

Freedom

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MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

THE HOUNDSDITCH TRAGEDY. WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

It is necessary for us to say a few words respecting the mysterious and unprecedented occurrences in the East End. The mystery perhaps may not seem so deep if a few facts, too often forgotten, are borne in mind. As in the universe, so in this agglomeration of human beings we call "society," nothing happens without a cause; and if we desire to understand what has happened, we must understand what has gone before.

In May, 1906, an "Appeal to the Civilised World" was issued by the Union of Lettish Social Democrats on behalf of the people of Lettonia and Esthonia, against the unheard-of and infamous cruelties of the Russian Government in suppressing the revolution in the Baltic provinces. The "civilised world," or rather those who consider themselves the responsible rulers of that world, took little heed of the appeal. The black art of diplomacy stood in the way. But many of us then read of horrors which, brutal as we knew autocracy to be, we had thought impossible. The Parliamentary Russian Committee published a pamphlet by Kropotkin, "The Terror in Russia," in which the wholesale executions, torturings, and floggings were described. The question of an alliance with such inhuman monsters as the Tsar and his responsible Ministers was raised in the House of Commons, and it was then said that such acts perpetrated in Russia became a danger to all civilised nations. Nothing could have been said with more truth. The "rebarbarisation of humanity," as Herbert Spencer called it, and which he foresaw as an outcome of our governmental systems, seemed to have touched its lowest depths in the horrors of the Russian terror. Yet still it continues.

What was happening in Lettonia, as we said, was made known in 1906. We do not wish to print all the sickening cruelties to which the poor, unfortunate Lettish people were subjected, but we give one extract from the Lettish "Appeal" lest we forget the important links in this terrible chain of cause and effect:—

"More than 3,000 Letts and Esthonians were, without any trial or any court, simply on the strength of the order of so-called Field-Courts, composed of brutalised Cossack officers, German Baltic Junkers, Law Police, and police spies, shot, bayoneted or hung. Thousands of men have been flogged with rods and crippled with Cossack and dragoon weapons. As exemplary punishments, severe floggings were inflicted on entire communes, as, for instance, Oberpahlen, when neither children nor aged men over 70 were spared. In consequence of these tortures many died or went mad, or have been crippled for life. *Even women have been stripped naked and flogged*, e.g., in Kongot and Randen, where Captain Von Siemens gave one woman 50, four women 100 strokes each, and two even 150 each. In January, during the severest cold, a troop of Cossacks brought several women who only had underclothes on from the Carlsruhe Estate to the town of Wenden, twelve miles distant; frozen quite stiff and unconscious, they were brought into the hospital, where one of them died the next day. Many women were outraged by the leaders of punitive expeditions and the German Baltic Barons, and infected with venereal diseases, for example by Count Keyserling and Prince Lieven, and afterwards handed on to the Cossacks for further outrages. Peasants and revolutionaries condemned to death were martyred; the limbs were broken in two and the hands and legs tied so fast together that the strings cut through the flesh to

the bones, e.g., this happened on the Estate Drobusch. Frightfully tortured, previous to their execution, were the members of the Society of Lettan Social-Democrats, W. Karhlin on the Estate Wainoden, and O. Augustsprogis on the Estate Preckuln. The bodies of the hanged were not allowed to be removed for several days, e.g., that of a member of our party, W. Strauss on the Preckuln Estate, and the school teacher Sahlit, in Flechen Kreuzburg, who was hung on the station platform, the teacher Singberg, in Hasenpotschen Krein. The Riga police dislocated the limbs of the revolutionaries, tore out the tendons and flayed them in a most cruel manner to force them into giving evidence against themselves and their comrades."

From November, 1905, to January, 1906, two hundred Letts were executed in and around Riga. In the whole of the Lettish provinces eight hundred were hanged or massacred by the Russian Government. Their homes burned, and flying for their lives into the shelter of the forest, hundreds were outlawed from all social life, from all human surroundings. Some escaped to other lands. Hunted like wild beasts, and mad with the horrors they had seen perpetrated on their kindred, they found themselves at war with all society, and the last gleam of hope blackened out of their lives.

We have given but the faintest idea of what this oppressed people has suffered from the bloodstained Tsar, but it is enough to show that some among them would be inevitably driven to the desperate acts that we have just seen in Houndsditch. A writer in the *Daily News* of January 5, while watching the flames that were consuming the two men in Sidney Street, recalled the lives he had seen these people living under the rule of the Tsar.

For it is to this despot and his hangman Stolypin that we have to look for the cause of the Houndsditch tragedy. It is this unspeakable Russian despotism, crushing down 160,000,000 people so that one maniac may rule; denying all enlightenment, all progress; killing or imprisoning the greatest minds, the most elevated characters, amongst its people; bringing the plague to our doors through its filth and its ignorance, and driving to desperation and crime those who, if the Tsar had not broken his oath, might at this moment be peacefully and happily evolving a regenerated Russia.

But this crowned criminal was defended by Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons, and the Asquith Ministry in taking that attitude did more to blacken the fair fame of this country than did the instigators of the Boer War.

Account must also be taken of the other evils arising from the Tsar's orgie of blood. To crush the Revolution was one thing; to demoralise it in its defeat and despair was another. To this end the "Black Hundreds," picked by the police from the most degraded criminals, were organised with his approval. Working with the police, they carried out a number of expropriations on their own account, joined in many instances by the desperate spirits amongst the revolutionaries. The consequence of this state of things can best be understood by the following instances, all admitted to be true by the Russian authorities.

General Reinbot, Chief of Police at Moscow (1906-7), and all

his staff, were proved to be connected with expropriators, and are now awaiting their trial by the Senate.

The Chief of the Political Police at Kieff (1906-7) was arrested, and afterwards dismissed, for being involved with expropriators.

Two confidential agents of General Tolmachoff (Governor-General of Odessa), Ermoloff and Mikioff, whom the General took with him to Odessa from Georgia, where they had "distinguished" themselves in the suppression of the peasant revolt, were condemned last year for bribery, blackmailing, and organising gangs of expropriators.

In Tiflis the Chief of Police committed suicide when it became known that he was in league with expropriators. His last exploit was the kidnapping of a boy belonging to a rich family, and obtaining from his parents a ransom of 45,000 roubles (about £4,500).

The Chief of the *Secret Political Police* in Tiflis is now in prison for making bombs, organising plots, and so on.

In all these cases the Russian Government was only driven to take action by an outburst of popular indignation.

We now see how the source of the tragic happenings at Houndsditch can be traced. That it is the desperate work of the Tsar's victims, there can be no doubt; and that it has been provoked for political reasons by some spy of the Azeff type is quite probable.

