom the defending lawyers proved at once was at the time and for two months previously in Switzerland; while he also endeavoured to drag in the Anarchist Congress at Amsterdam as a factor in the origin of the disturbance!

The last elections were eminently satisfactory from a Socialist (anti-revolutionary) and Trade Union point of view, many new seats having been won, Andrea Costa being nominated for the Vice-Presidency of the Chamber, and their number now being sufficient to form an element of power in the House, and as such to be courted by Right and Left—at once the acme of Parliamentary and the knell of true Socialism. Moreover, as if to emphasise the rarity of the betterment of the people being the dominant thought of the successful Socialist M.P., the first items on the party programme are—payment of Members and a divorce law.

### Austria.

By a Ministerial order of May 1, white lead is in future forbidden to be used in the fabrication of house paint. A witty writer in *Germinale* (Amiens) points out that a similar law was projected in France eight years ago and still lies pigeonholed; but a Bill to increase the salary of Deputies was mooted and passed in eight days.

### Norway.

This little country seems determined to lead the way in reforms now that it is no longer hampered by Swedish traditions and restrictions. The permission to vote has been granted to all women, thus placing them on an equality with men; and the hours of work having been reduced from 60 to 43 per week without the slightest diminution in production following, either in public or private concerns, Parliament is determined to pass an eight-hour Bill for all industries as soon as possible.

### France.

The first three weeks of May were full of suspense and excitement in this country. The postal employees and the Government were again at loggerheads; a general strike in the capital and provinces was threatened by Labour, severe repression by the State—and the Government has been the victor. The reasons are not far to seek. Labour was divided, the Government was united. This time, the Reformists (Moderates) overmastered the revolutionary spirit of the Progressives in the various Syndicates, and the result was half-hearted *sabotage* for a short period, and partial cessation from work in Paris and a few districts. There was no general strike, though the various Labour leaders called for it. Only the Paris navvies came out wholeheartedly, and they were at once charged and dispersed by cavalry before their example became contagious. Meanwhile, its hand well in, the Government has been dismissing its postal employees on all sides. The bone of contention in the first week in May had been the summary dismissal of seven men. Since then hundreds have been cashiered—wherever, in fact, they left their work—and these are now saying bitter things to the Labour leaders for promising a general strike and failing through unpreparedness or overhaste to evoke it.

The moral satisfaction of braving the power of a Government may



be great, but does it compensate in full for the lack of work and food? The Unions promise both; but it is safe to say Labour Confederations and dismissed employees are feeling sore at the result of this second struggle against an unscrupulous foe. Labour men have a right to their contempt and dislike for the present Parliament, albeit its Members were elected by help of their votes; the one object of the Ministry being, not the good of the people, but how best to keep in office, which they continue to do by lies and broken pledges. Such is ever the way of present-day politicians, but nowhere perhaps is it so evident as in Republican France—and the people begin to realise it. That is why there is so much unrest—an unrest on which certain heirs of old monarchies keep an unwavering eye. The Chamber no longer represents France, but a collection of political groups, each seeking to overreach the other. "It has become so unpopular," says a contemporary, "that it would suffice for one sudden explosion of rage for the nation to accept almost any alternative. . . . We have a Presidency shorn of power, a Ministry wielding the wand of office without heed of the morrow, a Chamber that does not know its own mind except as regards keeping its supremacy, and a world of functionaries in docile bondage or semi-revolt. Apathy, carelessness, and cynicism, with confusion of authority and dissolution of strength on every side." What a moment for the inception of the Social Revolution! Now, if ever, is the hour ripe for Labour in France to realise and speak its mind. But old prejudices still survive, and on the vexed question of the best way to guide and control the forces of a human community, of how best to ensure its safety and welfare, men are still divided. What is to happen the day after we are masters is the problem which neither Labour nor any body of revolutionary spirits has yet faced squarely and openly. We long for the day—but we fence with that "after." May France show us the way!

Regarding the late disappointing struggle, there are few items of interest. The General Confederation of Labour admitted the attempt to beat Simyan and the Government had failed, and on May 22, in view of some 800 postal dismissals, a return to work by all was advised.

### America.

Beginning with the South, there was a disastrous First of May at Buenos Aires. In Europe, where the old enthusiasm has been purposely killed by the Socialists, whose thoughts centre solely on politics, every celebration passed off in the usual commonplace, perfunctory manner; but at Buenos Aires the police broke up the procession by firing upon it, killing five men and wounding a large number, of whom some have since died. Incensed at this brutal act, several Unions declared a general strike, which paralysed the life of the city for several days, even the shops putting up their shutters. The reply of the Republican Government was to fill the city with troops, to provoke further demonstrations and murder sundry more workers. Finally, the organised workers refused to end the strike unless the prefect of police was dismissed.

