

# Freedom

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MONTHLY; ONE PENNY!

## NOTES.

### Two Plagues.

At the present moment Europe is menaced by two plagues which already have Russia by the throat and threaten to spread to other countries—the cholera and the Tsar. They have both visited Germany, almost simultaneously; and if we regard this fact from a logical point of view, we shall see there really is some relation of cause and effect in this matter. To make this clear, we have only to remember that everything that bars the healthy development and social advancement of the people brings its Nemesis in some shape or form. A stream that cannot flow will either stagnate or bring disaster by an inundation. Russia had the inundation in the form of revolution, but, being driven back, stagnation has followed in its train. The overcrowded prisons, the terrible poverty, and the absence of all that science and progress can do, even under Capitalism, to improve sanitation and public health—these conditions are helping instead of checking that most terrible scourge of mankind; Asiatic cholera. And this has to be endured just that one man may hold despotic power. Yet if in 1904 the mad lust of despotism had been subdued by the smallest intelligent understanding of a nation's needs, if common sense—if even the enlightened self-interest of the despot himself—had been shown at that time, these past six years of a horrible nightmare might have been employed in alleviating the awful conditions of the Russian people. It has been said that if our rulers will not have Socialism, they will have war. It may be just as truly said that if autocracy will not have progress or reform, it will have poverty, disease, and death.

### Help for the Chainmakers.

We should like to call the attention of comrades and friends to the hard struggle of the chainmakers of Cradley Heath to win, not a "living wage," but enough to keep body and soul together. Fifty-two hours a week of hard, grinding toil for 4s. 6d. or 5s. may sound very satisfactory to the employers, whose humanity has been killed by that orgie of exploitation called "business"; but to these poor sweated women it means—well, we will not insult the imagination of our readers by trying to describe what they can only too readily conceive it to be. It is enough to say that any one who has any respect for womanhood should be helping. We read that even the Conservatives of that district are in sympathy with the women. Probably that is so; all the same, it is not enough. The mass of the workers should be with them as well. In such a struggle no woman must feel the faintness of hunger! Rather it is a crisis when she should have not only the moral support of her fellow workers, but more especially that material support which will prevent the rascally tactics of the masters from undermining her strength and power of resistance. To this end we appeal to our readers for help for the women of Cradley Heath. Any one who is willing to give can send direct to Miss MacArthur or to FREEDOM, where all amounts will be acknowledged and duly forwarded. Even if the women should have an immediate victory, money will still be urgently needed for their good.

### Poverty and Pauperism.

The returns of pauperism for the second half of last year are, according to the *Daily News*, "distinctly satisfactory." Obviously, some people are easily satisfied. For what, after all, has brought solace to the tender bosom of the *Daily News*? The fact that 17,000 fewer people were "relieved" in England and Wales during that period—17,000 less out of a total of nearly a million, leaving, let us say, more than 950,000 persons in this glorious country (whose total yearly income is more than £1,800,000,000) to live by the most odious form of charity. If one's vision was not morally distorted by the capitalist point of

view, it might be supposed there was cause for serious misgiving in this vast army of starvelings living under the wing of Bumbledon. There is another point. But recently the *Daily News* gave us a homily on the subject of poverty, in which it very justly pointed out that poverty under any circumstances means waste of human energy. That is so. But it would be well if this statement could be reduced to figures. We know, or think we know, what we lose by Dreadnoughts, by South African Wars, by the firing of our big guns. Cannot it be made clear to us how much we are "out of pocket" by the loss of the children that poverty kills, of the men it leaves "too old at forty," of the women whose weariness after a hard day's work leaves them too tired to attend to their children (*vide* Report of the Medical Officer of Health for Finsbury)? But the capitalist Press will not follow the matter so far, perhaps because they understand that to end poverty means to end the system, and they are not so much in earnest about poor humanity that for its sake they are willing to face a revolution.

### The Lock-Out.

The action of the masters in resorting to the lock-out in the shipbuilding yards is once again a proof, if proof were needed, that the employers regard labour as a mere commodity which must be disciplined to serve their ends, and, failing that, the men must be taught by hunger and distress that they have no rights against the paramount interests of the capitalist class. Men who have to work hard for a living do not strike for the fun of the thing, and it is evident the Edinburgh agreement is causing a loss in wages to some of the men, of which the masters are taking every advantage, with no inclination to "consider" the grievances. Naturally, the men's tempers, as well as their pockets, are tried by these tactics; and it is ridiculous of the *Star* to try to discredit the men by calling their action "industrial anarchy." The real cause of these troubles is the attempt to do the impossible—that is, to assume, as a sophistical Press is constantly doing, that the interests of Labour and Capital are identical. And the men themselves are at fault in this matter. Too many of them still persist in the idea that the masters have a right to do as they like with "their own," and that in paying "fair" wages, justice has been done. "Educate, educate!" that is what all of us should be doing who understand the serious import of the situation. The masters are now making both a frontal and rearguard attack on the Unions, and many of the workers do not even yet realise who the enemy is! And the leaders being hopeless from the revolutionary point of view, it is no wonder the capitalist has the game in his hands—so long as the workers will not act for themselves.

### The Copenhagen Congress.

Only one gleam of intelligence seems to have visited the Social Democratic Congress at Copenhagen—at least, from the Socialist point of view—and that was Keir Hardie's advocacy of the General Strike in case of war. This might be used with great effect; but what are Social Democrats doing to educate the workers in the use of this effective weapon? As far as we can see, simply nothing at all. Indeed, they are the first to denounce the Anarchists or Revolutionists who attempt to put it into practice. The Congress in other respects seems to have been given over to the barren formulas of the legal eight-hour day and the rest of the "palliatives" that drag their tedious length through the weary years. Still, no doubt the delegates have had a jolly time, and with this knowledge the workers will probably be able to console themselves.

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

## MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

X.

### ANARCHISM—(Continuation).

In our previous article we spoke of the growth of Anarchist ideas, from the French Revolution and Godwin to Proudhon. The next step in this development was made within the great "International Working Men's Association," which so much inspired the working classes with hopes, and the middle classes with terror, in the years 1868-1870—just before the Franco-German War.

That this Association was not founded by Marx, or any other personality, as the hero-worshippers would like us to believe, is self-evident. It was the outcome of the meeting, at London, in 1862, of a delegation of French working men, who had come to visit the Second International Exhibition, with representatives of British Trade Unions which received that delegation.

Already in 1830 Robert Owen had made an attempt at organising, besides his "Great National Trades' Union," an "International Union of All Trades"; but the idea had soon to be abandoned, in consequence of the wild prosecutions that the British Government directed against the National Trades' Union. However, the idea was not lost. It smouldered in England; it found followers in France; and after the defeat of the Revolution of 1848, it was taken by some French refugees across the Atlantic, and propagated in the United States, in a paper, *L'Internationale*.