As to the vilification of Anarchism and Anarchists by the capitalist Press, that is all in the day's work of these "educators" of public opinion.—Indian Nationalists want their own Government: they are Anarchists! Portuguese Republicans kill Dom Carlos: they are Anarchists! Burglars in Houndsditch shoot the police: undoubtedly Anarchists! And if Lord Rosebery should, as he threatens, defy Lloyd George's taxation with physical force, it will be laid to the door of the Anarchists.

Well, we have something better to do than to answer these calumnies. We know that capitalism breeds its own crimes, as well as we know that only in a society where freedom and equality are upheld can these things cease. We strive for the abolition of all domination and exploitation of man by man, and we know that then misery, starvation, prisons and scaffolds, and all the paraphernalia of cruelty which the capitalist employs to keep "his house in order," will disappear. As his "house" never is "in order," he denounces those who point to the rottenness of its foundation, and they are shadowed by his special police, who are so busy watching the Anarchists, who work in the light of day, that they are all in the dark when such trouble arises as they have to deal with now.

Lastly, we say to the people of all nations, if you wish to be free from such tragedies, you have but one thing to do, a thing that should have been done before—to raise such a protest as will compel the tyrant Tsar to lift his feet from the neck of the Russian people.

Further confirmation of the view that the Houndsditch crimes are the consequence of Russian despotism appears in the *Daily News* of January 10. In Sevastopol some houses in proximity to the barracks had been burned by order of the Governor-General, and the innocent tenants asked for compensation, as they were "humble monarchists and orthodox Christians." "The Senate," says the *Daily News* correspondent, "decided in favour of the Governor-General, as the authority responsible for the political safety of his district. It has thus been established by the highest tribunal in the Empire that a Governor-General has the right to destroy private property and to render homeless peaceful citizens without offence given or the formality of trial, on the mere suspicion of 'danger' to the State. One can scarcely be surprised if in these circumstances 'humble monarchists and Orthodox Christians' who know no better become Anarchists and 'expropriators.'"

If you wish to properly understand the Houndsditch case, you should read

THE TERROR IN RUSSIA.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

This book exposes the brutal tyranny of the Tsar's Government. In the first edition (July, 1909) the author prophetically remarks: "Despotism in one part of the world reacts upon all the races of the world."

76 pages; 2d., postage 1d. extra.

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

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

XI.

ANARCHISM—(Continued).

If the revolt against the State, when it was advocated by middle-class writers, took often the character of a revolt of the *individual* against society and its hypocrisy, now, when a similar revolt began to take place among the working men, it took a deeper character. It became a research of those forms of *society* which might get rid of the oppression and exploitation of men by other men with the aid of the State. In the International Working Men's Association its founders saw the embryo of that society which would be called into existence by a social revolution—a society where the functions now belonging to Government would be substituted by free agreements growing out of the direct relations between free groups of producers and consumers. In these surroundings the ideal of the Anarchist ceased to be *individual*: it became *social*.

In proportion as the workers of Europe and America began to know each other directly, without the intermediary of Governments, they grew more and more convinced of their own forces and of their capacity for rebuilding society on new bases. They saw that if the people resumed possession of the land and of all that is required for producing all sorts of necessaries of life, and if the associations of men and women who would work on the land, in the factories, in the mines, and so on, became themselves the managers of production, they would be able, in such conditions, to produce with the greatest ease all that is necessary for the life of society, so as to guarantee well-being for all, and also some leisure for all. The recent progress in science and technics renders this point more and more evident. Besides, in a vast international organisation of producers and consumers, the exchange of produce could be organised with the same ease—once it would not be done for the enrichment of the few.

At the same time, the ever-growing thinking portion of the workers saw that the State, with its traditions, its hierarchy, and its narrow nationalism, would always stand in the way of the development of such an organisation; and the experiments made in different countries with the view of partially alleviating the social evils within the present middle class State proved more and more the fallacy of such tactics.

The wider the sphere of those experiments, the more evident it was that the machinery of the State could not be utilised as an instrument of emancipation. The State is an institution which was developed for the very purpose of establishing monopolies in favour of the slave and serf owners, the landed proprietors, canonic and laic, the merchant guilds and the moneylenders, the kings, the military commanders, the "noble-men," and finally, in the nineteenth century, the industrial capitalists, whom the State supplied with "hands" driven away from the land. Consequently the State would be, to say the least, a useless institution, once these monopolies ceased to exist. *Life would be simplified*, once the mechanism created for the exploitation of the poor by the rich would have been done away with.

The idea of independent Communes for the territorial organisation, and of federations of Trade Unions for the organisation of men in accordance with their different functions, gave a *concrete* conception of society regenerated by a social revolution. There remained only to add to these two modes of organisation a third, which we saw rapidly developing during the last fifty years, since a little liberty was conquered in this direction: the thousands upon thousands of free combines and societies growing up everywhere for the satisfaction of all possible and imaginable needs, economic, sanitary, and educational; for mutual protection, for the propaganda of ideas, for art, for amusement, and so on. All of them covering each other, and all of them always ready to meet the new needs and influences by new organisations and adjustments.

More than that. It begins to be understood now that if human societies go on developing on these lines, coercion and punishment must necessarily fall into decay. The greatest obstacle to the maintenance in our present societies of a certain moral level lies in the absence of social equality. Without *real* equality, the sense of justice can never be universally developed, because *Justice implies the recognition of Equality*; while in a society in which the principles of justice would not be contradicted at every step by the existing inequalities of rights and possibilities of development, they would be bound to spread and to enter into the habits of the people.

In such a case the individual would be *free*, in the sense that his freedom would not be limited any more by *fear*: by the fear of a social or a mystical punishment, or by obedience, either to other men reputed to be his superiors, or to mystical and metaphysical entities—which leads in both cases to the intellectual servility (one of the greatest curses of mankind) and to the lowering of the moral level of men.

In free surroundings based upon Equality, man might with

full confidence let himself be guided by his own reason (which, of course, by necessity, would bear the stamp of his social surroundings). And he might also attain the full development of his individuality; while the "individualism" considered now by middle-class intellectuals as the *means* for the development of the better-gifted individuals, is, as every one may himself see, the chief *obstacle* to this development. Not only because, with a low productivity, which is kept at a low level by Capitalism and the State, the immense majority of gifted men have neither the leisure nor the chance to develop their higher gifts; but also because those who have that leisure are recognised and rewarded by the present society on the condition of never going "too far" in their criticisms of that society, and especially—never going over to acts that may lead to its destruction, or even to a serious reform. Those only are allowed to attain a certain "development of their individualities" who are not dangerous in this respect—those who are merely "interesting," but not dangerous to the Philistine.

* * *

As to the economic views of the Anarchists, three different conceptions must be distinguished.