In Canada, the United Mine Workers' delegates left the Trade Union Congress then being held (April), on the ground that it was dominated by old and unscrupulous politicians, who desired to serve the Government rather than take measures for the protection of the workers from tyranny. Their spirited action has been endorsed by their Union, which definitely refuses to attend any subsequent Congress of the kind while this political element rules it.

In the United States the same spirit is at work in the Western Federation of Miners, where, as everywhere (with the exception of English Unions), a tug-of-war has commenced between the Reformist (Moderates) and Progressive revolutionary sections. The Progressives in the W.F.M. have recently started a paper, the *Industrial Worker*, and do their utmost to promote industrial combination, always with the view of fighting Capital. Their propaganda has roused the ire of the more timorous Moderates, and there is a split in the Federation, this once-powerful Union at present being disintegrated by personal quarrels, though it seems probable that the majority may in the end enrol themselves under the banner of the Industrial Workers' section. All the same, the friction that is to-day so much a part of the Trade Union movement leaves the field more and more open to the capitalist, who needs must be a fool if he does not seize every coign of vantage to increase his decaying power.

If the men quarrel, the women workers are trying to combine. The National Women's Trade Union League holds a Congress at Chicago this autumn, to which it is hoped international delegates will be sent. The one aim of the League is to encourage every woman worker to join or form a Union in whatever industry she may be employed.

W. Buwalda, the U.S. soldier who was punished for shaking hands with Emma Goldman, was recently sent his war medal for service in the Philippines. He returned it with a characteristic letter to the Secretary of War. "It speaks to me of faithful service," he writes with quiet dignity, "of duty well done, of friendships inseparable, friendships cemented by dangers and hardships and sufferings shared in common in camp and in field. But, Sir, it also speaks to me of bloodshed—possibly some of it unavoidably innocent—in defence of loved ones, of homes; homes in many cases but huts of grass, yet cherished none the less. It speaks of raids and burnings, of many prisoners taken, and, like vile beasts, thrown in the foulest of prisons. And for what? For fighting for their homes and loved ones. It speaks to me . . . of a country laid waste with fire and sword . . .

of men, women, and children hunted like wild beasts, and all this in the name of Liberty, Humanity, and Civilisation. In short, it speaks to me of War—legalised murder, if you will—upon a weak and defenceless people."

## PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

### C. H. KEAN ON TOUR.

Comrade Kean reached Manchester on May 1, and addressed three meetings on Sunday, May 2, in Stevenson Square, and on most nights during the week. On Saturday, May 8, he lectured at the County Forum on "The Futility of Legislation"; the Forum was well filled, and several members joined in the discussion. On Sunday, May 8, three meetings again in the Square. All the new reprints sold well at the meetings, and Comrade Kean especially advises comrades to try the pamphlets "Direct Action," "The Pyramid of Tyranny," and "A Talk between Two Workers." They are splendid things to place in the hands of the people, and sell readily at open-air meetings.

Our comrade's next call was Liverpool. The Direct Action League made room for him at the Column on Saturday, May 15, and morning and evening the next day. The Sunday night crowd was enormous, and good sales of literature are reported. Sunday afternoon was spent with the children at the Communist Sunday School. Here were gathered about forty children and ten adults; the children recite, sing, and play; one little boy not older than six years obliging with two recitations. Comrade Kean gave them a short address, and was surprised at the questions put to him by the children. Comrade Dick should find his work with the children worthy.

As we go to press, Kean is on his way to Manchester (return visit). Newcastle-on-Tyne and Glasgow are making use of him until about the end of August. All communications to our comrade should be sent to FREEDOM Office.

The parcel of FREEDOMS (old dates), pamphlets, and leaflets sent from the office for free distribution were duly received at Liverpool and found very acceptable. Also enclosure of leaflets sent by Comrade Potter; these will be distributed at Manchester.

Any comrades who have leaflets or old pamphlets they do not require should send them along; they will be of use at the meetings. Contributions are urgently solicited towards the cost of supplying Kean with leaflets, etc., for distribution at meetings. Any sums sent to FREEDOM will be acknowledged. The co-operation of all comrades is invited to make this tour as successful as possible, thereby giving a much-needed fillip to the propaganda.