Now, the French working men who came to London in 1862 being mostly Proudhonian "Mutualists," and the British Trade Unionists being mainly followers of Robert Owen, British "Owenism" thus joined hands with French "Mutualism," with the result of giving birth to a powerful international Labour organisation. In Marx and several others this union of the two leading Socialist currents of the time found the intellectual support of the secret political organisation of the "Materialist Communists" (*Communistes Materialistes*), an organisation which represented what was still living of the secret societies, once so powerful in the "thirties" and "forties" under Blanqui and Barbès, these societies themselves having originated in the conspiracy of the authoritarian Communists, organised by Babeuf and Buonarroti in 1795.

It must be borne in mind that the years 1862-1864, when the International Working Men's Association was definitely constituted, were years of a universal Radical revival and enthusiasm. Garibaldi's glorious campaign and the liberation of Italy with the aid of the French in 1859, the liberation of the serfs in Russia in 1861, and the liberation of the slaves in the United States in 1863 had deeply impressed all minds. The International Exhibition of 1862 was described as a great Fête of the World's Industry, which would mark a new departure in the struggle of Labour for its emancipation; and now the creation of an International Working Men's Association, which boldly announced its rupture with all the old political parties and the firm resolution of the working men to take the work of their liberation into their own hands, deeply impressed the minds of all.

The Association began to spread rapidly in the Latin countries. Its fighting power soon became menacing, while at the same time its Federations and its yearly Congresses offered to the working men the opportunity of discussing and bringing into shape the ideas of a democratic Social Revolution.

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The near approach of such a Revolution was generally expected at that time, but no definite ideas as to its possible form and its immediate steps were forthcoming. On the contrary, several conflicting currents of Socialist thought met together in the International.

The main idea of the Association was a direct struggle of Labour against Capital on the economic field—i.e., the emancipation of Labour, not by middle-class legislation, but by the working men themselves.

But how the liberation of Labour from the capitalist yoke would be accomplished, what form the new organisation of production and exchange would take—in this respect the opinions of the Socialists were divided quite as much in 1864-1868 as they were twenty years before, when the representatives of the different Socialist schools met together in the Republican Constituent Assembly sitting at Paris in 1848.

Like their French predecessors, whose aspirations were so admirably summed up in 1848 by Considérant, in his "Socialism Before the Old World," the Socialists of the International Working Men's Association did not rally under the banner of one single doctrine. They oscillated between several different solutions.

\* \*

There was, first, the direct legacy of the Great French Revolution—the Babeuf conspiracy of 1795—that is, the secret

societies of the French "Materialist Communists" and the German Communists, followers of Weitling. Both lived upon the traditions of the stern Jacobinism of 1793. In 1848 they still dreamed of some day seizing the political power in the State—perhaps with the preliminary aid of a dictator—and of instituting, on the model of the terrorism of the Jacobinist societies of 1793, (but this time in favour of the workers), a "dictatorship of the proletariat." This dictatorship would introduce Communism by means of stern legislation.

Property-owning would be rendered so unbearable by means of a thousand laws, restrictions, taxation, and so on, that the property-owners would be happy to surrender their properties to the State. Then, "armies of labourers" would be sent out to cultivate the fields, and industrial production for the State would be organised in the same semi-military fashion.\* This school continued to cherish the same ideals at the time of the foundation of the International Association, and had later on a great following among the Blanquists.

\* \*

Diametrically opposed to this Jacobinist Communism was the Co-operation of Robert Owen, which refused to resort to the coercive action of the State, and relied chiefly, both for realising the Revolution and maintaining the new Socialistic life, on the power of the organised and federated Labour Unions. The British Owenites repudiated Communism; but, in common with the French followers of Fourier, they attached a great importance to the freely constituted and federated communities or groups, which would own in common their land, their factories, and their stores; while remuneration for work, both within each industrial village and for exchange between the different groups, would be made by means of labour-cheques, representing the hours of labour that were spent by each person in the communal fields, workshops, or factories.

The same idea of remuneration by labour-cheques was advocated, as we have already seen, by Proudhon and his Mutualist followers. They also repudiated the coercive intervention of the State, both during the transitory period and the subsequent Socialist life. They considered that what now constitutes the functions of the State in economic matters could be accomplished by the branches of the Bank of the People and the Clearing Houses; while education, sanitary arrangements and so on ought to be in the hands of entirely independent Communes.

Again, the same idea of labour-cheques taking the place of money in all exchanges, but with a State ownership of all the land, the mines, the railways, and the factories, was advocated by two remarkable writers, Pecqueur and Vidal, who described their system as *Collectivism*. Pecqueur, who was a member of the Constituent Assembly in 1848, wrote a whole treatise on this matter, in which he developed his system in full—even in the shape of laws which the Assembly had only to vote to accomplish the Social Revolution.

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By the side of these Socialist schools, the ideas of the Saint-Simonist school had a considerable hold upon many minds, as they also had among the revolutionists of 1848.

A great number of brilliant writers, politicians, and industrialists, among whom suffice it to name the philosopher Auguste Comte, the historian Augustin Thierry, and the philanthropic employer Godin Lemaire (founder of the *Guise familistère*), had developed under the inspiration of the teachings of Saint-Simon. And their work had deeply influenced most social reformers.

Human progress—they said—has hitherto consisted in transforming Slavery into Serfdom, and Serfdom into the Wage System. But the time had now come to abolish the Wage System in its turn. And with it, individual property had also to go. Private ownership and Authority were not immutable institutions. Property had already undergone several modifications in the course of history, and new changes, having become necessary, would have to be made.

The abolition of private property—they wrote—could be done gradually by a series of measures (of which the Great Revolution had already begun to take the initiative), enabling the State to appropriate, in the shape of inheritance duties, a steadily growing proportion of the estates transmitted by inheritance. Individual inheritance being thus more and more reduced, so as to be eventually abolished, and the rich people themselves seeing their own advantage in abandoning privileges which belong to a dying stage of civilisation, "the State would finally become the sole owner of all the lands and industrial concerns, as also the supreme regulator of all labour, the head and the absolute regulator of the three main functions of social life—Art, Science, and Industry." †

Every one, being a worker in one of these branches, would

\* It is interesting to note that similar ideas about State agriculture, carried on by "armies of labourers," had been expressed by Napoleon III., while he was yet a pretender to the Presidency of the Republic, in a pamphlet, "The Extinction of the Proletariat."

† V. Considérant, "Le Socialisme devant le Vieux Monde," 1848, p. 36. I use here the very words of Considérant, to show how Saint-Simonism was understood by the Socialists in 1848, and how many of its ideas are still retained in the teachings of the Social Democrats.

thus be a *functionary* of the State. As to the Government, it would be composed of a hierarchy of the "best men"—the best men of science, the best artists, the best industrialists.