In common with all Socialists (or, at least, with those Socialists who continue to consider that their aim is the *abolition in a near future* of the exploitation of Labour by Capital), the Anarchists consider that the system of private *property* in land and in all that is necessary for production, as well as the present system of production by capitalists for profits, have to disappear. But we entirely differ from all the sections of State Socialists in that we do not see in the system of *State Capitalism*, which is now preached under the name of Collectivism, a solution of the social question. We see in the organisation of the posts and telegraphs, in the State railways and the like—which are represented as illustrations of a society without capitalists—nothing but a new, perhaps improved, but still undesirable form of the Wage System. We even think that such a solution of the social problem would so much run against the present libertarian tendencies of civilised mankind, that it simply would be un-realizable.

We maintain that the State organisation, having been the force to which the minorities resorted for establishing and organising their power over the masses, cannot be the force which will serve to destroy these privileges. The lessons of history tell us that a new form of economic life always calls forth a new form of political organisation; and a Socialist society (whether Communist or Collectivist) cannot be an exception to this rule. Just as the Christian Churches cannot be utilised for freeing man from his old superstitions, and just as the feeling of human solidarity will have to find other channels for its expression besides the Churches, so also the economic and political liberation of man will have to create new forms for its expression in life, instead of those established by the State.

Consequently, the chief aim of Anarchism is to awaken those constructive powers of the labouring masses of the people which at all great moments of history came forward to accomplish the necessary changes, and which, aided by the now accumulated knowledge, will accomplish the change that is called forth by all the best men of our own time.

This is also why the Anarchists refuse to accept the functions of legislators or servants of the State. We know that the social revolution will not be accomplished by means of *laws*. Laws can only *follow* the accomplished facts; and even if they honestly do follow them—which usually is *not* the case—a law remains a dead letter so long as there are not on the spot the living forces required for making of the *tendencies* expressed in the law an accomplished *fact*. But this is also why, since the times of the International, the Anarchists have always advised taking an active part in those workers' organisations which carry on the *direct* struggle of Labour against Capital and its protector,—the State.

* * *

As to the form which the remuneration of Labour may take in a society freed from the yoke of Capital and State, the opinions of the Anarchists still remain divided.

The great number accept the Anarchist Communist solution. They see that the only form of Communism that would be acceptable in a civilised society is one which would exist without the continual interference of Government, *i.e.*, the Anarchist form. And they realise also that an Anarchist society of a large size would be impossible, unless it would begin by guaranteeing to all a certain minimum of well-being produced in common. Communism and Anarchy thus complete each other.

However, by the side of this main current there are those who see in Anarchism a rehabilitation of Individualism.

The Individualist Anarchists subdivide in their turn into two branches. Part of them are the *Mutualists*, in the sense of Proudhon, of whom we spoke in a previous chapter, and whose ideas, we have seen, have had a certain success in the United States, so that there are still organisations of farmers who exchange their produce on the principle of the hour-for-an-hour cheques. However, there will always be against this system the

objection that it could hardly be compatible with a system of common ownership of land and the necessaries for production. Communism in the possession of land, factories, etc., and Individualism in production are too contradictory to co-exist in the same society—to say nothing of the difficulty of estimating the *market* value, or the *selling* value, of a product by the average time that is necessary, or the time that was actually used, in producing it. To bring men to agree upon such an estimation of their work would already require a deep penetration of the Communist principle into their ideas.

As to those Anarchist Individualists who preach complete Individualism, as it was preached by Stirner, we have already seen in a previous chapter the inner contradictions concealed in these conceptions. Their followers are unavoidably brought back to the ideas of the privileged minorities, even though they themselves may have earnestly refuted them at the outset.

To some extent the same remark applies to the Anarchist Individualist followers of Benjamin Tucker, the well-known editor of the *New York Liberty*. Their ideas are partly those of Proudhon, and partly those of Herbert Spencer. They start from the principle that the only law which is obligatory for the Anarchist is to mind his own business, and not to meddle with that of others; that each individual and each group have the *right* to oppress all mankind—if they have the *force* to do so; and that if this only law, of minding one's own business, had received a *general* and *complete* application, it would offer no danger, because the rights of each individual would have been limited by the equal rights of all others. But, to reason in this way is to pay a large tribute to metaphysical dialectics, and to ignore the facts of real life. It is impossible to conceive a society in which the affairs of any one of its members would not concern many other members, if not all; still less a society in which a continual contact between its members would not have established an interest of every one towards all others, which would render it *impossible* to act without thinking of the effects which our actions may have on others. This is why Tucker, after his admirable criticism of the State and a vigorous defence of the rights of the individual, comes to recognise, as Spencer did, the right of *defence* of its members by the State. But it was precisely by assuming the function of "defence" of its weaker members that the State, in its historical evolution, developed all its *aggressive* functions, which Spencer and Tucker have so brilliantly criticised.

This contradiction is probably the reason why Anarchist Individualism, while it finds followers amongst the middle-class intellectuals, does not spread amongst the workers. It must, however, be said that it renders a real service in preventing the Anarchist Communists from making too many concessions to the old idea of State officialism. Old ideas are so difficult to get rid of.

As to Anarchist Communism, it is certain that this solution wins more and more ground nowadays among those working men who try to get a clear conception as to the forthcoming revolutionary action. The Syndicalist and Trade Union movements, which permit the working men to realise their solidarity and to feel the community of their interests, much better than any elections, prepare the way for these conceptions. And it is hardly too much to hope that when some serious movement for the emancipation of Labour begins in Europe and America, attempts will be made, at least in the Latin countries, in the Anarchist Communist direction—much deeper than anything that was done by the French nation in 1793-94, in many Communes and in the "Sections" of the large cities.

(To be continued.)

The "Gentlemen" of the Press.

The following letter was sent to the editor of the *Daily Chronicle*, but was refused insertion. This is not an isolated instance. But it has been almost impossible to stem the torrent of lies and foul abuse which has filled the Press during the past few weeks:—

[To the Editor of the *Daily Chronicle*.]

Sir,—We see a statement in this morning's issue of your paper under the above heading that "a personal friend of the two men" told your representative that he "came to know them as a fellow-member of the Anarchist Club in Jubilee Street." It has already been mentioned in the press soon after the Houndsditch murders, and we hereby repeat again, that neither of the men described by the police as "wanted" were ever members of the above club. This refers to all those whose names have been published as being connected with the affair.

We hope that this declaration will put an end, once for all, to the ridiculous and perhaps intentional assertions as to the connection of these men with our Club.

We are, Sir, yours truly,

January 4, 1911.

A. SHAPIRO }
S. LINDER } Secretaries.

Freedom

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"The Cheapening of Human Life." HOUNDSDITCH—BOLTON.

The killing of three policemen by armed burglars, disturbed while breaking into a jeweller's shop in Houndsditch, has led to a pitiable outburst of tearful indignation on the part of the Press. The various descriptive reporters have shed bucketsful of tears because of the sad fate of the "noble and gallant-fellows killed by armed desperadoes, while in the execution of their duty. It is a lamentable thing that alien ruffians, who have made their own country too hot to hold them, should be allowed to disturb the comparatively orderly atmosphere of these islands," to quote a Harmsworth paper.

