

Freedom

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NOTES.

Law and Industrial Slavery.

We are glad to see that the protest against Will Crooks's Labour Disputes Bill which was made in the last issue of FREEDOM has been generally supported by Socialists and Labour men. The General Federation of Trade Unions has published a long manifesto against the Bill, in the course of which it says, "Recent strikes have shown beyond doubt that the quickest method of securing the consideration of evil conditions and low wages is by industrial action." This is the lesson which must be learned by the working classes. They know from past experience how difficult it is to obtain any amelioration of their lot by Parliamentary means—the history of the nineteenth century is conclusive upon this point. The State will make no attempt, and careful inquiry will prove that it can make no attempt to seriously modify, much less abolish, wage-slavery. The abolition of landlordism and capitalism, with its consequence, poverty for the many, is not "practical politics," but a revolutionary Labour proposition. Yet this is the paramount, the essential, object to be fought for, and trivialities of Parliamentary controversy are quite beside the mark. On the other hand, every new law which is passed, ostensibly to ameliorate the condition of the poor, places new fetters upon them and creates new crimes.

Workers Gain by Direct Action.

It is pleasant to record any admissions of the advantage gained by the Direct Action of the workers which are made by advocates of the ballot-box stupidity, and therefore the remarks made by Keir Hardie at Aberdare on September 26th are worthy of attention. He is reported as saying: "A year ago the public mind was filled with what was called the constitutional crisis. Last autumn, however, an event happened which completely obliterated every political consideration and caused a great uprising of the working class. The best estimation he had been able to form of the result of the strike up-to-date was that £10,400,000 yearly increase in wages had been secured. This showed the real power of the working class when it was properly exerted." If this estimate is accurate, and we hope it is, it ought to strike the dullest mind that the comparison of such methods with Parliamentary impotence or antagonism should incline the working classes to a vast extension of their action along these lines. Of course, even then little of permanent value can be obtained unless there is a great increase in the study of economic problems by working men and women. Action without intelligence is akin to the conduct of people when they are deceived by electioneering cries and lies, and flock to the ballot-box to "choose the best man." With knowledge, solidarity, and determination, Labour's emancipation can be speedily assured.

What will the Railwaymen Do?

The Commission of Inquiry is nearing the end of its labours, and probably will advise some paltry make-believe of "recognition" of the men's Unions, and in return for that "concession" the men will be bound in penalties enforced by their own societies to abide the tricks and delays of Conciliation Boards. It is hardly creditable that the men after all they have suffered and endured will foolishly agree to any such "settlement." But it is to be hoped that they will not make the mistake of restricting their action, and courting failure by giving the companies adequate notice of their attack. Their grievances are great and numerous and of long standing. We trust that they will be joined and supported in their action by allied sections of labour. Meanwhile some of Mr. Chiozza Money's figures given in the *Daily News* might be studied with advantage. He says that for

the year 1910 the railway companies made a net profit of £47,355,889. Wages and salaries of every kind and all materials and expenses amounted to £76,569,676.

Coal Miners Next.

The time is rapidly approaching when the country will be faced with another great industrial crisis. This time the question of a minimum wage for those who work in the coal mines and the abolition of piecework will, it is said, be the main points in the conflict. In every coalfield these and other local grievances are agitating the minds of the workers. In many places the men have been chafing and even rebelling against the inaction imposed upon them by the officials. The men would have readily thrown in their lot with the railway and dock workers a month ago, but were held back. Our own feelings are tinged with regret that they did not move in one vast body while the miners in South Wales were so heroically fighting against the monstrous tyranny and robbery of their employers. Let us hope that they too will be able to join in the general revolt. Now that the object lessons have been so forcible, the days of sectional defeat should be past. We are of opinion that the coal miners will receive the undivided sympathy of their fellow-workers right through the land.

Laundry Workers Revolt.

Women and children have ever since the commencement of the industrial system been the hapless victims of the capitalist. Especially is this the case amongst the women employed in the laundry world since it became possible to conduct the business on a large scale, and the blessed principle of competition was introduced in order that the business might be exploited by the investor and the capitalistic "captain of industry." And so in the laundry districts of London the women slave in thousands drenched in steam and water or baked in extreme heat for twelve or thirteen hours per day for two shillings, two and sixpence, or a few pence more. Seven to ten shillings per week are the normal rates of pay. Fines are imposed upon them for late arrival at work, and out of all proportion to their remuneration. This industry demands its toll also in infantile mortality, not to mention the individual degradation which must result from the dehumanising conditions. It is a work of mercy to assist and encourage the attempt to form a Union amongst these workers, and we earnestly wish them every success.

A Sidelight on the "Justice" Slander.

An item of news contained in the *Chicago Bramer* of August 27th, 1911, is of importance in nailing down the lie in reference to Emma Goldman for which the editor of *Justice* is responsible. It appears that a romantic attachment of a lawyer named Dibble for Mrs. Olarovsky, the "charming widow of a distinguished Russian diplomatist," has given publicity to the fact that the said Olarovsky "died fifteen months ago." It will be remembered that this was the man whom Quelch's "informant" (?) was supposed to have heard say (time and place not given) that Emma Goldman was a police spy! So the actual facts of the case stand thus:—An anonymous "informant" skulking behind Quelch, refusing all details of any proof, makes this infamous accusation as coming from a man who, it now turns out, has been in his grave fifteen months. What can one say to such a mixture of venom and stupidity as this slander has brought forth? Only this, perhaps, that Quelch is missing a good thing in not getting himself appointed editor of the detective stories in the "penny horrors" of the blood-and-thunder school.

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*.

AN OPEN LETTER TO A SOLDIER.

A word with you, Tommy Atkins! About those strikes, you know. They meant a lot of extra work for you and your chums, didn't they? A lot of "messaging about," too. And you don't like "messaging about"; no one does. You found it tiresome. Naturally. You didn't join the Army to do police work—and worse. You enlisted because you wished to fight for your King and Country. I'm not so sure about that, though. Men go into the Army for so many reasons. Unemployment, for one. Starvation is a good recruiting-sergeant, when you come to think of it. Anyhow, whether you wanted to fight for your King and Country or not, you didn't enlist for the purpose of shooting down your own countrymen. That's what strike-duty means, Tommy. You may not be called on to fire. But if you are, it will be against working men that you will pull the trigger. Your own brothers, Tommy; for after all you are working class yourself, when you come to think of it.