The distribution of the commodities produced would be made, under this system, in virtue of the principle: *To each one according to his capacity, to each capacity according to its works.\**

The Saint-Simonist school, and still more so the Positivist philosophy to which it gave birth, produced a number of quite remarkable historical works, in which the origins of authority, of property, and of the State divided into classes were discussed in a really scientific way, and which up till now have retained their value. The Saint-Simonists severely criticised at the same time the so-called classical political economy of Adam Smith and Ricardo (which was known later on as the Manchester school of "non-intervention of the State"). But while combatting the principle of commercial and industrial individualism and competition, advocated by these economists, the Saint-Simonists fell into the error which they themselves had combatted at the outset, when they severely criticised the military State and the State based upon a division of society into classes ("the Class-State"). They ended in recognising an all-powerful State. They based the structure of society upon inequality and authority, and they based order upon a hierarchy of administrators, proceeding from above to below.

From the Communists of 1848 the Saint-Simonists thus differed by allotting to the individual a purely *individual* share in the riches produced by the whole community. Notwithstanding the valuable work which some of them had accomplished in political economy, they did not yet reach the conception of all production being a *social* fact, and consequently of it being materially impossible to determine with justice the share which must be attributed to each separate individual out of the total mass of commodities produced.

Upon this point the Communists widely differed from the Saint-Simonists. But there was one point upon which both the authoritarian Communists and the followers of Saint-Simon agreed. They both ignored the individual and his claims. All that the Communists did was to concede to the individual the right of electing his administrators and rulers, which the earlier Saint-Simonists, before 1848, refused to admit. But under Communism, as under Saint-Simonism and under Collectivism, the individual was a mere functionary of the State. With Cabet, Jacobinist Communism, the suppression of individuality, reached its fullest expression.

In our next issue we shall examine the Anarchist conceptions which were apparent in the different Socialist theories that existed within the International Working Men's Association—especially in those of the followers of Fourier.

(To be continued.)

## THE RIGHT OF FREE INQUIRY.

Man has a right to think all things, speak all things, write all things, but not to impose his opinions.—MACHIAVELLI.

To argue against any breach of liberty from the ill use that may be made of it, is to argue against liberty itself, since all is capable of being abused.—LORD LYTTLETON.

All truth is safe, and nothing else is safe; and he who keeps back the truth, or withholds it from men, from motives of expediency, is either a coward or a criminal, or both.—MAX MÜLLER.

The persecuting spirit has its origin *morally* in the disposition of man to domineer over his fellow creatures; *intellectually*, in the assumption that one's own opinions are infallibly correct.—JOHN FISKE.

History is full of religious wars; but, we must take care to observe, it was not the multiplicity of religions that produced these wars, it was the intolerating spirit which animated that which thought she had the power of governing.—MONTESQUIEU.

The power of free discussion is the right of every subject of this country. It is a right to the fair exercise of which we are indebted more than to any other that was ever claimed by Englishmen. All the blessings we at present enjoy might be ascribed to it.—LORD KENYON.

Of what use is freedom of thought, if it will not produce freedom of action, which is the sole end, how remote soever in appearance, of all objections against Christianity? And therefore the freethinkers consider it an edifice where all the parts have such a mutual dependence on each other, that, if you pull out one single nail, the whole fabric must fall to the ground.—SWIFT.

There is tonic in the things that men do not love to hear; and there is damnation in the things that wicked men love to hear. Free speech is to a great people what winds are to oceans and malarial regions, which waft away the elements of disease, and bring new elements of health; and where free speech is stopped, miasma is bred, and death comes fast.—HENRY WARD BEECHER.

\* I translate verbally the Saint-Simonist formula.

Without free speech no search for truth is possible; without free speech no discovery of truth is useful; without free speech progress is checked, and the nations no longer march forward toward the nobler life which the future holds for man. Better a thousand-fold abuse of free speech than denial of free speech. The abuse dies in a day, but the denial slays the life of the people and entombs the hope of the race.—BRADLAUGH.

To subdue the unconquerable mind,  
To make one reason have the same effect  
Upon all apprehensions; to force this  
Or that man, just to think, as thou and I do;  
Impossible! unless souls were alike  
In all, which differ now as human faces.

—ROWE.

I say discuss all and expose all—I am for every topic openly;  
I say there can be no safety for These States without innovators—  
without free tongues, and ears willing to hear the tongues;  
And I announce as a glory of These States, that they respectfully  
listen to propositions, reforms, fresh views and doctrines, from  
successions of men and women.  
Each age with its own growth!

—WALT WHITMAN.

There was once a discussion between Mr. Pitt and some of his friends on what were the qualities most needed in politics. Was it knowledge, patience, courage, eloquence, or what was it? Mr. Pitt said, "*Patience*." We Liberals have tried patience for twenty years. I vote we now try "*courage*." I say again, don't let us be afraid of our own shadows. We have principles we believe in, we have faith, we have great traditions, and we have a great cause behind us and before us. Let us not lose courage and straightforwardness.—JOHN MORLEY.

Let it not be recorded in our own memories, that in this moment of the Eternity, when we who were named by our names, flitted across the light, we were afraid of any fact, or disgraced the fair Day by a pusillanimous preference of our bread to our freedom. What is the scholar, what is the man *for* but for hospitality to every new thought of his time.—Have you leisure, power, property, friends? you shall be the asylum and patron of every new thought, every unproven opinion, every untried project, which proceeds out of good-will and honest seeking. All the newspapers, all the tongues of today, will, of course, at first defame what is noble; but you who hold not of to-day, not of the times, but of the Everlasting, are to stand for it; and the highest compliment man ever receives from Heaven is the sending to him its disguised and discredited angels.—EMERSON (?).

It is not the law that is to be found in books that constitutes—that has constituted—the true principle of freedom in any country at any time. No, it is the energy, the boldness of a man's mind which prompts him to speak, not in private, but in large and popular assemblies, that constitutes, that creates in a state the spirit of freedom. This is the principle that gives life to liberty; without it the human character is a stranger to freedom. As a tree that is injured at the root, with the bark taken off the branches, may live for a while, and some sort of blossom may still remain, but it will soon wither, decay, and perish, so take away the freedom of speech or of writing, and the foundation of all the freedom is gone. You will then fall and be degraded and despised by all the world for your weakness and your folly in not having taken care of that which conducted you to all your fame, your greatness, your opulence and prosperity.—C. J. FOX.

Let us consider that arbitrary power has seldom or never been introduced into any country at once. It must be introduced by slow degrees, and as it were step by step, lest the people should see its approach. The barriers and fences of the people's liberty must be plucked one by one, and some plausible pretences must be found for removing or hoodwinking, one after another, those sentries who are posted by the constitution of a free country for warning the people of their danger. When these preparatory steps are once made, the people may then indeed, with regret, see slavery and arbitrary power making long strides over their lands; but it will be too late to think of preventing or avoiding the impending ruin.—LORD CHESTERFIELD.