That eminently respectable organ, the great upholder of the glorious traditions of British journalism, the *Daily News*, in a leading article published on the day following the "outrage," gave vent to opinions of which the following is a condensation. The crime was evidently of a Continental character. It was foreign to the habits of the British burglar to shoot policemen. This deed perpetrated by Russians is redolent of Russian methods, one of the results of the Russian Revolution being to "cheapen the value of human life." Ye gods! a result of the Revolution! And what, pray, gave rise to the Revolution?

One of the most despotic and oppressive systems of government which ever blackened the pages of history; one of the most utterly rotten bureaucratic institutions which ever trampled under foot the hopes and ideals of a great people. A Government and a bureaucracy which have drained the very life-blood of the Russian people; sending thousands of the most noble intellects, the most intelligent and most capable men and women in Russia, to whiten with their bones the bleak wastes of Siberia. As Kropotkin tells us in "The Terror in Russia," "the picture is so terrible, that it is almost shaking one's faith in human progress"; and again, "the amount of suffering and cruel repression now prevalent in Russia surpasses everything that is known from the lessons of modern history." Human life cheapened by the Revolution! So far from this being true, the Revolution was the recognition by the people of the value of human life. It was the blind up-stirring of the social instinct inherent in the people against the anti-social institution of Government, in a great endeavour to make *real life* possible, which led to the Revolution.

The cheapening of human life is the inevitable consequence of that class oppression of the masses which is the dominant feature of civilised society, not only in Russia, but in every part of the world.

We in Britain do not have to suffer the same *overt* oppression as the Russian; oppression with us is more *covert*, but none the less real, the difference being one of degree only. In Britain, as in Russia, the means of life being monopolised by the few, hopeless slavery is the lot of the many. The landless proletariat, divorced from all that makes life worth living, passively endures a miserable existence. Here and there some individual, perhaps bolder or more reckless than his fellows, resolves to submit no more. Tired of meekly accepting the kicks and blows of merciless capitalism, he picks up the gage, and, all unconscious as he is of the real significance of his action, retaliates by making war upon those who war upon him. A society based on force, and maintained by force, can expect no other than to be opposed by force.

The cheapening of human life has at no period in the history of the world reached such a pitch as it has to-day under the reign of the industrial capitalist. Nowhere in the written

records of humanity can we find a parallel for the callous, brutal indifference of the modern wealthy parasite to the sufferings of the toiling poor. Here and there in the past we have had more or less isolated instances, but the present-day universality of a *wholly preventable* suffering is unparalleled.

The shocking mining disaster which has just taken place at Bolton brings this home to us with an added force. Three hundred and forty strong, able men, many of them husbands and fathers, blown to pieces in an instant. The capitalist Press again weeps in sympathy. Its columns are crowded with stereotyped platitudes. The King sends "his gracious message of sympathy for the relatives of his brave miners." The heroic rescuers are extolled and lauded to the skies; columns are filled with word-pictures of "the silent, grief-stricken crowd at the pit-mouth; the gaunt, hollow-eyed women, vainly trying to stifle their sobs; the children with wondering eyes waiting patiently for the father who does not come." The journalistic crocodile dissolves in tears.

But, there is no word of "the cheapening of human life"; no crying out for vengeance against those responsible for this dastardly crime. "The pit is known to be fiery"; warnings are issued that "we are entering on a period of atmospheric pressure," with a consequently greatly increased risk of accident. "The cheapening of human life" has reached such a stage, however, that the miner, in order to earn his bread, *must* disregard all warnings, with the inevitable result that sooner or later he pays with his life.

It seems to be very true that "circumstances alter cases." The Press does not demand that the miner "shall be provided with the means of effective retaliation." It does not urge on the bloodhounds of the law to hunt down the doer of this evil deed, that he may be delivered over to "justice." The murderer on a large scale, be he soldier or judge, an exporter of diseased meat, or a colliery magnate squeezing profits out of the blood and sweat of the miners, is above justice.

Not for him are the prison cell and the hangman's rope, but the chains of office and the banqueting-halls of the mighty.

JOHN PATON.

SEDITION AND SECRECY.

The arrest of E. Mylius on a charge of sending a seditious libel (contained in a paper called the *Liberator*) through the post is another police mystery. On Wednesday, December 28, he was brought before a Judge in Chambers to show cause why he should not be committed to gaol in lieu of finding two sureties of £5,000 and himself in £10,000. Evidently they thought they had caught Carnegie, for after all "Triumphant Democracy" contains a good deal more sedition than the *Liberator*. Seriously, the ugly part of the business is that this young man, arrested and thrown into gaol, has had his case heard in camera, and nothing more can be obtained in the way of information. We have been steadily drifting backwards of late years in our police methods, but it was hardly supposed we had already commenced to imitate Japan. Of course, the matter will not rest here.

AUSTRALIAN NOTES.

We celebrated the anniversary of the Chicago Anarchist Martyrs in the Trades Hall on November 11. The Committee of this Trades Hall expelled me years ago for being an Anarchist. The meeting was a huge success; the wharf labourers, who had been attending a Union strike meeting, strolled in and listened to Anarchy and Revolution. At the conclusion they co-operated and gave three ringing cheers for our departed comrades, and for Anarchy and insurrection. I have held a celebration anniversary of our Chicago comrades every year since their execution, and am the last of a group who sent a protest from Australia to the President of America against the horrible murder of our comrades. Peter Bowling is released from gaol, and denounces Billy Hughes, the Labour Attorney-General, as a Judas, who broke the New Castle miners' strike. The Labour Premier of South Australia ordered the police to bludgeon the strikers at Adelaide. This will help Direct Action.

J. W. FLEMING.

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*.

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

The Japanese Socialists.

INTERNATIONAL PROTEST AND DEMAND FOR OPEN TRIAL.

The Japanese Ambassador in London has been trying to defend the action of his Government in insisting on a secret trial for the accused. The legal sophisms that have been paraded will not weigh with honest readers, but to circulate as a fact the lie that the prisoners had confessed—a thing that would have removed all necessity for a second trial—is the last straw that damns the whole of the procedure of the Japanese Junkers. Conspiracy by governing powers against advanced movements is now the order of the day in countries where despotism is threatened by the onward march of events; and this is so in Japan.

We read of Kotoku and his friends, after their long imprisonment and suspense, being led into court under armed guards, whilst outside the court and along the streets, lined with military, a display of force was made, to impress the populace with the idea that desperate criminals were on trial, and so prejudge the case against them. At first even the counsel who had been chosen for the defence were threatened with execution. No wonder we are told the prisoners looked ill and worn. They are intellectual and cultivated people, who have conceptions of a higher state of society, and this is what they have to face in this enlightened twentieth century!