Yes, I know they'll tell you you're a gentleman, when they want your help very badly. "A gentleman in khaki," eh, Tommy? That's when they think about you; but they only think of you when they want you, for all that. A gentleman, Tommy! They don't exactly pay you a gentleman's wage; they don't feed you exactly as though you were a gentleman. Perhaps they don't really think you're one, Tommy. Perhaps it's only "soft soap." Anyway, if you venture to act as though you are a gentleman, well—! Your officers *are* gentlemen, and you—you get fourteen days' C.B. for insubordination. Discipline must be maintained, they will tell you. Discipline, Tommy. You know what that means. Do as you're told.

That's what's the matter with strikers. They're not gentlemen and they won't do as they're told. It's very sad, Tommy. Very. The gentlemen who are kind enough to employ those workmen feel hurt about it. They feel very hurt indeed, and they think—not out loud, Tommy; they are too wise for that—they think it would do those workmen good if they were hurt as well.

Of course, the workmen, who are not gentlemen, and their wives, who are not ladies, and their children—their "brats," as the ladies and gentlemen would say—are hurt every day of their lives. Many of them are hurt so badly that they don't recover, Tommy. There are more workmen killed and injured in this country in one year than were killed and injured during three years of the South African War. Not very pleasant, Tommy, when you come to think of it. Then there are the others. They get hurt, too. Not enough to eat; not enough clothes; not enough boots; not enough firing; not enough pure air. But they get so used to it that they almost forget that it hurts, so it doesn't really count, does it? If it hurt more, there might be less insubordination, less going on strike. So the gentlemen who employ these workmen think that if they were hurt a little more they would come to their knees. Of course, the gentlemen don't say that; they only think it. "Come to their senses," is what they say. They must be brought to their senses, Tommy.

So the police are fetched and they get in a little truncheon practice. (Do you remember that Sunday in Liverpool, Tommy, when they even used their truncheons on cripples?) Then the working man comes to his senses and goes back to work with a bandaged head. And he and his wife and his children continue to go short as before. Food, clothing, boots, etc. You know.

But sometimes the workmen refuse to come to their senses. (That's very tiresome and it seems to be increasing, Tommy. Actually increasing!) Well, the police get tired of smashing heads. Also the workmen get tired of having their heads smashed. Then *you* are called in, Tommy. Fifty rounds of ball. You know. You are marched into the streets and the people throw stones. It's very bad of them. (Their masters, who are gentlemen, don't throw stones. But, then, their masters' stomachs are always full.) You stand in the street until it gets too hot for anything. Then the gentleman in-command of your company gives the order to fire. And you—you obey orders, Tommy. "Yours not to reason why," they tell you. Yours to fire—on your own class.

But perhaps they are wrong, Tommy. Perhaps, if you thought it out, you would notice that these working people, your brothers and your sisters, throw bricks when they know the answer will come in bullets. They are desperate. People are not rendered desperate easily, Tommy. It is funny, too, when you come to think of it, that the gentlemen who are quarrelling with their workpeople keep far away from the bricks and the bullets. They are not desperate, you see. Only determined. You might wonder, if you started to "reason why," that these gentlemen do not settle their quarrels themselves, instead of dragging you into it. You might—but there, Tommy, if once you start thinking about the rights and wrongs of the matter, there's no telling where you will stop. You and the rest of your chums might end by refusing to shoot. They did that in France the other day. No wonder your officers, who are gentlemen, are anxious that you should not think too hard, or read too much. Insubordination, Tommy. Discipline, Tommy.

If you ceased to obey orders like that, what *would* the world come to? What, indeed! Some one has got to "keep the working people in their proper places." (Have you seen the slums, Tommy? "Their proper places"!) The masters and their friends the politicians, who are paid to run this great Empire of ours, at our expense but for their benefit—they can't be expected to do the bludgeoning and the shooting.

It would spoil their dinners, Tommy. Not a chunk of beef and a piece of "duff," but six courses *and* wine.

It will be a bad day for the good, kind employers, and the patient, uncomplaining shareholders, and their friends the gifted, benevolent Cabinet Ministers, when you start thinking. When you get your discharge you will be a common working man once more, Tommy. What then? You will get a job. If you can, that is.

"Oh, Tommy, Tommy Atkins, you're a good 'un, heart and hand." But that's when you're in the Service, chummie; in His Majesty's Service! When you're out of it and hunting for a job you may run up against this:—

NO EX-SOLDIERS NEED APPLY.

If you don't, if you get a job. What then?

You discover that you're over-worked. Speeding-up, Tommy. You're underpaid, too. You can live on very little, not being a gentleman like your kind employer. But you can't even get that. Your mates—lots of 'em old Service men, too—are in the same boat. You get "fed up." All of you. You say: "If we can't get enough to keep ourselves and our wives and our kids, we'll chuck it till we can." You "down tools." You come out on strike. What then, Tommy?

The kind masters and their friends don't look upon you as "a gentleman in khaki," because you're out of it. They discover that you're "a discontented cur," instead. You are no longer "one of the bulldog breed" either, but "a disorderly skulker." Funny, isn't it? The police are called in and they beat you off whilst the kind employer tries to fill your place with "blacklegs." They don't treat you gently either, Tommy. Truncheon practice, Tommy. You are annoyed. At last you grow desperate, chummie. The wife and the "kids." Is there no justice for working men? Must they be crashed to the ground because they demand a living wage? It becomes unbearable. What then?

The soldiers, Tommy. The soldiers. Fifty rounds of ball. You know. No need to tell you what happens. You are enraged. Maddened. Stones fly through the air. Then the officer gives an order. "Theirs not to reason why," Tommy. They bring their rifles to the shoulder—

If you were in Liverpool, Tommy, you must have seen a lot of old soldiers. Not amongst the well-fed gentlemen in the restaurants and hotels. A few of them were in police uniform. The rest were—where? Amongst the strikers, chummie. With their medal ribbons on. They had served their country like Britons. They risked being shot like dogs!