### LIVERPOOL COMMUNIST SUNDAY SCHOOL.

During the past month we have had four good meetings of young children. On May 2 Mat Kavanagh gave a splendid and appropriate address to them. He drew a contrast between the fine sleek horses one sees on May Day and the poor devil existing on a paltry pittance who tends the animals. Horses cost the employer money, and, needless to say, he gives them the best attention he can afford to pay; but the other animal—man—can be picked up anywhere so long as he gets sufficient to keep his body together. It is quite evident that the devotion of a carter to his master's horse is apparent; but when one sees some of the poor underfed little nippers who sit upon the drays behind these fine beasts, it is ironical, to say the least of it.

On May 9 Comrade Fairbrother lectured upon that Jingo play, "An Englishman's Home," which happened to be in Liverpool the week previous. Our comrade pointed out the true condition of the Englishman's home and home-life, finishing up with a plea for Internationalism and the solidarity of the workers of all nations. FREEDOMS were distributed this particular Sunday to our young comrades. On May 16 we had Comrade Kean addressing us. He told us of Whiteway Colony, which proved a very interesting subject. Our comrade was asked many questions; one bright youngster wanted to know the utility of this Colony! However, Comrade Kean satisfactorily replied to our inquisitive young friend, and at the close of the meeting he presented each with a copy of Kropotkin's "Anarchist Communism." On May 23 Comrade Wm. Jones gave us a short review of Kropotkin's life as scientist and Anarchist.

May 24 being Empire Day, our young comrades distributed 2,000 leaflets, "Our Great Empire" (published by FREEDOM), as an antidote to the prevailing patriotic bombast that the day schools were giving.

JAS. H. DICK.

### MAY DAY IN HYDE PARK.

A most successful meeting was held, two platforms being used. Speakers were plentiful, including English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Yiddish. Large crowds stood and listened to all of them, though they could have understood very little sometimes; but the fire and intense earnestness of the speakers held them together through it all. A few overzealous policemen tried to stop the sale of literature by gently escorting some of the comrades out of the park; but they soon got in again, and a good quantity of FREEDOMS and pamphlets were sold. Two thousand leaflets on Anarchism were distributed.

### CANNING TOWN.

On Sunday evening, May 23, the group held a most successful

meeting, the crowd remaining from 6 30 to close on 10 o'clock. Goulding's address was mainly upon "no rent" and free access to the means of life, Pain dealing with religion and government; while Ray and Monk spoke on Trade Unionism and the land question respectively. Several good and pertinent questions were asked, the answers giving entire satisfaction to the crowd. A most unusual feature was the presence of a number of women, who listened very intently throughout. The police took notes of the speeches.

**NEWCASTLE COMMUNIST CLUB.**

Comrades who may be in Newcastle on Race Sunday (June 20) are invited to help at a big meeting to be held on the Town Moor that evening. As we desire to make the best show possible from our platform, any speakers who are in the district and willing to help should communicate with G. Grounsell, secretary, Communist Club, 77A Blackett Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

**BELFAST.**

Comrades residing in Belfast or district, and who desire to form a group or to get leaflets printed for distribution, are requested to communicate with Joseph Webb, 58 Excise Street, Belfast.

**Canning Town Group.**

Meetings are held at the corner of Beckton Road every Sunday at 11.30 and 6.30. Speakers heartily welcomed.

**East London Anarchist-Socialist Sunday School.**

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.

**Liverpool Communist Sunday School.**

Once again we have new premises—I.L.P. Rooms, 1 Clarendon Terrace, Beaumont Street (enter gate almost opposite Alt Street). We meet every Sunday at 3 p.m. Come and spend an hour with the children.

**MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.**

(April 30—June 3.)

**FREEDOM Guarantee Fund**—H. Glasse 10s, S. Goldstein 2s, Essex 9d.  
**FREEDOM Subscriptions**—W. N. 1s 6d, J. Webb 1s 6d, W. M. 9d, R. S. 1s 6d, Cookson 1s 6d, G. Senior 2s, F. Lear 2s, H. C. 1s 6d, W. O. 2s, G. Metcalfe 1s 6d.  
**Sales of FREEDOM**—H. Karpin 10s, J. T. 1s, F. Large 2s 6d, Quickfalls 1s 6d, Hendersons 3s 6d, T. S. 1s 7d, E. G. Smith 10s, Essex 1s, J. Burgess 5s 9d, T. Winter 1s, Holtz 1s 3d, Chatard 1s, C. Lipshitz 4s 9d, A. Howie 1s 6d, A. Bird 3s, Goodman 1s, A. Goldberg 4s, B. Greenblatt 10s, D. Baxter 4s 6d, H. Rubin 9d, F. Olson 9d, J. McAra 14s.  
**Pamphlet and Book Sales**—J. G. 3s, B. Chatard 3s, J. B. 1s 2d, C. Kean 2s 3d, R. Moore 10s 6d, W. Hawkins 3s, F. Alway 10s 6d, H. W. 1s 6d, Essex 6s, Hendersons 10s 7d, S. M. H. 1s, F. Large 18s 6d, J. Burgess 6s, Baron 1s 6d, G. Rosenzweig 4s 5d, A. Howie 1s 6d, J. Dick 7s, D. Baxter 1s 3d, J. K. 1s, H. Rubin 3s 3d, F. Olson 1s 4d, E. Allen 3s 6d, E. Fox 1s 9d.