At the moment of writing the trial is proceeding, so we can only once more express our fullest solidarity and sympathy with our comrades. We give here their names and occupations:—

D. KOTOKU (Editor).	S. MINEO (Buddhist Priest).
Miss S. SNGANO.	S. SAKIKUBO (Farmer).
M. MORITIKA (Farmer).	K. NARNISHI (Salesman).
T. MYASHITA (Mechanic).	M. MATSUO (Writer).
C. NEEMURA (Farmer).	M. NEEMI.
R. FURUKAWA (Gardener).	D. SASAKI.
T. NITTA (Mechanic).	Y. TOBIURATSU.
Z. NEEMURA (Farmer).	G. UCHIYAMA (Buddhist Priest).
K. OKUMIJA.	K. TAKEDA (Sculptor).
K. SAKAMOTO (Printer).	E. OKAMOTO (Electrician).
Dr. S. OISHI (Physician).	Y. MIURA (Mechanic).
H. NARNISHI (Merchant).	T. OKABAYASHI (Clerk in hospital).
K. TAKAGI (Buddhist Priest).	M. KOMATSU (Restaurant Keeper).

The agitation on their behalf has extended to most of the civilised countries of the world. The question has been taken up by many branches of the I.L.P. and S.D.P., and also by our own comrades in all parts of the country. Thousands of leaflets have been distributed; meetings have been held both in the open air, as at Sheerness and Glasgow, and in halls, as at South Place Institute, Finsbury, and at the Temperance Hall, Sheffield, by the Trades and Labour Council. In all cases resolutions unanimously condemning the barbarous methods of Japanese despotism have been carried, and forwarded to the Japanese Ambassador. The Penal Reform Society sent a letter of protest, besides which many have written to the Ambassador personally protesting against the violation of all justice in the secret trial.

It is, however, in the United States that the protest has attained its greatest magnitude. Indeed, nothing resembling it has been known since the days of that atrocious capitalist crime, the murder of the Chicago Anarchists. We cannot print all the news that has reached us, but it is important that the leading facts of this agitation should be known.

After the statement printed in our last issue we need do no more here than point out that the alleged conspiracy against the Mikado is scarcely credited by any who know how so many of these "plots" have been manufactured. Moreover, if the authorities were sure of the case against the prisoners, they would only too gladly give a public trial, to gain all possible credit for themselves and to prove the positive guilt of the accused. The secret trial and the unprecedented procedure adopted convince us of the innocence of the Socialists, who are simply marked down as victims of the barbarous reaction led by the Japanese Junker, Katsuma. The fact is, all the evils of capitalist exploitation are growing apace in Japan, and for those who denounce them and point out the remedy there is only the prison or the block.

This question is discussed quite openly in the American Press, which also publishes such news as can be had quite impartially. Again, the agitation which has spread from New York to the Pacific Coast is duly reported. In San Francisco, on December 4, a vast meeting was held at the Auditorium under the auspices of the Socialist Party. The crowded audience was entirely with the speakers in their denunciation of the Japanese Government.

From Chicago we read that a world protest is being asked for. The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has passed a resolution denouncing the action of the Japanese Government, and has resolved "That the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of the United States hereby registers the emphatic protest of the American Socialists against this glaring violation of civilised custom; and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the International Socialist Bureau, with the request that similar action be taken by the Socialists and organised workers of the entire world."

The Japanese Ambassador at Washington has received the following personal protest from Jack London: "As a lover of liberty and a

citizen of the world I do most earnestly protest to you, and through you to your country, against the unjust contemplated execution of Dr. Kotoku, his wife, and their twenty-four comrades. I sign myself one of the great army of international soldiers of Freedom."

The same official received the following letter of protest from the Socialist students of Columbia University:—"Dear Sir,—You have refused all information concerning the facts of the trial of Kotoku and his twenty-five associates; this seems hardly worthy of a civilised and enlightened nation. Against such methods we write to register a vigorous protest."

A strong letter of protest appears in the *Springfield Daily Republican* (December 6) from Alice Stone Blackwell, one of the most progressive women in the United States.

The *New York Sun* reports a great meeting in the Lyric Hall, New York, on December 12, called by our friends of *Mother Earth*, whose energy and initiative have the credit of this agitation. At this meeting the following resolution was passed and cabled to the Premier Katsuma, at Tokio: "We, the libertarians of New York in mass meeting assembled, protest emphatically against the sentence barbarously passed against Kotoku and his comrades."

The following interesting letter from a Japanese comrade in Chicago has been received by the comrades of *Mother Earth*:—

"Dear Friends,—Your action on behalf of Japanese Socialists who will be possibly condemned to death was highly appreciated by me and two other comrades in this city. We hear now rousing protests in various part in this country, and you were the first one that led the rest. The charge is absolutely false—even capitalist paper denies. One leading paper, largest circulated paper, *Tokio Asahi*, on July 21st said 'there is no proof to bring them guilty.' This is the real confusion of capitalist part.—Yours for Socialist Labour Party,

— CHAS. T. TAKAHASHI."

Another interesting letter was recently sent to the Japanese Ambassador in London:—"The Masonic Lodge, 'La Fraternité,' of Geneva (Switzerland), having learned that Dr. Denjiro Kotoku and 25 others have been condemned to death by a secret tribunal constituted as such; convinced that humanity and justice require a regular and public procedure; and considering that this verdict given without these guarantees is not only suspected of partiality, but also of political revenge; hopes that Japan will not risk its reputation as a civilised nation by an act contrary to morality and equity; the indispensable bases of a great people; and protests against the procedure followed in this case. This 'order of the day' has been communicated by letter to other Lodges, and to the Press of Geneva."

The Monistenbund Group of Geneva has also passed a resolution protesting against the secret trial.

From Vienna we learn that the *Freie Generation* and *Wollstand fur Alle* (both papers published in that city) have sent through their editors letters of protest to the Japanese Ambassador at Washington.

In France the agitation grows every day. *Les Droits de l'Homme*, *Les Temps Nouveaux*, *La Voix du Peuple*, and other journals contain articles denouncing the Japanese Government for the secret trial, and print letters of protest from their readers. Meetings of protest are also being held, and these increase in importance as the facts become known.

AN APPEAL.

There is a deficit of five pounds on the expenses of the Japanese protest agitation. Comrades who can help us to meet this may be sure we shall gladly receive and acknowledge any amounts, however small, that are sent.

Political and Social Revolution in Paris, 1848.

IMPRESSIONS OF ERNEST CEURDEROY.*

The tempest of February had swept away my discouragement; I had been roused by the acclamations of a free people; I breathed at ease in an atmosphere saturated with the tumult of the rising. Far, far from me had I cast the poisoned tunic that depression weaves around the shoulders of the solitary man. Breathlessly had I rushed forth towards the Star of Hope that the Revolution held alight before me. To the end of the world would I have followed that star, eager as the lover who at length beholds the betrothed of his dreams.