Think it over, Tommy. Think it over.

LANGDON EVERARD.

A Statement from the Working Class of Mexico

To the 44th Annual Trades' Union Congress.

(Distributed by Order of the Standing Orders Committee.)

BROTHER WORKERS,—

The appropriateness of this address to your Congress as a body of Trade Unionists will quickly become apparent to you if you shall prove sufficiently mindful of the universality of working-class interest to not be deterred, by their somewhat general nature, from reading closely the statements contained in the first two paragraphs—statements which you will presently perceive to be necessary to the conveying of a proper and complete understanding of the peculiar importance, to Trade Union interests, which is possessed by the apparently far-off struggle of the workers of Mexico for land and liberty.

It is an admitted historical fact that, in laying its plans to extort from the worker the surplus value produced by his toil, the master class has always taken special care to seize the ownership, first of the resources of nature, and then of the tools of production and exchange—the reason for this strategy being found in the manifest truth that when the worker is thus cut off from the free access to the land, and from the opportunity to employ himself, he will be compelled to seek employment from the class which has seized these privileges; and, through thus finding himself at the mercy of the master, will be compelled to accept the master's terms and to give up a portion of the product of his toil in return for the bare favour of being employed at all.

From the Trade Union point of view, it is obvious that this policy of thus fencing in the worker from every chance to work and live, except by permission of the master class, is also the means by which in every centre of industry there is purposely kept on hand—"just around the corner"—a certain surplus supply of unemployed and therefore starving men, driven by their dire suffering to be willing to sell their labour power for the bare physical necessities of life, and therefore available as a constant and never-failing instrument by which the master class is able to keep the employed worker continuously at that point of virtual enslavement where there is returned to the working class, as its full compensation, only that small fractional part of the product of their toil which is sufficient to merely supply them with the energy to continue to work, and to breed new slaves for their masters, rather than become tramps or commit suicide.

And since, as a result of this common policy of the master class, the world over, it is to-day the fact that land otherwise capable of being reached and used by the workers has everywhere been seized and held

at prices or under conditions which place it far beyond the reach of the bare-handed worker—insomuch that in no part of the earth is it now possible for the bare-handed worker to live except under the sad alternative of either selling himself to a master or of facing risk of death or imprisonment for seizing the land and the tools from the hands of the master class—from all this it is abundantly evident that those who in any part of the world may thus prove brave enough to face this risk of death, and capable enough to succeed in thus wresting the land and machinery from the grasp of the master class, and honest enough to place these resources and instrumentalities on a basis of use by and for the working class, are at the same time performing for organised labour, throughout the world, the great and almost inestimable service, not only of providing a haven of refuge for unemployed workers who would otherwise constitute a chief agency for the forcing of unfair wages and conditions upon the employed workers, but also of furnishing an inspiring example and precedent for the speedy emancipating of the land and its products in other parts of the world also.

It is precisely this service to the cause of organised labour, throughout the world, which is now being performed by the working people of Mexico in their unprecedented and determined movement to seize back the lands and utilities of Mexico from the grasp of the unscrupulous financiers, who have acquired a nominal (and to a large extent a very recent) title to those lands as a result of a series of wicked conspiracies entered into by these capitalists with the ring of corrupt Mexican officials, who for many years past have battered on their native land like the vultures that tore the vitals of the chained Prometheus.

Under the rule of these officials, who for years have made only the most farcical pretences of being chosen by the people and of responsibility to the people, this stealing and deeding away of the people's land was followed by a similarly iniquitous granting of concessions for railroads, and of all the various forms of capitalistic enterprise which follow in the wake of the railroad; and this entering by Mexico into the very centre of the toils of the capitalist system has been further emphasised by the fact that nearly all the members of the working class who, under the inevitable compulsion of this capitalism, undertook to organise Trade Unions, or even to agitate for better conditions without actual organisation, were ruthlessly shot down or imprisoned.

Nevertheless, the movement was kept up by those who survived or escaped this ruthless prosecution; and in every part of Mexico the peasants or working people have now received a degree of economic education which has proved sufficient to impel them to refuse to accept the continuance of capitalist methods now attempted to be forced upon them under the self-assumed dictatorship of Madero—a wealthy landowner and political aspirant, who is now openly accepted by the official ring as the pliant tool of their financiering allies in place of Diaz, the president recently deposed in the hour of his failing physique.

In accord with this enlightened attitude, these workers are in every quarter of Mexico refusing to give up their weapons, and are re-occupying and cultivating their lands without regard to the parchment titles held by the financial ring. The latter gentlemen are now busily engaged in bargaining for the invasive support of their inequitable claims by the Governments of Germany and France and other foreign powers.

No such invasion, however, will be able to subdue the determination of the Mexican workers to abolish private ownership of land and of the instruments of production and exchange. These workers, being about three-fourths Indian by race, constitute practically the whole nation, and they are resolved to neither yield their lands nor to give "compensation" to these capitalists who by corrupt practices have acquired technical title to these lands.

This wonderful movement is the first instance in modern economic history of a disinherited class boldly taking back the land that had been taken away from them by the tricks of the law; and as an immediate sequence to the success of this their heroic struggle for land and liberty, the workers of the entire world are freely invited to participate as individuals in the material benefits of this expected victory, and are moreover urged and encouraged to obtain similar benefits in their own countries by taking full advantage of the precedent thus established as to the best manner of dealing with those privilege-seeking classes who, by corrupting the representatives of the people, have placed themselves defiantly on record as wilfully and knowingly "buying into a quarrel" with the people, and who have thereby estopped themselves from the right to demand "compensation" from the people.

For the glorious example of working class solidarity which has recently been given to the workers of the world by you, the working people of Great Britain, we extend to you our fraternal and admiring congratulations. We regard this your recently begun and, as we believe, your permanently continuing movement, as a bright harbinger of the escape of the working class of Great Britain from the long centuries of persecution which have been heaped upon you as a result of that same process of land-grabbing and tool-grabbing which, as above indicated, has also been practised against us; and we give you our greetings and sympathy in the firm conviction that from you also a similar greeting and sympathy will be extended to us.