—From "*A Free Press Anthology*."

## INDUSTRIALIST LEAGUE AND PARLIAMENTARY ACTION.

At the second annual Conference of the Industrialist League, we see that a resolution was carried which contained the following: "Realising the futility of Parliamentary action; and recognising the absolute necessity of the Industrial Union, we unite under the following rules," etc. Since it is a well-known historical fact that only those movements which have had clear and definite aims have really influenced mankind, we feel convinced that Industrial Unionism will gain immensely by adhering to the one clear call for the economic struggle. Propaganda in this direction is sadly needed at the present moment.

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## LABOUR AND POLITICS.

What is happening at the present moment in the world of Socialism, Labour, and politics was to be expected as a result of the determination of Socialists and Trade Unionists to adopt Parliamentary representation as a means to their end. It is not with any exultation that we come to view the waste and loss of all the precious time and energy that, as we have often said, would be the only outcome of this dragging of the Socialist and Labour Parties into the stagnant waters of political action.

We are Anarchists, and have our own ideal to fight for. But we recognise as clearly as any do that organised Labour, with its everyday battle with the capitalist to maintain a so-called "living wage," cannot, by the very nature of things, do more than agitate for concessions from the master class. We have only pointed out that those concessions are won solely by the workers' united action in formulating a *direct demand* for the removal of their grievances, and not by their votes. Relying on the strike, they can at least learn their weakness and their strength; relying on their votes, they are annihilated.

That is what has happened. All those hundreds of thousands of miners, engineers, railway men—the backbone of our industrial population—have not the power of a single bloated brewer in the House of Commons. But outside—in the pits, in the factories—their power is irresistible, if they but knew it. And they are beginning to realise it rapidly. These facts, together with the breakdown of Labour representation in Parliament, and the capitalists' use of the law—always the law!—to paralyse their electoral funds, have combined to bring about the present crisis. For in reality it is a crisis, since the Labour Party is between two fires. On the one hand, they are attacked by the discontented element in their own ranks; on the other, by *legality*—i.e., capitalist-made law. In both cases it may be fairly said they are hoist with their own petard. They went into Parliament, as we all know, to win Socialism for the people. They soon discovered that a few reforms were all that could be gained, and these only at the cost of compromise with the Liberal Party. What a falling off is here!

Yet if they had been candid and had told the Socialists and Trade Unionists that there was no hope of Socialism from Parliamentary methods, and that even reforms could only be obtained by a powerful outside agitation that would threaten vested interests, they might at least have been respected for their candour, and have won approval for as much honesty as can be expected from those who are contaminated with politics. Instead of that, they denounced all criticism as "anarchy," and had the audacity, while enjoying their £200 a year and all the "pickings" that accrue from their position, to preach patience to the workers! Patience to those who they know are robbed every hour that they work, and starved every day that they are idle.

Now, as they might have expected, they are being told they have gone to Parliament to feather their own nests at the cost of the Unions. And they lend colour to this by the fact of suddenly waking up to the need for action now that their own "wages" are in danger. J. R. Macdonald, with a touch of that rebellious spirit which he so much dislikes in others, declares the matter shall be fought out "with the gloves off." But would it not have been well to have fought for Socialism with the same spirit? Why have he and his party not done so? Is it because in the House of Commons one has to be very much "gloved"—*kid-gloved*—to play the game of politics?

But there is another side to the present crisis which is even more important. Not only for many years have the Trade Union leaders preached law and order to the rank-and-file, and the settlement of all disputes by legal means, but they have even *appealed* to the law for help against the capitalist. In the most servile spirit they have recognised legality as the arbiter between the robber and his victim. And what is this legality? A weapon forged by the robber in his own interest. May be they understand the truth of this now that they feel the sting of it in the Osborne judgment. But what blind leaders of the blind are these demigods with M.P. after their names! Did they really imagine the law was made for the man and not for the master? Were they foolish enough to imagine the capitalist was asleep while they were building up their party?

Well, they are out-manœuvred as a *political party*, and ever will be. And the losers are the workers who have put faith in political action. It is deplorable because during all these years splendid work might have been done in the way of direct action, which would not only have shortened the life of the present system, but would have *forced* more reforms from the ruling class than Parliamentary action could compass in fifty years. Look, for instance, at the time that will be lost over the present fight. Meanwhile, the workers are still waiting, and nothing, absolutely nothing, is being done to help their cause. The Unions are endangered by the very fact of their legal position; and while woven in the web of the law, they can be worried for half a century, unless—unless the workers rise to the occasion, and, stirred by a revolutionary spirit, take matters in their own hands and fight the exploiters—"with the gloves off"—by direct action. There are signs that this may happen; as recent strikes have shown.

## COMPROMISE AND REVOLUTION.

Whatever may have been the original meaning of the word "compromise," it is now looked upon in the revolutionary movement, much in the same sense as the word "traitor." It is from the revolutionary standpoint that I wish to refer to it. Sections and individuals of the reform movement in England often charge other sections and individuals with compromising with the principles of Socialism, quite ignoring the fact that the acceptance and admittance of Parliamentary action and the political ideal of Government authority is in itself the only real compromise.

Does not all this confusion of thought and action arise from ignoring the fact that we act in accordance with either one or the other of the two principles of Liberty and Authority? Poets tell us of the beauties of liberty, but the literary form in which the evils of authority have been denounced reach a depth of feeling almost too strong to repeat. As Burke says: "In vain you tell me that Government is good, and that I fall out only with its abuse. The thing—the thing itself—is the abuse."

It is the acceptance of the political ideal of a "good Government" which is the real compromise with the name and purpose of Socialism. I say "the name and purpose of Socialism," because, like the Christians, there are many who take the name but leave the purpose to others. The word "Socialism" means the quality of being social and associating, yet there are many who call themselves Socialists and at the same time work for the attainment of the supremacy of Parliamentary authority, so as to be able to force their will and ruling upon others. To seek as a Socialist to rule and fetter others by law is to destroy the meaning of the word altogether. It is to compromise with it until there is no semblance of it left, and it is this which leads the Parliamentarians into so much disaster and disappointment. For when once this falsity is admitted there is no limit to our compromising, and every unprincipled action we excuse on the ground of expediency, as witness the many individual cases we see around us, where men who once started out as revolutionists gradually cast their principles and ideals aside until they end by demanding more burdens and taxes on the people, and more compulsory military service to keep the people down.

This failure of Parliamentary effort to yield any good results to the people is in a great measure due to the Parliamentarian's one-sided conception of Socialism. The definitions of the "political Socialist" tell him what Socialism is, but they leave him at a loss as to what Socialism is not. In this way it has been left to all and sundry to adopt the name and call themselves Socialists, no matter what their creed, belief, or principles might be. Their definitions have lacked pronouncement against Parliamentary authority. They have admitted its supremacy, and in trying to obtain control of it their whole course of action has been one long train of compromise, with the inevitable result

of yielding a harvest of slaves on the one hand, and on the other the creation of high-handed, detestable officials, with their hosts of followers and imitators, ready to perpetuate the system of society they first set out to destroy.