I who had heretofore been dumb through timidity, could now, in the clubs, through indignation find words of eloquence. For the man whose emotion is not simulated will always speak well, once the cry of his heart leaps forth to the multitude.

I knew the people; I had followed them in every manifestation of their thoughts, in each act of their life, from their deathbed in the garret to their throne on the barricade. The Revolution had restored my life; she could demand it at any moment; I was ready.

My life had become a continuous delirium, an insatiable craving for action. From that hour, by day and by night, a voice rang ceaselessly in my ears—Forward! forward!

MARCH 17,—MAY 15,—JUNE, 1848.

Forward! We are far from the days of February. This is the 17th of March, first essay of a timid reaction, first hypocrisy of a

* Translated for FREEDOM from "Ernest Cœurderoy: Jours d'Exil," Vol. I. (Paris: P.-V. Stock, 1910). For article on the author, see FREEDOM for November last.

bourgeoisie without principle to whom the Republic had temporarily confided its destinies.

Here is the 15th of May, tempest of a day, which carried off the bravest sons of Liberty, those we are accustomed to see the first within the breach. They rose in the morning in the name of the peoples' solidarity, night will once more see them prostrate, more closely fettered than before, like to the martyred Poland they hungered to restore. All honour to you, Barbès, Blanqui, Laviron, Chancel, Raspail; your example will be followed, but too late, alas! for the Revolution.

Forward! forward! Here come gloomy days. Never since those of Spartacus has history recounted the like, nor ever will she record them save with a pen shrouded in crape and dipped in blood.

June 23, 24, 25, 1848! Never on the banks of the Seine did the warm sun rise upon more dead; never were the waters of the river crimsoned with so much blood; never were more paving-stones torn from their sandy bed; never did the sister voices of tocsin and cannon convulse the air with so clamorous a roar.

It was not an outbreak among small shopkeepers; it was a revolt of rebel angels, who since then have stirred no more. All that the proletariat of Paris contained of invincible energy, of poetic fervour, fell in those evil days, suffocated under the bourgeois reaction like wheat among tares.

They disdained the expediency of a deceitful Diplomacy, of a frigid Opportunism—these proud children of the people; they rose when called by the voice of Liberty; they halted when called by the voice of Death, which also is that of Liberty. Like their combats, their banner was stainless, their motto replete with courage.

Their banner was red. What other colour could they adopt but that of blood, that stream of life that runs through each organ in man, that not one can monopolise singly without danger of death? What else did they claim, those who do all, but their part in the consummation of the commonwealth—one drop of blood?

Their motto was simple, but wiser in its simplicity than lying systems: "Work or lead!" had they cried. The very essence of Revolution is there; it is only the people who are able to enshrine within a phrase the aspirations of a century.—Work!... that is to say, the abolition of private property, of interest, of every monopoly fatal to labour.—Or Lead!... or war against all these abuses by the swiftest means, that last argument of the oppressed.

With what did bourgeois hypocrisy confront this frank attack?—With three tags sewn together, the Tricolour, the flag of the People, the Aristocrats, and the Bourgeoisie; the standard of labour, idleness, and commerce! As though one could combine robbery with justice, misery with wealth, life with death! The Tricolour, smirched by every dishonour, the rag one saw dragged through Spain, Antwerp, Ancona, Constantine, wherever it could gather up mire!—And then these words: Order, public safety, maintenance of the Government, words still repeated by the walls of Warsaw, the banks of the Saône by Lyons, the echoes of Saint-Méry and Transnonnain—those three words with which every iniquity is upheld.

And while the people to whom work was denied hurled its challenge in the face of the world from the summit of sun-scorched barricades; while avenging bullets, piercing the crowd of functionaries, struck all that shone the most, high-priest and military chief, what were the bourgeois about?

Oh! who shall describe the precautions taken to preserve their savings? Who name their cold sweats, their agonies and sleepless nights? Who shall enumerate their betrayals, their crimes and assassinations? Who will ever know their nocturnal exploits, the number of unarmed men whose brains they scattered against the walls of their sacred churches? Who shall paint their martial demeanour when danger was past? Who repeat their *Te Deums* and songs of glory? Who recall their denunciations and senseless calumnies? Who delineate the tortures inflicted by their tormentors upon those unhappy ones who lay groaning in the hospitals and prisons?

Tears and disgust choke me.... I who write these lines have seen examining magistrates of a moderate Republic probing like jackals among the bleeding stumps and horrible gunshot wounds. Nor was I in a position to prevent these saturnalia!

Cowardly and degrading cruelty! Horrible filth and carnage! Oh, may that bloated bourgeoisie be for ever accursed; may the site of its shops be sown with salt and sulphur, and may the mercy of its God be light upon its greasy soul!

And yet, there are people still who believe in the revolutionary spirit of a grocer!!

Fools, fools! The carrion crow for ever follows in the wake of brilliant armies, its dismal croak drowns the blast of the bugles. The hyena always quits its den when night mantles the snow-crowned heights, when the sound of arms is silenced, when the glittering sabre returns to its scabbard, when dust once more gathers upon the bronzed gun-barrel, when the horse has broken its bridle, and its lifeless rider sleeps beneath a bush. Always, too, always will the vile bourgeois suck nourishment from the vitals of the worker; always will he exploit his labour and his struggles, his life and his death.

The question between private interests and well-being, parsimony and happiness, labour and exploitation, the Tricolour and the Red Flag—between the Bourgeoisie and the Proletariat—was thus well weighed in June, 1848. For the preservation of humanity, for the salvation of the Revolution and for our own, for the honour of those who died in June, for the sake of our forefathers, of our children, let us leave it there, and no longer seek to unite interests that are eternally incompatible.

The bourgeoisie will die, as it has lived, in final impenitence. It is not sufficiently disinterested to commit suicide; it cannot become so; it will succumb only when strangled by a superior force.

From whence will come that force? A formidable question. Alas! never again will a proletariat arise so desperate, so colossal, so glorious, so strong in principle, so certain of its programme, as that of those days of June, 1848. We need not hope for it; it was its supreme effort, and no agony lasts for five years! All that once was most alive in France now sleeps under the brown sod. We who remain no longer possess that inspiration that exhaled from their virile breasts; we lack such hearts and hands.

With her last sigh revolutionary France bequeathed the solution of the social problem to the nations; she is dead, vanquished in the throes of childbirth. Others must rear the child of her hopes. France died at the Revolution. Her star, which once blazed from the zenith, has sunk to the earth with those of the nations whom age overtook.

Cease to cast eyes of hope towards the West, O People. Ye wise men of Europe who await a new Messiah, it is from the East he will come; for it is in the countries where the sun rises that religions, prophets, and peoples are born.