Fraternally and sincerely,

THE WORKING CLASS OF MEXICO,

By Honore J. Jaxon, Special Envoy to Europe on behalf of the Insurrectos of Mexico.

Inquiry from friends is cordially invited. European address: 27, Doughty Street, W.C., London, England. American address: 1751, West Lake Street, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A. Address of *Regeneracion*, our newspaper (printed partly in Spanish and partly in English): 519½, East Fourth Street, Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.

COMMERCIAL WAR AND MOROCCO.

Once again Capitalism and Government have brought the peoples of England, France, and Germany to the verge of one of the most awful conflicts in the history of mankind.

The capitalists and financiers of France, Spain, England, and Germany have for many years been seeking to open up Morocco as a market for their goods and a sphere of investment for their capital.

This rivalry in itself has almost brought them to the point of armed conflict; but the Moorish tribesmen have been somewhat of a stumbling-block, inasmuch as they have made an actual conquest of their country by force a very difficult matter.

However, duplicity succeeded where simple violence failed, and the occupation of Fez by a French force, giving them a great advantage over their commercial rivals, brought with it a much more serious development.

The German Government, in sending a warship to Agadir on the pretext of safeguarding German commercial interests in that part of Morocco, really made a claim to establish a fortified coaling-station for its fleet in a most important strategic position. The struggle then was actually between England and Germany, though nominally between the latter country and France.

For weeks the financiers and the Government cliques have been negotiating in secret, and if they had failed to fake up some sort of agreement amongst themselves, millions of men of various nationalities would have been engaged in a terrible effort at mutual destruction.

Do people reflect on the fearful menace Capitalism and Government are to society? A "declaration of war" means wholesale destruction of life and property. Such a conflict could not occur without the loss of hundreds of thousands of human lives. If only to put an end forever to this holocaust of "outrages," Government ought to be abolished. Anarchy at the worst could not possibly produce so bad a state of affairs as a war between State Governments.

It is reported that Herr Bebel at the Congress of the German Social Democratic Party, while denouncing the idea of war in connection with Morocco, derided the idea of a general strike. He referred to it as "a joke." Well, so did members of his party in this country deride the idea until recently the general strike itself flung the lie in their faces. An international general strike against war is the greatest and grandest possibility of the time, and will focus the attention of the workers in all lands on the fact that their interests and enemies are everywhere similar.

It is quite true that the bogus cries of "patriotism" and the "safety of the Empire" would be raised by the cliques who compose the various Governments of Europe. None know better than they that no army corps could be mobilised and transported from place to place, no fleet could be provisioned, coaled, or completely armed for hostilities, if the workers in the mine, on the railway, the wharf, and in the dockyard refused to aid them.

Just as the transport workers of this country have recently demonstrated the complete dependence of the wealthy classes upon their daily labour, so the international general strike would prove beyond even plausible contradiction that Governments are powerless unless the workers are prepared to help them by their work.

Besides which, is it not time that the working people, from whose ranks the soldiery are recruited, declare to these people that they will not murder each other at their command. Utopian as the idea may appear to some minds, soldiers and sailors will learn that geographical or national boundaries do not make enemies of them; that their foes who deny them life and freedom reside at home in the countries in which they were born, and merely use them as catspaws, very often indulging in war or war-scapes in order to divert the people's attention from pressing social problems and to delay reform or stave off revolution?

There is no country now where militarism is safe from indictment. The ghastly idiocy of war and preparations for war, as well as the economic waste and moral degradation the whole system produces, is more and more recognised throughout the world.

Every war brings with it an exposure of the lies and rascality with which it originated and was accompanied, and the corruption, cruelty, cowardice, and incapacity the governing classes display.

Each one brings terrible loss and suffering to the poorer classes, and also exhibits to them the ingratitude of the rich to the men who have fought for them in their wars, but whom they afterwards cast on the streets to clem and die like dogs.

The working classes may be dull and stupid, but they are not so dull and stupid as to ignore these facts when they are forced upon their attention as they have been in recent years.

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The End of a Tyrant.

The end of Stolypin surprises nobody, not even the political and journalistic sycophants whose automatic expressions of "regret" are turned on like the records on a gramophone. This unspeakable brute disguised in human form prepared his own end just as certainly as he strangled or exiled the best and the bravest men and women of the Russian revolution. And not only of the revolution, but even those who had the least sympathy with the mildest political or educational reforms.

This monster held undisputed sway for six years. Let us take a hasty glance at the record of his crimes during that comparatively brief period.

The last six years of the Tsar's life at Tsarskoe-Selo was a nightmare of fear and dread, and he was kept in this state, a tool in the hands of others, by priests and political and religious charlatans, and, above all, by the policy of Stolypin, the real oppressor of Russia. Bagroff confessed he had intended to kill the Tsar, only he feared the pogroms that might follow. But every one understands that he chose the real despot, the real author of Russia's terrible sufferings. What are the facts of the Stolypin régime?

To begin with, Stolypin was appointed as Prime Minister on the understanding that he was to destroy the rights of liberty of conscience, liberty of the Press, right of assembly and association, and finally representative government, all wrung from the Tsar by the revolution of 1905. And as we have all seen, he has during the last six years been systematically destroying them. And what means did he adopt to carry out his reactionary crusade? During this time the whole of Russia has been practically in a state of siege under the special régime of Exceptional Temporary Law, giving to governors, to the police, even down to the pettiest agent of this most corrupt body, rights over the lives and the property of the whole of the Russian people. We all remember the case of the little girl, a child of seven, who, innocently looking from the window of the cell where her mother was imprisoned, was mercilessly shot for infringing the orders of Stolypin. Or let us recall again the case of a little boy of twelve who was hanged for stealing a rouble (two shillings). In connection with this particular crime it must be noted that in Russia capital punishment is not in force, not even for parricides, and that capital punishment was only sanctioned for attempts on the life of the Tsar or a member of his family. But under the rule of Stolypin this poor child was hanged in spite of petitions for mercy from many eminent persons.

During the last five years nearly 4,000 persons have been hanged, and the prisons of the whole Empire have been continuously filled to overflowing by politicals and suspects. Over 80,000 have been deported *without trial*, and simply by the caprice of police orders authorised by Stolypin. Innocent, exiled, and deported people are systematically kept in a state of starvation, and every local policeman has the right to shoot them under the pretext that they are trying to escape.