But, they say, the Revolution cannot be entered into all at once; it must be obtained step by step. So blinded by prejudice have they become that they do not see that there have been many other than political forces at work moulding society, until it is now rotten-ripe for the change the people need, but by whose political action it is impeded. Our mission is to enlighten them.

Some twenty years ago a noted lady lecturer was speaking on State Socialism. At the close of the lecture, one of the audience asked if she was not stirring the people up to rebellion and revolution. No, she replied, we are giving the people more hope. Yes, that is what the Parliamentary "Socialist" has been giving the people these last twenty years. Hope! The hope deferred, that maketh the heart sick. Fortunately, whilst the politicians have been piling blunder upon blunder and luring society from one disaster to another, voluntary associations of self-help have arisen amongst the people, who are still organising; and when we turn our eyes away from the political arena, where the workers sacrifice each other for the amusement of their jewelled masters, the prospect of revolution is far brighter.

The word "revolution," when used in connection with Socialism, is generally meant to imply violence; but the words are far from expressing the same thing. A revolution does not necessarily depend upon a violent use of force, and, in my opinion, the Social Revolution may very well be accomplished without it. We have abundant means at hand, and in the hands of the workers themselves, to accomplish a peaceful change from the present disordered society to a new social order. There has been a constant struggle between the adherents of the two principles of Liberty and Authority, with the result that whenever the people have been free to associate they have prospered, and whenever they have had to submit to authority they have decayed.

The people during the last century have formed innumerable societies of various kinds which are rich and powerful both in material wealth and numbers. The Conference Report of one alone of the Friendly Societies informs us that it has a membership of over a million, with a capital of over £14,000,000. The Co-operative Societies have more than two million members, and the Trade Unions are both numerous and wealthy. The total savings of the working classes in England were calculated some years ago to be £400,000,000, a tithe of which would be quite sufficient to successfully place society on a Communistic basis and inaugurate the Co-operative Commonwealth. We must remember that it was Communism the people desired at the birth of the Co-operative movement. Holyoake in his "History of Co-operation" tells us that "the term Co-operation was at first and for several years afterwards used in the sense of Communism, as denoting a general arrangement of society for the mutual benefit of all concerned in sustaining it." But they had not the means as we have to-day of overthrowing the ruling power of authority. The means had yet to be organised. By lectures and literature they had to educate and agitate the people. Now we have the means we shall have to pursue the same course in arousing the people to apply them. The new society will need organising! Revolutions do not fall from the clouds, they spring from the people; but the people must know what they require, and be in earnest to organise to that end. They must know and feel that it is Communism and Liberty they desire, and that in order to obtain them there is no need to compromise. There can be no parleying with authority by the revolutionist. If we are to obtain the one, we must reject the other. The compromiser cannot be a revolutionist, nor the revolutionist a Parliamentarian. The two things are as wide as the poles asunder.

A. H. Holt.

### "SETTLED OUT OF COURT."

There was what the reporter calls "a singular contretemps" at Hedon (Yorks) County Court on Saturday. Judge Dodd, arriving two hours late, found that in two cases a settlement had already been effected by the parties without his assistance. There is a parable here for all of us. The wise schoolmaster will sometimes turn his blind eye to that corner of the playground where two overheated boys are engaged in "settling it between themselves," and it is not impossible that what we need is not more judicial assistance in the arrangement of our little differences, but less. It comes cheaper, and is not so likely to leave a bitter taste in the mouth, if we can "settle it between us."—*Star*.

## THE BASES OF EXPLOITATION.

Let us suppose that a colony of twenty or thirty families establishes itself in a wild district, covered with underbrush and forests, and from which, by agreement, the natives consent to withdraw. Each one of these families possesses a moderate but sufficient amount of capital, of such a nature as a colonist would be apt to choose—animals, seeds, tools, and a little money and food. The land having been divided, each one settles himself as comfortably as possible, and begins to clear away the portion allotted to him. But after a few weeks of fatigue, such as they never before have known, of inconceivable suffering, of ruinous and almost useless labour, our colonists begin to complain of their trade; their condition seems hard to them; they curse their hard existence.

Suddenly, one of the shrewdest among them kills a pig, cures a part of the meat, and, resolved to sacrifice a part of his provisions, goes to find his companions in misery. "Friends," he begins in a very benevolent tone, "how much trouble it costs you to do a little work and to live uncomfortably! A fortnight of labour has reduced you to your last extremity. . . . Let us make an arrangement by which you shall all profit. I offer you provisions and wine; you shall get so much every day; we will work together, and, zounds! my friends, we will be happy and contented!"

Would it be possible for empty stomachs to resist such an invitation? The hungriest of them follow the treacherous tempter. They go to work; the charm of society, emulation, joy, and mutual assistance double their strength; the work can be seen to advance. Singing and laughing, they subdue Nature. In a short time, the soil is thoroughly changed; the mellowed earth waits only for the seed. That done, the proprietor pays his labourers, who, on going away, return him their thanks, and grieve that the happy days which they have spent with him are over.

Others follow this example, always with the same success. Then, these installed, the rest disperse, each one returns to his grubbing. But, while grubbing, it is necessary to live. While they have been clearing away for their neighbour, they have done no clearing for themselves. One year's seed time and harvest is already gone. They had calculated that in lending their labour they could not but gain, since they would save their provisions; and, while living better, would get still more money. False calculation! They have created for another the means wherewith to produce, and have created nothing for themselves. The difficulties of clearing remain the same; their clothing wears out, their provisions give out; soon their purse becomes empty for the profit of the individual for whom they have worked, and who alone can furnish the provisions which they need, since he alone is in a position to produce them. Then, when the poor grubber has exhausted his resources, the man with the provisions (like the wolf in the fable, who scents his victim from afar) again comes forward. One he offers to employ again by the day; from another he offers to buy at a favourable price a piece of his bad land, which is not and never can be of any use to him—that is, he uses the labour of one man to cultivate the field of another for his own benefit. So that at the end of twenty years, of thirty individuals originally equal in point of wealth, five or six have become proprietors of the whole district, while the rest have been philanthropically dispossessed!