Revolutionary Socialists, it is childish to dim our eyes weeping for the dead! Leave it to the demagogues to have masses sung for the repose of their souls! Once again I suggest the Cossacks for the salvation of society, for I conceive no Revolution to be possible except during a general war. And Russia alone can force this upon old Europe.

A sacrilege—let my invocation be one!... My voice for freedom never leant upon any power in heaven or on earth. Am I wrong if, born in this century of our decadence, I dare to tell all that I foresee?

FERRER'S LAST LETTER.

[This beautiful letter, written by Ferrer to Madame Soledad, the beloved companion in his great educational work of the Modern School, will be read with a sad interest by all.]

Montjuich Fortress, October 12, 1909.

Soul of my life, I have received this morning your card of the 9th and your letter of the 10th, both addressed to the Prison Modèle. You ask for my impressions of the counsel. I have already given them to you in a letter written to you the same evening as the trial, and which probably they have not allowed to be forwarded.

To-day I am able to tell you about my impressions, of my stay in this fortress. In my letter of yesterday, which by a misunderstanding of my own you will receive later than this one, I gave you a humorous account of a discussion I had commenced with the Sister Superior of the prison, also of the departure for Montjuich, which amused me greatly by its theatrical procedure, as you may read in my letter. My first impressions of my stay here are very good. The Governor-General has been kind to me to the extent of giving me the best room in the fortress. The officers in their turn, and also the soldiers, have been prodigal in their attentions and their kindness to me, so that it is a thousand times better for me here than in solitary confinement in the prison. My room is so bright, with so much sunshine and fresh air, that nothing would be wanting were it not that you are not with me.

But—you will ask—do you not think of the death penalty the Public Prosecutor demands and your enemies invoke? No, no, my friend, no! Who would be able to think of death in the light of this sun, shining so brightly? There is the Sun which brings light, there is the Sun shining forth from you, and there is Sunshine in my soul and conscience, because truth and the desire for good fill them.

No, I have no time to think of death; I wish only to think of the life we shall soon be living together again when justice will be done me—for one day, sooner or later, justice *will* be done. I want to think but of Mongat, of the books for our School, of the progress that Rationalist education is going to make. And above all, I think again and again of the happy destiny that will fill our lives with endless love and good fortune. Is it not strange!... People tremble at the name of this prison—and the families of those shut in it have good reason to tremble. Well, for myself, I had quite a contrary impression in crossing this threshold. So do not grieve for me, my dear one, nor let the comrades who share your exile suffer. I would not have you thinking that I am sad!

Besides, after such a defence as has been made for me, it would not be reasonable for an accused to have any fears. My counsel has not only defended me personally, but also our dear Modern School and our educational work. His defence was so ardent, so passionate, and now, my Sol, I can die happy, assured that my work—which is my life—will not die with me. And since my work lives, what matters death to me?

Tell me, have you read the defence published nearly in full by *Las Noticias*, and which I have sent you? Did it not cause you emotion? Did you not all weep while reading it? For my part I will tell you that yesterday, receiving a visit from my counsel, the first thing I said to him was, How happy my emotion was on the 10th on reading

Here, dearest, the Judge (Valerio Raso) has come to interrupt me, and to announce that they will lead me to the chapel, and... Already in yesterday's letter I had taken my leave of you... I love you, and I love all those who have loved me.

F. FERRER.

This is exclusively for you.

INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION.

(Conclusion.)

So much has the new faith in Industrial Organisation become a habit with some who would otherwise be revolutionists, that it is well to follow the argument much further.

We will now approach the question from another standpoint, and deny that the politics of a nation are merely the reflex of economic conditions. First, however, let us be careful to be clear as to what we mean by that expression, "economic conditions." We will define it.

In producing and distributing food, clothes, houses, etc.—i.e., the necessities and luxuries of life—individuals are led to associate, while the same compelling force brings them into contact with natural conditions. The total of these relationships of individuals, singly and in groups, to each other and to the forces of Nature, are said to be the economic conditions. People may associate for the worship of God or for horse-racing, for hunting foxes or for running newspapers. These objects will bring them into relationship with each other and with Nature, but these relationships are *not* the economic conditions. Some, however, argue that all associations spring from, and are moulded and limited in the long run by economic conditions, as defined above. This is what we deny.

The various institutions in society are interdependent; some extend their influence more widely and powerfully than others. There is no doubt that the manner in which the necessities of life are produced is a more powerful influence than has been admitted by moralists and metaphysicians; but, unfortunately, the economists, like every other school, are apt to forget that it is the duty of their science to deal exclusively with its subject. This is a course adopted to suit our limited capacities, it being necessary to exclude other subjects to simplify the problem. But, having obtained these facts, to neglect to associate them with the knowledge gained of other subjects is simply to acquire the proverbial little and dangerous knowledge. It is to obtain a distorted view of life, and to entirely neglect the only object of study.

An inquiry will show that many of the various associations in society have origins as distinct as has the economic organisation, while each of these associations has its influence on the political constitution.

Among the many influences which might be mentioned as helping to originate and mould government is the belief in God. "But," exclaims the "economic" Socialist, "comparative history shows that religions take various forms in different periods and various countries, according to the respective stages of economic development in those countries. Therefore, though religion may influence government, yet this is merely the indirect action of economic conditions."

Verily! Jehovah was impotent compared with this god of these "scientific" Socialists. Except ye believe on him, ye cannot be saved.

Let us reply. A short study of comparative religions shows us that different countries have similar religions when the general aspects of Nature—the landscape—are similar. Where the forces of Nature are great and awe-inspiring, wide rivers, great waterfalls, and rugged mountains, the imagination is stimulated and reason subordinated to it. The people are in direct contact and daily intercourse with Nature in her wildest and most fearful guise. She is believed to be inexplicable because science has not yet explained her; but inexplicable, unknowable, unthinkable, etc., etc., is God. Thus, out of our ignorance we create the deity. The point at present is that he was not turned out at the factories or by machinery or by any industrial process; yet who shall say that belief in him has had no share in creating the power of government?

It would be easy to show also that conventional morality, with its consequent institutions for forcing conformity to its code, arose neither from religion nor economic conditions, greatly as it has been influenced by both.

It is a theory of modern science that the fundamental forms of substance—i.e., the eternal basis of all things—are capable of "unconscious" inclination; indeed, that this inclination and attraction are at the very basis of and responsible for evolution, while the most passionate and complex love affairs of to-day are derived directly though remotely from this same primitive sensation. Whether we are prepared to believe this or not, it is quite certain that it would be impossible to find the origin of our ideas concerning these relationships either in religion or economics. They spring first from the inherent nature of such relationships, and secondly from the conditions under which those individual relationships will take place. Among this latter element, of course, social conditions take an important place, and economics play a large part in moulding those social conditions.