He destroyed, even against the better judgment and goodwill of the Conservatives, the liberty of Finland—that beautiful, peaceful, and progressive nation. He systematically persecuted Poles, Georgians, Little Russians, and the crimes he committed against these nationalities are known by the whole world.

A slayer of children, a would-be destroyer of nations, he had in a conspicuous degree that pettiness of spite which all tyrants have possessed. We give this one instance.

A doctor, a Jew, established in Moscow, and holding a University diploma, had a child, a boy. A few weeks after its

birth the Moscow police, wanting something to do, decided the child must leave the city *as the infant had no diploma*. The father protested to Stolypin that there was no Russian law to separate a newly born child from its parents. All in vain. Immediate expulsion was the order, and father, mother, and child were driven from their home. Such was the petty spite of this ferocious tyrant who trampled on everything human.

Let the mothers of England decide whether or not Bagroff's pistol has delivered Russia and the world from a monster whose like every humane person will hope we shall never look upon again.

The Trades Union Congress.

The 44th Trades Union Congress has met, talked, and enjoyed itself. It has dispersed, however, without giving a clear expression or a lead to the magnificent demonstration of fighting spirit and solidarity so recently exhibited by the rank-and-file of the workpeople in the whole of the transport industries.

One of the reasons for this is that the coal and cotton delegates still dominate the Congress. And these industries have remained almost untouched by the new spirit. The small section of Welsh miners who waged a gallant fight for a minimum daily rate of pay (the present wage of the miners is on a piece-work system) were not supported by the National Federation, and have been compelled to return to work.

The next reason for the feelings of the more advanced section of Trade Unionists not securing expression is that the very objects of the Congress are legislative and Parliamentary. They are—(1) To watch all legislation affecting Labour; (2) to initiate such legislation as Congress may direct. These are the *only* objects for which Congress is called together once a year, the rest being concerned with the duties of the Parliamentary Committee elected at these gatherings, and internal matters.

It will thus be seen that the very constitution of the Trades Union Congress precludes any really revolutionary proposals coming before it. Only occasionally, when it suits the purpose of the politicians in control, are "standing orders" suspended and a discussion on some wider issue in the Labour struggle allowed to take place. Nearly all the resolutions on the very long agenda deal with some technical grievance of those employed in a particular trade, and ask for some legislative measure to put it right.

Another curb upon the tongue of many delegates representing the larger Unions is the longing for and hope of some fat appointment under the Government. In fact, it would not be far from the truth to say that in many cases those who so zealously push these Labour legislative proposals expect to be appointed by the Government to help in their administration when they become law. All these and many minor factors combine to smother any effort made by isolated delegates to call attention to the struggle of the workers as a class against their exploiters.

Besides, the Congress has no power. It is purely a debating society, with the right of electing the Parliamentary Committee, whose functions are to try to get resolutions passed translated into law during the ensuing year, and to call the next Congress as decided.

In spite of all these reactionary influences, the Trades Union Congress does, in a clumsy way, reflect the real feelings of the majority of organised Labour. It is, after all, only active, energetic minorities who are revolutionary. The larger Trade Unions have already secured conditions of employment better than many of their fellows, and are by no means disposed to trouble very much about those more unfortunate.

The great feeling of expectancy that the Congress would make an attack upon the Government for having placed the country under martial law, has been altogether disappointed. Beyond a pious opinion expressed in a mild resolution, carefully prepared by the Standing Orders Committee, nothing has been done. The Home Office—the very one responsible for this infamy—was represented in the person of Mr. Shackleton. And Congress as a whole, through his personality, kissed the hand that had murdered their brothers. It was purely his personality that achieved this modern betrayal. He has been twice President of Congress, and though for some time a member of the Labour Party, has never been more than a moderate Liberal in politics. He was, however, one of the fairest, as also one of the strongest, Presidents it has ever had. Delegates could not forget this.

His salary of £600 a year, as chief Labour adviser to the Home Office, has been well earned for the rest of his life by this one act alone. It means many votes that would otherwise have

been lost. Instead of Congress denouncing the Government as the brutal murderers they are, it has received as a guest this official from the very office, responsible for the first bit of Russian despotism of modern times in Great Britain! Protests were made by the minority, but they were of no avail.

Underneath all the discussions, however, the recent events were felt. British workmen are notoriously without imagination. But no one anywhere is quicker to realise cold hard facts. And no soft words of respectable politicians, in or out of their own ranks, will ever be able to delude them as to the power they have in solidarity.

The General Strike was never mentioned openly in the Congress, but it was on every delegate's lips in private. And next to the exploiters and middle-class politicians, no one is so utterly scared at the prospect of it as many of those who did their best at the Congress to prevent it being discussed.

It is necessary to take the Congress day by day to get at the salient points raised. The first day is largely routine. Committees are elected and non-contentious resolutions, mostly technical, submitted and agreed to. The presidential address, printed in advance and agreed to by the Parliamentary Committee, is solemnly read by the Chairman, for which he is duly thanked. Attention was drawn to the fact that for the first time the Congress had been honoured (!) by being invited to attend the Coronation, and that the Chairman and another member of the Parliamentary Committee had been selected to represent Labour. Later on, gratification was expressed at the successful issue of the recent revolts of Labour, and a plea was made for the rank-and-file to trust their leaders. The inevitable vote of thanks followed, and a magnificent opportunity for a stirring lead to the present spirit among the workers was gloriously missed.

On the second day the report of the year's work of the Parliamentary Committee came before Congress. In the hearts of all the advanced delegates there was a feeling of resentment against the Government for its recent infamous action. This found first expression against several Government officials—recent active Trade Unionists—who were on the platform, representing the Board of Trade and the Home Office. In the report these had been described as "fraternal" delegates, and on attention being called to it, the Chairman said an error had been made, and it should be rectified.