**PHOTOGRAPH OF MARIE SPIRIDONOVA.**

This photograph of the Russian heroine, whose horrible tortures caused such a sensation, was taken in prison. It is on good paper and suitable for mounting. Price 2d., postage (in cardboard roll) 1d. extra for any number. Quantities 1s. 6d. per dozen post-free.

**GOOD PROPAGANDA LEAFLETS.**

**Our Great Empire.**  
**The Folly of Voting.**  
 6d. per 100 post free; 4s. per 1,000.

FREEDOM Office, 127, Ossulston Street, Euston Road, N.W.

**MOTHER EARTH.**

Published by EMMA GOLDMAN.  
 Offices: 210 East 13th Street, New York City, U.S.A.  
 Can be obtained from FREEDOM Office. 6d. monthly, post-free 7d.  
 Back numbers supplied.

**Co-operation**  
 is the key-note of

**TO-MORROW MAGAZINE.**

TO-MORROW is made up each month in the To-Morrow Fellowship Home, where the Spirit of Brotherhood is the "spirit of the hive."  
 TO-MORROW is opposed to Capitalism, Graff, Dogma, and Competition; it stands for Freedom, Brotherly Love, and Socialisation.  
 TO-MORROW is a 10 cent magazine, 1 dollar per year.

TO-MORROW PUBLISHING CO., 139-141 E. 56TH STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.

**DO YOU BELIEVE**

That We Humans are as important as Pigs, Potatoes, and Pups?  
 Do you believe that we "grown-ups," and even the Children, should know as much about ourselves as we know about Fishes, Flowers, and Frogs?  
 Do you believe in Better Progeny, a More Elevated Race, anyway?  
 If so, send \$1.25 for a year's subscription to the  
**AMERICAN JOURNAL OF EUGENICS,**  
 and be in the Van of Human Progress.  
 Published monthly at 649 South Main St., Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.  
 Samples 10 cents. Trial 3 months, with pamphlet "Institutional Marriage," 30 cents stamps.

**ANARCHISM.**

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

An impartial and unbiassed study and analysis of the doctrines of the leading Anarchists of the world from Godwin downwards, with extensive extracts from their works. This is perhaps the best survey of the subject yet written. The contents embrace:—1. The Problem. 2. Law, the State, and Property. 3. Godwin's Teaching. 4. Proudhon's Teaching. 5. Stirner's Teaching. 6. Bakunin's Teaching. 7. Kropotkin's Teaching. 8. Tucker's Teaching. 9. Tolstoy's Teaching. 10. The Anarchistic Teachings.  
 6s. 6d. net; postage 4d. extra.

FREEDOM Office, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N.W.