It would not be difficult to push this argument much further, but we have gone far enough to show the mistake of raising economics to the exalted throne of the all-creating god. Yet many there are who do so, who look upon their master as the one living force in human society, to which all else must give place. They declare that the laws which govern the progress of society are no more to be thwarted than those which regulate the accomplishment of the seasons by the earth in its journey round the sun. Their doctrine reduces them to passive spectators. Economics created and moulded government. Economics now will inevitably bring about a revolution in society, and the utmost we can do, so to speak, is arrange ourselves in ranks convenient for this all-powerful general.

What monster, then, is this in whose hands—or should I say

talons?—we are such toys, to whom we fall so easily a prey? The preacher of our religion, the creator of our morality, a dictator to our Governments, and finally, the organiser of our emancipation! Omnipotent master, our life is but to discover thy laws. We obey and follow thee.

Such is the attitude of mind arising from their logic. But this is not science. It is superstition. Superstition, who has lived so long on the blood and brains of the human race, and who, falling on bad times, vainly attempts to disguise herself under the cloak of science. It is easy to turn from one creed to another, but it is difficult to change one's attitude of mind. One day we may be saying of God, "To whom be ascribed, as is most justly due, all might, majesty, dominion, and power"; and the next day we say the same of the State or some other fetish. "Thy will be done," we say to our Father in Heaven, or the King, or the majority. We turn, as it were, from one to the other, but still remain on our knees.

Gods, kings, and governments of all descriptions, in each we have successively seen the cause of all our ills and joys. On their wrath or pleasure we saw depending the misery and disease, or happiness and health, of the human race. Anywhere, everywhere we have turned in desperation to place our responsibility outside ourselves, and now have we thrown these external powers aside but to place our faith in and become subject to another—the Organisation, industrial or economic, or whatever adjective may be used in attempting to make it sound "practical."

Man must ever be limited by the exactions of time and space, the conditions of existence. These now, perhaps fortunately, demand a somewhat abrupt ending to this article. To sum up, then, and in doing so answer the question: "What should be our attitude towards 'Industrial Unionism'?"

Speaking of organisations in general, we might point out that the only useful organisation is that which is the result of unity. Common desires and hopes, and the activity of living individuals, is an organisation, and this is the only beneficial collective power. An organisation to create unity is only a huge machine for binding potent individuals into an impotent mass. To steal a paragraph on the group system from Jean Grave: "To group only with individuals with whom one is in entire agreement, and for the point alone on which one agrees, this is the only fruitful way of grouping. It is perhaps the end of parties; it is the beginning of the establishment of individual liberty."

Now, speaking of this organisation in particular. First, we have supposed the political institution to be the result of economic conditions alone. Secondly, we have shown that this is merely a supposition and is contrary to the facts. In both arguments we have attempted to show that economic organisation is not the "Hey presto!" to the Social Revolution. G. B.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

GLASGOW.

The first two of our series of propaganda meetings have been most encouraging, both from the point of view of attendance and the keen interest displayed in questions and discussion. These meetings are held every alternate Sunday at 7 p.m. in the Brassfinishers' Hall, 36 Main Street, Gorbals.

On Sunday, December 25, our comrade M. R. Rollin lectured on "The Revolution in Russia." On Sunday, January 8, the lecturer will be our comrade A. Max; his subject, "Inequality"; and on Sunday, January 22, our comrade Dugald Semple will deliver an address on "The Sermon on the Mount, from the Tolstoyan Standpoint."

This is the first attempt to run a series of Anarchist lectures in Glasgow for about ten years, and judging from the amount of ignorance displayed upon the subject an active propaganda of Anarchist ideals is a great and pressing need. It is necessary for the successful carrying through of these meetings that all comrades should support us by advertising them and by bringing in the unconverted.

Our group meetings, held on the first and third Tuesdays of each month, in the Clarion Scouts' Rooms, 26 Elmbank Crescent, have been well attended, and have provided a very necessary rallying-point for the revolutionary spirits of this city. We are endeavouring to make these meetings educational as well as social by having a series of papers and discussions on all subjects connected with Anarchism. The idea is to get the man who has only just begun to study our principles to come to the group meetings and voice his difficulties, to take part in the discussions, and associate with the comrades; in this manner he will get a knowledge of Anarchist ideas, in a very short time, which he could not acquire in months of hard, solitary reading. Group meetings in January on Tuesdays, the 3rd and 17th, at 8 p.m. J. P.

LIVERPOOL.

During the dark December days the comrades of the Revolutionary Industrialists are indulging in educational work within their ranks. Kropotkin's "Conquest of Bread" is the book under discussion every Monday evening at 8.30 p.m. A chapter or two is read by the comrades, after which it is freely discussed. On Sundays at 8.30 p.m. lectures are delivered by speakers of all shades of opinion at the Club

Rooms, 2 Birchfield Street, Islington. This "arming of the brain" will be exceedingly useful for propaganda in the summer months.

On December 26 the comrades made things merry and bright, and invited likely recruits to the festivities. Our energetic secretary, Comrade Muston, 266 Smithdown Lane, will be glad to receive any communications dealing with the propaganda of Revolutionary Industrialism.

The International School, 1 Clarendon Terrace, Beaumont Street, keeps its young spirit up in spite of the weather. My young comrades are determined to stick to the school, although we are so unpopular with our neighbours. Let my young comrades realise that this unpopularity will only serve to inspire them with determination to hold fast to that which they think is true. Abuse and calumny are not arguments strong men and women are subdued by. Be strong!

I am pleased to announce that Geo. Davison invites the children to take tea at the school some evening in January.

Donations (December):—F. Goulding 6d., W. M. 9d., F. B. 6d., B. Black 2s., School 4s. 6d.

International Club, Spekeland Buildings,
Canning Place.

DICK JAMES.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(December 7—January 11.)

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—E. Rhodes 2s, Anon £1, H. C. D. 5s.
FREEDOM Subscriptions.—B. Mandl 1s 11d, M. Silverman 2s 1d, G. Harvey 1s 6d, G. Glass 1s 6d, C. H. Grinling 1s 6d, J. Osborne 1s 6d, J. Blundell 1s 6d, J. Hutton 1s 6d, A. C. Zibelin 1s 6d, J. T. Staveley 3s, W. Howarth 1s 6d, S. Wills 1s 6d, L. Carter 2s, Gooradze 1s 6d, Dr. Janisvili 1s 6d, W. Gunn 1s 6d, G. Stechert 3s, T. Jones 1s 6d, A. Thornevell 1s 6d, E. A. Hunt 1s 6d, E. D. Hunt 1s 6d, G. Davison 1s 6d, A. Barker 1s 6d, W. Southworth 1s 6d, J. Hose 3s, R. Lumley 1s 6d, C. Langston 1s 6d, R. J. Howells 1s 6d.
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