Then a railwaymen's delegate, Mr. Bromley, secured the suspension of the standing orders "to protest against the action of the Parliamentary Committee in inviting any representative of the Government to attend the Congress and patronise the representatives of Labour." To prevent this being carried all the forces of the political wirepullers and office-seekers were brought into play. Shaw, of the Textile Workers, and Brace, of the South Wales Miners—the latter has been mentioned as likely to secure a position as mine inspector—did their best to save the situation for the Government. While the latter was making a silver-tongued speech and saying "Mr. Shackleton was no less a friend of Labour because he was where he was," a voice was clearly heard to say, "But the bullets kill just as quick." When the vote was taken, it was seen that the miners and the cotton operatives were voting against it. That sealed its fate, and it was defeated by a large majority. Thus the first attempt in Congress to censure the Government was downed.

The most exciting debate on the third day was over the resolution in favour of a Citizen Army. This is a British Social Democratic delusion, fostered by such Imperialistic Jingo Socialists as the journalist Blatchford and the old-time Social Democrat H. M. Hyndman. It was riddled by the Liberal Labour M.P. John Ward, who, still keeps a small Navvies and General Labourers' Union going, to enable him to visit Congress; and in a telling antimilitarist speech by J. R. Clynes, a Labour Party M.P.

The strange contradiction of both the mover and seconder of the resolution (Stokes, of the Glassblowers; and Will Thorne, of the Gas Workers, both also of the old but small Social Democratic Party) was that while they proved that the workers had nothing to fight for, "their only share of their country probably being contained in a flower-pot," they each declared their readiness to fight against invasion of this flower-pot, and urged the necessity of every able-bodied man being a soldier. The opponents pointed out that Lord Roberts and all conscriptionists said the same, and that they were only playing into the hands of these military reactionaries by their advocacy of a Citizen Army. This Socialist fantasy was heavily defeated.

On the fourth day the Government's proposals for sickness and invalidity insurance were discussed. It was extraordinary to notice the dexterity with which the Labour Party men

managed to eat all their previous arguments in favour of a non-contributory scheme of old-age pensions, in discussing these new proposals of Lloyd George. The fact is, the Labour Party is now so far committed to the Liberals that it is unable to take an independent lead on any question, except when the Liberals are supported by the Conservative Party. The Labour men do not want another election, so are afraid to defeat the Government. However, while Congress defeated an entirely non-contributory scheme, it carried, in spite of the opposition of the moderates, a resolution in favour of no contribution by those workers getting less than 15s. per week. This would apply largely to women and agricultural labourers.

Then a resolution severely condemning Will Crooks, M.P., the clown of the Labour Party, for introducing a Bill to make strikes illegal, was warmly carried. Finally for the day, a resolution in favour of a splendid secular education programme was carried by a majority of 7 to 1. It has been the habit of the Catholic Church during the last year or two to arrange a conference of all the Catholics who are sent as delegates, a day or two beforehand, and to make a "dead set" against secular education. It is terrible to see the raving passion of these men on this subject, urged on beforehand at their conference by the priests. Mostly Irish, and good fighters at all times, it is a pity the industrial and economic struggle cannot command a valour equal to that shown in their miserably reactionary attitude on this question affecting the children of the future.

It is difficult to sum up the tendencies discernible at the Congress. One overpowering influence is the blight of political ambition. Members of Parliament, Justices of the Peace, County Councillors, and Municipal Councillors swarm as delegates at the gathering. So far, the British workpeople have failed to grasp the fact that just as Capitalism is constantly attracting to its side new blood from the ranks of the workers in the competitive industrial struggle, so middle-class political institutions are for ever absorbing the best brains of the workers through democratic electioneering. And they do not yet see that this latter is a more insidious danger to the Labour movement than the loss of some of their erstwhile friends who have managed to become employers.

Those who have secured some public position through politics nearly always lend the weight of their influence, little or much, against revolutionary tendencies. They reflect the wretched snobbery of working-class respectability. Differences there are in shade and colour and degree; but they all urge strictly constitutional, one might say conservative, action. It was these past masters in manipulation who successfully smothered all frank discussion of the recent industrial revolt and prevented any declaration in favour of direct action. In short, these Labour politicians, in being and in heart (those who have got there and those who hope to), form at present an invincible lump at the Congress. They are working men with middle-class souls, longing for power of some kind over their fellows.

While there is no conscription in England anti-militarism is never likely to take the same strong, sharp form that it does on the Continent. What there is of it amongst the workers is largely a reflection of the Liberal and Quaker moral peace teaching, a kind of mild middle-class Tolstoyism. It is not a movement of revolt against an intolerable tyranny which every one feels, but rather an academic desire for peace. While it is not strong enough to prevent war if the interests of the wealthy classes called for one, as was proved a decade ago over South Africa, it has enough strength to prevent the establishment of new and dangerous forms of militarism, such as the fantastic Citizen Army of a few Imperialist Social Democrats.

Already in mentioning the resolution on education, reference has been made to the intervention of the Catholic priests. It is only of recent years that this Church has openly attempted to influence the Congress. To-day it is "secular" education they make the excuse for exerting their power over their followers. But will it end there? It is very doubtful. English Catholicism is a most deadly reactionary force. But while there are some of the influences for conservatism and even reaction in the British Trade Union movement, on the other hand there are factors at work among the younger and more advanced delegates which give one hope for the future. Everywhere the ideas of a "General Strike," of "Syndicalism," were being discussed by groups of delegates in private. The recent successes along these lines cannot be permanently smothered.

If Will Crooks's Bill dealing with strikes (making them impossible in fact) was condemned and killed, it was largely due to recent events. The older men have been staggered and the Parliamentary politicians dumbfounded by what has happened. Tom Mann is a popular idol among the younger element of the rank and file in the Trade Union movement. His pamphlets

are read all over the country. It will take time for these ideas to replace the Parliamentary humbug which has paralysed the Labour movement in Great Britain for the past ten years. The Labour politicians have had a fright. They still hold the reins of power in the Trades Union Congress. But the lesson as to where the real strength of Labour lies has gone right home to the hearts of the workers of Great Britain. Nothing can put them back to the old position. The Trades Union Congress of 1911 is the last of its kind. It will be compelled to unite with the Labour Party to hold its own against the new spirit and the General Strike.

JOHN TURNER.

THE AWAKENING OF PORTUGAL.