In this century of bourgeois morality in which I have had the honour to be borne, the moral sense is so debased that I should not be all surprised if I were asked, by many a worthy proprietor, what I see in this that is unjust and illegitimate. Debased creature! galvanised corpse! how can I expect to convince you, if you cannot tell robbery when I show it to you? A man, by soft and insinuating words, discovers the secret of taxing others that he may establish himself; then, once enriched by their united efforts, he refuses, on the very conditions which he himself dictated, to advance the well-being of those who made his fortune for him. And you ask how such conduct is fraudulent! Under the pretext that he has paid his labourers, that he owes them nothing more, that he has nothing to gain by putting himself at the service of others, while his own occupation claims his attention, he refuses, I say, to aid others in getting a foothold, as he was aided in getting his own; and when, in the impotence of their isolation, these poor labourers are compelled to sell their birthright, he—this ungrateful proprietor, this knavish upstart—stands ready to put the finishing touch to their deprivation and their ruin. And you think that just? Take care! I read in your startled countenance the reproach of a guilty conscience, much more clearly than the innocent astonishment of involuntary ignorance.

"The capitalist," they say, "has paid the labourers their *daily wages*." To be accurate, it must be said that the capitalist has paid as many times one day's wage as he has employed labourers each day—which is not at all the same thing. For he has paid nothing for that immense power which results from the union and harmony of labourers, and the convergence and simultaneousness of their efforts. Two hundred grenadiers stood the obelisk of Luxor upon its base in a few hours; do you suppose that one man could have accomplished the same task in two hundred days? Nevertheless, on the books of the capitalist the amount of wages paid would have been the same. Well, a desert to prepare for cultivation, a house to build, a factory to run—all these are obelisks to erect, mountains to move. The smallest fortune, the most insignificant establishment, the setting in motion of the lowest industry, demand the concurrence of so many different kinds of labour

and skill, that one man could not possibly execute the whole of them. It is astonishing that the economists never have called attention to this fact. Strike a balance, then, between the capitalist's receipts and his payments.—P. J. PROUDHON, "What is Property?"

## THE "SELF-MADE" MAN.

"The most avaricious and the most unscrupulous and ferocious defender of the existing social slavery."—TCHERKESOFF.

Among all the parasites that feed upon the long-suffering workers, this is the greatest. One would fain cry out with Bobbie Burns on seeing a louse: "Ha! wh'are ye gaun, ye crowlin' ferlie? Your impudence protects you fairlie!" Impudence! it is no name for it. He will loudly proclaim that he has attained his high place in society by dint of hard work; that he has amassed his money by his own efforts. From the Carnegies and the Liptons to John Smith, Cheese-monger, this arrogance and impudence is manifest. They do not even allow poor old God the credit of having a hand in the making, but strip him of his necromancer's tricks and take the full responsibility.

It is unnecessary for me to point out that as no parasite can live without feeding upon some poor body, neither is it possible that parasites of social life can live and amass wealth without living upon wealth producers. Of course, our self-styled self-made man will not hear of it. He has found a method of exploiting the workers and deluding himself and the workers also that he is a "self-made man." We find him in the high places of church and chapel, figuring at the head of the philanthropic societies, making his presence felt at all the fussy frivolities that bolster up the God and Mammon business. You will find him on the parish councils, the magisterial bench, meting out justice—save the mark!—to the poor damned souls who have been compelled to make obeisance before them.

Talk to me of the aristocrat! this animal surpasses him for intrigue and roguery, first hobnobbing with "Society," then pandering to the workers. He is the offal of creation and stinks of brass, but keeps within the four corners of the law, which he endeavours to regulate according to his Nonconformist conscience. This self-styled self-made man, with his Bible-class morality, bleeds the workers at every turn, and does their governing for them; while they, like so many sheep, submit with characteristic docility.

And so, comrades, we move along life's journey, fully believing—no, hardly believing, for that implies intellect—but deluding ourselves that this governing and exploiting business has a divine origin.

This species of parasite has forever fooled the worker. We read in the history of Rome how the moneyed plebeian was invariably in the way of progress. In any revolt on the part of the workers, this breed would range itself on the side of the patricians or aristocrats. When the chloroforming of the workers had to be done, he would supply the means of doing it. His mission was to cajole and cater for the confidence of his fellows of the lower strata. We find him paramount in the French Revolution, establishing his cause by riding on the backs of the workers for the overthrow of the aristocracy; then, being established, making drastic laws to prevent the worker from making any further revolts on behalf of himself. In England we see him *in excelsis*.

Listen to his speeches! Was there ever a man more oppressed by rates and taxes than our hero? *He* who produces and does the graft! *He* who gives employment, keeps the idle dukes and earls and other out-o'-works. He will never tire of telling us how he has struggled in the past to keep jobs open for us, the workers, and only as it were incidentally to make profit for himself. He will make it his business to explain that he is not the real exploiter or the cause of poverty, but it is the dukes and earls, or our intemperance and unthriftiness. He will tell us anything and everything to foist the burden on to the shoulders of some one else.

Yes, he has fooled the workers all along the line. He will prate about the workers and their glorious chances of wealth in this great Empire of ours. "Be good," he will counsel, "be temperate, and above all be honest." Aye! be honest. *Thou* shalt not steal—and his index finger points at *you*, the worker. But when he robs, it isn't dishonest, it's *business*. He quickly hedges behind that word "business" as a salve for the conscience. The more successful the business man, the greater the rogue you will find him. "There is a pleasant way of doing things and an unpleasant way." Charles Peace found the latter way; he was a clever business man, but it was an "unpleasant"—*i.e.*, illegal—way of "doing things." If a wage-slave tricks a customer in a commercial deal, you may be sure it is *business*, and he will be commended. Trick the boss—your "self-made" man—to your own advantage, and he will quickly clap you into jail.

The "self-made" man is a noxious weed that has grown from the decaying garbage of an exploiting social system, and methinks he will be the greatest obstacle in the path of emancipation. To achieve our aspirations, to win the world for the workers, this parasite must go with the rest. Let there be no mistake, we cannot reduce his swelled head by force of argument. His brain is so constituted that its only conception is how to turn one "quid" into two without working for it. The nicely planned "evolutionary system" of trusts and combines swallowing the animal is a fanciful dream.

Smiles's "self-made" man is a parasite, and as such is doomed to disappear in a healthy society.

DICK.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### Argentine—Crying Need for International Protest.