**PAMPHLET AND BOOK LIST.**

- THE WAGE SYSTEM. By P. KROPOTKIN. 1d.
- ANARCHIST COMMUNISM: ITS BASIS AND PRINCIPLES. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
- A TALK ABOUT ANARCHIST COMMUNISM BETWEEN TWO WORKERS. By E. MALATESTA. 1d.
- ANARCHISM: ITS PHILOSOPHY AND IDEAL. By P. KROPOTKIN. 1d.
- THE STATE: ITS HISTORIC ROLE. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.
- EXPROPRIATION. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
- DIRECT ACTION v. LEGISLATION. By J. BLAIR SMITH. 1d.
- THE PYRAMID OF TYRANNY. By F. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS. 1d.
- ANARCHISM AND OUTRAGE. 1d.
- LAW AND AUTHORITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.
- THE SOCIAL GENERAL STRIKE. By ARNOLD ROLLER. 2d.
- THE BASIS OF TRADE UNIONISM. By EMILE POUGET. 1d.
- WAR. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
- AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.
- SOCIALISM THE REMEDY. By HENRY GLASSE. 1d.
- EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION. By ELISEE RECLUS. 1d.
- THE KING AND THE ANARCHIST. 1d.
- MONOPOLY; OR, HOW LABOUR IS ROBBED. WILLIAM MORRIS. 1d.
- USEFUL WORK VERSUS USELESS TOIL. By WILLIAM MORRIS. 1d.
- THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST CONGRESS, 1907. 1d.
- ANARCHY v. SOCIALISM. By W. C. OWEN. 2d., post-free 2½d.
- WHAT I BELIEVE. By EMMA GOLDMAN. 2d., post-free 2½d.
- PATRIOTISM. By EMMA GOLDMAN. 2d., post-free 2½d.
- AGRICULTURE. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 2d.
- SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY. By GUSTAV LANDAUER. ½d.
- ANARCHISTS AND ESPERANTO. 1d.
- THE TRAGEDY OF WOMAN'S EMANCIPATION. By EMMA GOLDMAN. 2d., post-free 2½d.
- THE MASTERS OF LIFE. By MAXIM GORKY. 2d., post-free 2½d.
- ANTIPATRIOTISM. Speech by GUSTAVE HERVE. 3d.
- THE GOD PESTILENCE. By JOHN MOST. 1½d.
- THE CONQUEST OF BREAD. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 3s. 6d. post-free.
- ANARCHISM. By Dr. PAUL ELTZBACHER. 6s. 6d.; postage 4d.
- MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONIST. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 3s. 6d. post-free.
- MUTUAL AID: A FACTOR OF EVOLUTION. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 3s. 6d. post-free.
- MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM. By P. KROPOTKIN. 1s.
- FIELDS, FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS. By PETER KROPOTKIN. Paper cover 6d, post-free 9d.; cloth 1s., post-free 1s. 3d.
- NEWS FROM NOWHERE. By WILLIAM MORRIS. 1s. 6d.; postage 4d.
- A DREAM OF JOHN BAILL. By WILLIAM MORRIS. 2s., postage 3d.
- WHAT IS PROPERTY? By P. J. PROUDHON. 2 vols. 2s., postage 4d.
- PRISONS, POLICE AND PUNISHMENT. By E. CARPENTER. Paper 1s., cloth 2s., postage 3d.
- A VINDICATION OF NATURAL SOCIETY. By EDMUND BURKE. 1s. and 6d., postage 2d. and 1d.
- WALDEN. By H. THOREAU. 1s. and 6d., postage 2d. and 1d.
- ENGLAND'S IDEAL. By EDWARD CARPENTER. 2s. 6d. and 1s., post. 3d.
- CIVILISATION: ITS CAUSE AND CURE. By EDWARD CARPENTER. 2s. 6d. and 1s., postage 3d.
- LOVE'S COMING OF AGE. A Series of Papers on the Relations of the Sexes. By EDWARD CARPENTER. 3s. 6d., postage 4d.
- THE RIGHTS OF MAN. By THOMAS PAINE. 6d., postage 3d.
- THE SLAVERY OF OUR TIMES. By LEO TOLSTOY. 6d.

All orders, with cash, should be sent to  
 Manager, "Freedom" Office, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N.W.

**"FREEDOM" MAY BE OBTAINED of**

- London.—HENDERSON, 66 Charing Cross Road, W.C. (Wholesale).  
 NEW AGE PRESS, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.  
 A. ROTCHE, Pemberton Row, Fleet Street, E.C.  
 W. REEVES, 83, Charing Cross Road, W.  
 O. MATTHIAS, 20, Little Pulteney Street, W.  
 P. G. ROBINSON, 99 Ledbury Road, Bayswater, W.  
 B. RODERMAN, 71 Hanbury Street, Spitalfields, E.  
 J. J. JACQUES, 191 Old Street, City Road, E.C.  
 QUICKFALLS, 238 York Road, Battersea, S.W.
- Liverpool.—E. G. SMITH, 126 Tunnel Road.  
 CHAS. J. GRANT AND SON, 8 and 9 Lord Street Arcade.
- Leeds.—A. Goldberg, 14 Millwright Street.
- Leicester.—A. GORRIE, 2, Brazil Street.
- Manchester.—J. ISENBOUM, 5 Sagar Street, Bury New Road.  
 J. BURGESS AND CO., 15 Peter Street.
- Newcastle-on-Tyne.—H. KARPIN, 11 Ravensworth Terrace.  
 COMMUNIST CLUB 77A Blackett Street.
- Glasgow.—D. BAXTER, 32 Brunswick Street.
- Dundee.—L. MACARTNEY, 203, Overgate.
- U.S.A.—N. NOTKIN, 1332 S. 6th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 M. MAISEL, 422 Grand Street, New York, N.Y.
- New Zealand.—P. JOSEPHS, 64 Taranaki Street, Wellington.