It is now an admitted fact that the change of Government in Portugal does not in any way concern the welfare of the people. Considering the circumstances under which the Republic was brought about, and the men who were provisionally put in power, even pessimists were at first inclined to believe that Portugal would not follow the beaten track of other Republican countries, but would sincerely try to fulfil the promises made to, and by which they deluded, the people. But we now see that, like other countries, it is simply a case of putting Manuel out and placing Braga or Arriaga in. The people are suffering in the same way as they did under monarchical rule. The same scandals that took place during the reigns of King Carlos and King Manuel are happening to-day. The only people who are really benefitting are the men who are actually in power.

The Republican press, which formerly used to speak so much about freedom, equality, and the people's happiness, now even refuses to publish notices sent in by the workers' Syndicates, and when referring to strikes invariably says that the strikers are in the pay of the Royalists.

One of the "advantages" brought about by the Republic was the increase in the cost of provisions. A public demonstration was arranged to take place on August 22 to protest against this increase and the scandalous way the new rulers are protecting the monopolists (whom they used to attack so vigorously while in the Opposition). The authorities, however, in spite of all the "democracy" of the new régime, thought it was not in their interests to allow this demonstration to be held, and so prohibited it. But the people were not to be balked of a right to which they were entitled even under the old régime, and instead of one, four big demonstrations were held. The following resolution was read, and approved by the people:—"That this demonstration of working people of Oporto, held at the suggestion of the Anarchist groups, protests against the insidious way in which the bourgeois press has referred to the recent strikes and especially to the revolutionary action of the people of Lisbon; and also protests against the action of the monopolists of oil and other necessities, who are trying to increase starvation amongst the working classes." Later, a comrade called the attention of the people to the great English strike, and after advising them to follow the example of their English comrades, proposed a resolution, which was also approved, congratulating the English workers on their adoption of revolutionary methods to fight their exploiters.

In one respect, however, the Republic seems to have done an enormous amount of good to the people—it opened their eyes. Formerly they were taught that if only the King could be got out and a President put in his place, all their troubles would be over, and life to them would be a paradise on earth. It was by these false pretences that the Republicans got the people to sacrifice their lives and fight for them. But they have since learned that nothing short of the abolition of all forms of government will bring freedom and fraternity, and that is what they are now fighting for.

MYER.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Spain.

The recent strikes in England have found an echo in Spain. In nearly every town the General Strike has been declared. The centres of the great movement are Malaga, Bilbao, Santander, Langreo, and Mieres. Owing to the provoking attitude of the troops, serious disturbances have occurred in Bilbao and Santander, which resulted in much bloodshed. Work is completely at a standstill in Asturias and in the adjacent mining districts. In Villafranca del Panadés partial strikes have been taking place for quite a long time, only now developing into a General Strike. The president and secretary of the Federacion Obrera Local (Local Workers' Federation) were arrested on the eternal charge of exciting the strikers to resort to violence. Juaquin Bueso, of the Workers' Federation of Barcelona, who was present at a public meeting in Villafranca, was also arrested on this charge.

M. F.

LATER NEWS.—From Madrid we hear that all the fault for the failure of the strikes rests with the Social Democrats. From Barcelona they say it lies at the doors of the Republicans of the Lerroux Party (Radicals). Valencia and Saragossa acknowledge that the matter was a pure Labour business, and that the Socialist and Republican political

parties had no business to interfere. And from Seville they give what we think the right comment—viz., that the revolution being the first thing needed, it was treason to let such an opportunity be lost by not supporting the movement. In that case, the defaulters are the Socialists of Iglesias in Madrid and the Republicans of Lerroux in Barcelona. If Madrid and Barcelona had supported the heroic struggle of the provinces, the victory of the revolution would have been certain. In Bilbao, Valencia, Gandia, Cullera, Carcugente, Ferrol, Gijon, Corunna, Malaga, Saragossa, Seville, etc., they did wonders. If Madrid and the Catalan provinces had joined, Alfonso would have been obliged to come and keep company with his Portuguese friend, Dom Manoel.

T. DEL MARMOL.

Brazil.

At San Paulo Anarchist propaganda is going ahead as usual. The new group "Guerra Social" and the "San Paulo Women's Association" are doing good work. The builders went out on strike on August 1st, and are confident of coming out victorious. In Sorocaba over 12,000 weavers are on strike.

In Rio de Janeiro a long-felt want has just been filled by the appearance of a new Anarchist fortnightly paper, *A Guerra Social*, published by the best elements in Rio. This paper should do much to encourage the propaganda and stir up things in Rio. There are murmurs of discontent amongst the dockers, stevedores, and carmen, who are expected to go out on strike shortly.

M. F.

THE WEEKLY PAPER.

In FREEDOM for September there appeared a circular letter stating that it was our intention to start a weekly Anarchist paper, and calling on all comrades to come forward *quickly* and do *something* towards the work of launching this paper. The response to that letter has been far from satisfactory. True, a few comrades have corresponded with us and become 10s. subscribers. It is true also that the Edinburgh comrades have set about organising a local conference, with a view to doing something. We want something more satisfactory than this. We take it for granted that the majority of the readers of FREEDOM are our comrades. We believe that you are not satisfied with the present condition of things, but would like to see in existence the Free Society, which is our ideal. We believe that you are willing to work towards the realisation of this end.

Here, then, is your opportunity. Here and now you can help to strike a blow at the tyranny that oppresses you. You can come forward imbued with the spirit of revolt; join with us, and working together we can endeavour to rend asunder the chains that hold us in bondage. We can breathe the air of the revolution. We can live!

We believe the time is now ripe for such a paper. We have stated so. We have already pointed to the fact that "revolutionary" politics, having been tried, have been found wanting. That the leaders have time and again been discarded. That the tendency now is toward Direct Action. That recent events have shown the great alteration that has taken place in the attitude of the workers. That all these things indicate that energy, confidence, and enthusiasm are all that is required to make our paper a success.

But we want *your* help. You must be included in that pronoun "*our*." You must come forward prepared to give us a helping hand. You must not remain any longer inactive philosophising, and wondering when the revolution is going to take place. You must come forward and help to make the revolution. Remember that "they who would be free themselves must strike the blow." Remember that there is plenty of work to be done. Remember that we *can* make this paper a success. Remember that a real live Direct Action paper, keeping in touch with the active element of organised Labour, will be one of our strongest weapons. Come forward, then; give us your help, and we will forge that weapon.