We have already called the attention of our readers to the ferocity with which the brutal bourgeois of the Argentine Republic has been trying to crush the Labour movement in Buenos Aires. The strike movement amongst the Trade Unions has greatly developed, and has enabled the workers to at least hold their own against the onslaughts of the ruthless exploiting class of that city. This was not to the taste either of the capitalists or their bosom friend the Republican Government. So an organised attack was made upon the workers by the youths of the bourgeois class, aided by the police. Workers were shot in the streets, attacked in their homes, and the offices of their papers invaded and burnt out. A courageous defence was made by the Trade Unionists, who gave some of these young brutes a good lesson in minding their own business. Not having things all their own way, they brought forward a new law, the text of which was published in some English papers, and which was simply diabolical in its power to crush the workers. Seventy-seven Deputies refused to vote for it. To convert them to its necessity, the police exploded a "bomb" in the Theatre Colon, and gave out that many were wounded. It was false, as the "bomb" turned out to be only a firework petard; but it had its effect, and the law was passed. As a consequence of this, numbers of Unionists—it is said 460—have been arrested and deported without trial to that hell on earth, Terra del Fuego (the Land of Fire). None of them was allowed to see relatives or friends for a last adieu. For they will never return: the climate is too terrible for the human organism to endure for long. And it is rumoured that they are lodged in a prison too horrible for animals, and are prevented from sleeping. A letter from Buenos Ayres, published in the *Temps Nouveaux*, gives these latest details; and the writer adds that as there is no hope from the Press or of any protest against the Government in Buenos Aires, an expression of opinion from the progressives of Europe should be given in condemnation of this sin against humanity. Our comrades in Argentina are under the heel of the most cruel reactionaries on earth, and are helpless. It is for us who have our voices free to make them heard in their defence.

### France.

The sudden raising of the prices of the prime necessities of life in France is causing an outcry which, if unheeded, may have serious consequences, serious at any rate for those who are profiting by this wholesale robbery of the poor. Bread, meat, vegetables, sugar, wine—all these have risen 50 per cent. in a few weeks. The *Voix du Peuple* is making strong appeals for energetic action by the workers against the brigands who are inflicting semi-starvation on masses of the French people. In a stirring article in the last issue of the paper (August 28), Yvetot writes: "Dear bread; the prospect of famine—that means Revolution! It may be so: it should be so. Let us be ready!" In addition to these sufferings, and almost before the last financial scandal has been forgotten, the people of Paris learn that the octroi officials, in league with the big contractors, have been robbing them during the past five years of tens of thousands of pounds. It is a charming picture of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, this great Republic gives us. One would think the day of reckoning must be near at hand, for strikes are the order of the day in all parts of France, and the struggle between exploiters and exploited becomes more aggravated and intense as time goes on.

### United States.

While Trade Unions in England are politically checkmated by the Osborne judgment, those of America are suffering almost as badly from injunctions that the Courts are constantly hurling against them. Judge Richardson, of Massachusetts, has by his ruling almost swept away the right of striking in its entirety, since he lays it down when workers may and when they may not strike. Again, in New York peaceful picketing has been ruled as against the law. This is to crush the strike of the tailors and seamstresses. Everything for the capitalist and devil take the rest.

It is amusing to read Victor Berger on Municipal Socialism in Milwaukee. He writes about its "measures" in the *Social Democratic Herald*, and while admitting it is "much too early to pride ourselves on our success in Milwaukee," he adds the following instructive paragraph: "The most dangerous part of the situation is that some of our comrades seem to forget that we are a Socialist party. They not only begin to imitate the ways and methods of the old parties, but even their reasoning and their thoughts are getting to be more bourgeois and less proletarian. To some of these men the holding of the office—whatever the office may be—seems to be the final aim of the Socialist party. And even some of the aldermen seem to have lost their Socialist class-consciousness—if they ever had any. Instead of that they seem to make it a point 'to be agreeable' to the old party politicians. Their kindness extends even to the memory of the old capitalist and grafters' régime." These Socialist politicians play the same game in the same old way in every country.

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

## PRINTED PAGES.

*A Free Press Anthology.* Compiled by Theodore Schroeder. \$2.00 post-free. New York: Truth Seeker Company, 62 Vesey Street.

Mr. Schroeder, the compiler of this excellent volume, says in his introduction: "A few years ago I went to a public library containing 250,000 volumes, and found in its catalogue only two items indexed under freedom of speech and press." Nothing could better explain the need for a volume such as he has produced. The selections here given range from Milton's "Areopagitica" (1644) to the writings of such modern thinkers as Mill, Spencer, Huxley and Lecky. In addition we are given a section of "Laconics of Free Inquiry," which is an invaluable collection of opinions of various eminent men on this subject. Many pages are given to the consideration of that sinister attack on free discussion that shelters itself in America behind the "Obscenity Law."

Not the least interesting section of the volume is that entitled "Liberty of Conscience and Free Speech for Anarchists," which is a collection of press and other opinions on the arrest and detention of John Turner on Ellis Island in 1903. A very useful bibliography completes a book that, as the publishers say, "should be in every man's library." Unfortunately, there is a serious obstacle to this desirable consummation—that is, the price. For two dollars, it is true, we have a handsome volume, beautifully printed and bound; but such a price is prohibitive to the mass of the people. If it could be produced for a shilling, it would have a world-wide sale and do worlds of good.

Some extracts from this book will be found in another column.

*Bernard Shaw as Artist-Philosopher: an Exposition of Shavianism.*  
By Renée M. Deacon. 1s. net. London: A. C. Fifield, 13 Clifford's Inn, E.C.

Let it be admitted; to begin with, that Bernard Shaw has done some excellent work for Socialism, as well as some work that had been better left undone; that he has said some true things very wittily, and some false things very pompously; that he has attacked with fine satire many of the conventions and hypocrisies of middle-class life, while at the same time defending the follies of Fabianism. Add to this that he has written numerous plays, generally more entertaining than instructive; and even then it may be asked, Is the world seriously in need of "an exposition of Shavianism"? At any rate, this little book is apparently the latest contribution to the cult of Shavianism—a cult that is becoming too obviously ridiculous to be taken seriously. The devotee who has written it gives us page after page of what may be called explanatory adulation, with a continuous comparison between Shaw and Shakespeare, not greatly to the advantage of the latter. Let those read it who like, but the following prophecy (p. 85) will warn the reader of what he may expect in the way of hero-worship run to seed: "It shall be said of Bernard Shaw that he so hungered for the infinite goodness of God that he dedicated his life to man's attainment thereto."

*State Socialism and Anarchism.* By B. R. Tucker. 10 cents. New York: John Oksanen, 2156 Fifth Avenue.

*Laki ja Esivalta.* Pietari Krapotkin. 10 cents. Same publisher.

*Representation and the State.* By Guy Aldred. 1d. London: 64 Minford Gardens, Shepherd's Bush, W.

*Basis and Evodus of Bourgeois Sectarianism.* 3f. Same Author and address.

*The Flower Maker: a Socialistic Play.* By Norah Doyle. 6d. London: Garden City Press, 6 York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

*Labour War in Ireland: Larkin v. Cork Employers.* 1d. Dublin: Irish Ireland Printing Works, Temple Lane.

*Intre Tarani.* E. Malatesta. Bucuresti: Revistei Ideei.

*Néo-Malthusisme et Socialisme.* Par Alfred Naquet et G. Hardy. 20c. Paris: Génération Consciente, 27 Rue de la Duée.

*Le Problème Sexuel.* Par Victor Méric. 15c. Same publishers.

*Défendons-nous! Pour la Néo-Malthusisme contre l'Immoralité des "Moralistes."* 20c. Same publishers.

## Flashlights.

Anarchy is frequently defined (by its opponents) as a condition of society wherein everybody does as he pleases, regardless of others. But, if everybody does as he pleases, there are no others!

How many who assert that it is the people's right to make the laws, have sense enough to see that, therefore, it is the people's right to break the laws?

It is a particularly foolish assumption that, in order to prevent one man tyrannising over another, it is necessary to have a Government with the power of tyrannising over all.

In opposition to the Anarchists who assert that the State must be abolished before Labour can be free, the State Socialists maintain that it is useless to attack the State, because the State is always and everywhere merely the political reflection of existing economic conditions. With the rise of Capitalism, say the State Socialists, the State—this political reflection of things economic—naturally assumed a capitalistic form. Thus the capitalistic State is merely the shadow cast by the substance of the economic interests of the capitalistic class. Now,

according to this theory, the capitalistic class had to exist, as a power, before it could be capable of casting a shadow, or reflection, of itself. Therefore, in attempting to capture the State, as the State Socialists advocate, they are guilty of the ancient absurdity of grasping at the shadow in order to obtain the substance.

### THEORY AND FACT.

*Biblical Theory.*  
"The Lord giveth."

*Plain Fact.*

And the (land) Lord taketh away.

WILLIAM J. ROBINS.

## PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

### GLASGOW.

Anarchism is not dead here, but it must be admitted that it shows some inclination to sleep, in spite of the untiring efforts of Comrade McAra, who puts out some six hours of invincible common sense among the philosophers each Sunday. These Glasgow Green meetings are a success. McAra's crowd is generally the largest at our local "Marble Arch," and it stays and sympathises and buys literature, which is a good sign; but one thing yet remains for it to accomplish—it has yet to transform itself from a mere passive crowd into thinking, acting people, into a movement.

At Springburn we have been and intend to continue holding meetings at Avenue Road on Friday nights at 8 p.m. These have been so far well attended, and fairly interesting questions have been put, though no one yet has taken our platform in opposition. The chief thing we lack here is speakers. With the exception of McAra, McGuire, and myself, no one ventures on our platform.

If the Red Flag was once really flying in Glasgow, the people would be with us. They don't like Governments; they constantly interrupt to tell us we are not to be trusted, and that we shall be as bad as the rest when we get their support. This is just our doctrine; they are with us by instinct, but not by reasoning. When they know we do not want their trust, we do not want their support, we will not be their leaders, but will fight with them against the common enemy, because we, like them, want to live as free men and women—they will be with us. Comrades, do not wait to join the movement. The only way to have a movement is to move. Let us do it. G. B.

### LIVERPOOL.

I beg to thank the International Club and all comrades and friends who have financially assisted us with the picnic fund. We had a glorious day at Hale on August 6, and the children apparently enjoyed their outing. We have opened our School for the winter and have had fair attendances. Mat Kavanagh and Muston have done service from the platform. Our old comrade Mat Roche has decided to step into the breach made by the retirement of Mat Kavanagh. Local comrades know Mat Roche as an entertainer and on the "stump," but methinks he will show to greater advantage as a teacher and instructor.

It has been decided to form French and Spanish groups at the International Club, to learn to discuss social questions in those two languages. We hope to foster the international spirit by this method. We had some excellent discussions in Spanish last winter, when our comrade Bartet invariably led the discussions. Students and Spanish sailors were often present at these meetings, and needless to say lively arguments took place. I have no doubt that the French group will be even more popular than the Spanish group. I shall be glad to supply any information.

Muston, Kavanagh, and Peter Larkin have been pushing forward the idea of Industrial Unionism for all it is worth. We have sold a great number of the "Industrialist Syndicalist," by Tom Mann. We have held two meetings a week, and they have been well attended. Our comrades have taken up the cudgels on behalf of Jim Larkin, of the Transport and General Workers' Union, who has received the atrocious sentence of twelve months' hard labour, which staggered us. No doubt comrades will know of Jim Larkin, of the Belfast Dock Strike, and the subsequent legal affairs at Cork that followed in quick succession. To go into details would take too long, but suffice it to say that our "Socialist" City Councillor, James Sexton, J.P., and the Cork employers were the prosecuting element. Full details of the case have been published in pamphlet form, and I shall be glad to furnish any comrade with a copy. We are endeavouring to hold a united demonstration (I.L.P., S.D.P., Trade Unions, etc.) to protest against this unjust sentence.

Picnic Fund (July 25—August 25).—Previously acknowledged £1 3s, F. P. 2s, Per E. J. J. 2s, A. A. 2s, J. C. 6d, D. Q. 1s, F. B. 1s, Miller 1s, J. S. 2s, J. Sal. 3s, A. S. 2s 6d, W. H. 1s, Adults' Tickets £1 3s, Total £3 12s. To Picnic (inclusive) £5 7s. Deficit £1 15s.

International Club,

7 Spekeland Buildings, 22 Canning Place.

### REGENT'S PARK.

Success can at least be said to be our reward at this spot. We have succeeded in awakening the slumbering spirit of enthusiasm and

interest, and the result is that interested and enthusiastic audiences assemble round our platform every Sunday. Our American comrade Ben Reitman has spoken here on two or three occasions, and great interest was shown, especially at question time. Guy Aldred also had a good reception here, and in his usual vigorous, eloquent style he interested fine audiences. On August 21, Will Clarke delivered a lecture on "Direct Action v. Legislation." In the evening a meeting was held in Hyde Park, H. Greenbaum being the speaker. Literature sales good.

We are forming a group here for carrying on more effective propaganda, and we shall be glad to see any comrades in Regent's Park on Sundays, 11.30 and 3.30, with a view to attending to this.

W. J. C.

#### DEPTFORD.

Owing to the physical disability of our old comrade Sam Carter, there has been no propaganda from the platform. However, we still keep alive the thoughts of Liberty by discussion. Comrade Robinson, who possesses a small Anarchist library, is doing an excellent work in lending his books to comrades and friends to increase their knowledge. On Sunday, August 21, our comrade Richmond, of Tooting, paid us a surprise visit, and made good use of his opportunity. Speaking from the local I.L.P. platform in opposition to the lecturer, he set forth the principles of Anarchism in a very able manner. After pointing out the majority of the people did not realise that they were slaves, he went on to explain that there were three things, to his mind, which he called "the three P.s," prejudice, pride, and poverty; which were obstacles to freedom and well-being, and ought to be attacked. He wound up by showing the great effect of strikes, quoting the North-Eastern Railway strike as an example. The little speech was received with applause by the audience. We hope our comrade will soon pay us another visit.

E. G.

### Help for the Chainmakers.

The following amounts have reached us on behalf of the strikers at Cradley Heath. Any further sums that may come to hand we will also forward and acknowledge next month.

H. Johnston	2 6	M. Young	2 6
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