Get to work at once. Form a local group wherever possible. Get in subscriptions towards the £250 necessary for starting the paper. Raise money by concerts and lectures. Advertise the coming weekly, with a view towards its distribution. Send a letter to the Secretary, Glasgow Anarchist Group, 7 Holland Street, Glasgow. Deluge him with letters. Bombard him with inquiries or suggestions. Tell him you have become a 10s. subscriber, and are trying to obtain as many others as possible.

As has been stated, we are going to have a conference about Christmas to settle the final details of the paper. That conference will probably be held at Leeds, Manchester, or Liverpool. It rests with you, comrades of these towns, to settle where it will be held. It is for you to come forward and undertake all the necessary arrangements of the conference. Here is a fine opportunity for an energetic comrade. If you don't come forward and undertake the arrangements, nothing can be done. *Don't* wait to see if the comrades in the other towns are going to do it. *Do it yourself.*

We here in Glasgow are very busy. One of our comrades has run a successful smoking concert; another has run a social, also a great success. Collections are taken at open-air meetings. Subscription cards have been printed. We all are pretty busy, but our secretary wants more to do in the way of dealing with correspondence. You see that he gets more to do.

Perhaps some of the readers of FREEDOM don't agree with us.

about this weekly paper. Perhaps you think the time is not ripe. Perhaps you don't interpret recent events as we do. Perhaps you have other objections. If you have, let us hear from you; let us hear what you have to say; let us hear your objections. In any case, write to us. At any rate, justify your existence.

D. K.

NOTICE.

Early in November, our comrade G. Barrett, the prospective editor of the new weekly paper, will undertake a tour for propaganda purposes and to explain the aims and objects of the paper. Among the towns he will visit are Edinburgh, Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, London, and possibly Plymouth and Bristol. The co-operation of comrades is heartily invited to make the tour a success, and those who can arrange meetings in the above or any other towns should communicate as early as possible with G. Barrett, 7 Holland Street, Glasgow.

"The State: Its Historic Role."

This most instructive lecture of Kropotkin's, in the "Freedom Pamphlet" series, has now reached a fourth edition. It occupies forty-two pages, and is provided with an attractive red cover. The price is twopence. This edition appears at a most opportune moment, when the tendency towards reliance upon the State has been so rudely checked by recent occurrences.

Kropotkin undertakes the task of "thoroughly examining the idea... of the State... its essence, its rôle in the past, and the part it may be called upon to play in the future." He says:—"It is on the 'State' question that Socialists are divided... On the one hand, there are those who hope to accomplish the Social Revolution by means of the State: by upholding most of its functions, by even extending them and making use of them for the Revolution. And there are those who, like us, see in the State, not only in its actual form and in all forms that it might assume, but in its very essence, an obstacle to the Social Revolution: the most serious hindrance to the budding of a society based on equality and liberty; the historic form elaborated to impede this budding—and who consequently work to abolish the State, and not to reform it. The division is deep. It corresponds to two divergent currents which clash in all philosophy, literature, and action of our times."

A very thorough historical examination follows, which is of great value to all students of Socialism.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

GLASGOW.—Just now there is ample opportunity for those who are willing to be working members instead of only sympathisers. The Weekly Paper is a very important item, and ideas for raising funds would be very useful. Stamp books and subscription lists can be had from the secretary, so we shall expect quite a number of applications from those readers of FREEDOM who have not already had any.

A debate is being arranged (likely to take place at the end of October or beginning of November) with Govan S.D.P., on Social Democracy and Anarchism. Meetings are still held on Gaol Square at 7 p.m. on Sundays, when our comrade Barrett holds a good crowd and literature goes fairly well. As last winter, we intend having lectures in Brassfinch Hall on alternate Sundays, beginning on October 29, which will probably be a lantern lecture.

The Group meets every Tuesday at 8 p.m., in Clarion Rooms, 7 Holland Street. The first hour is given to business, after which some comrade reads a paper or starts a discussion. The following list has been arranged: October 3rd, McKay, "Progress of Anarchy"; 10th, Barrett, "Aims and Objects of Weekly Paper"; 17th, Kennedy, "What's in a Name?"; 24th, Stewart, and 31st, Scott; the subjects to be announced. A. F.

GOVAN.—The meetings here have finished for the summer, and though it is rather depressing that supposed sympathisers get no further than sympathising, our comrade Barrett by his constant efforts has roused much interest in Anarchism, which we hope will progress. A. F.

ABERDEEN.—Comrades in Aberdeen interested in the formation of a militant Anarchist group, and in the starting of an Anarchist weekly paper, are invited to communicate with JAY, c/o Mrs. Morrison, 25 Princes Street.

LIVERPOOL.—We are gently but firmly making headway in our open-air propaganda. Comrade Muston is leading the way in a strenuous manner. We have had several good meetings during the month, a visit from comrade Tanner enlivening things somewhat in this direction. The comrades have also been silently working in the distribution of leaflets and selling of pamphlets, which certainly tells in a most effective manner.

The aftermath of the strikes is the eager discussions of the various sections of the workers upon the question of how best to succeed next time. Never in the history of Trade Unionism has there been such a strengthening of the forces. The I.L.P. is not behindhand in exploiting this wonderful solidarity of the men by trotting out the numerous saviours of society for election. The last word of emancipation will not be said at the ballot-box, but in the street!

I take the opportunity of offering my sincere condolences to Fred Bower in his endeavour to emancipate the workers by jumping on their backs into the privileged position of a City Councillor. The plea that

elections are good opportunities for propaganda has been too often foisted upon us by the present Labour M.P.s and C.C.s. "Experience is a bitter school where fools grow wise." We have had enough of Parliament and Council. Let rotters go there; to idle their time away, but "honest Injuns" must be in the industrial arena rubbing shoulders with the workers.

We have just had a letter from our comrade Knight, of Brighton. In a town like that the "blight of respectability" is manifest in its inhabitants. However, the boys down there have been making things lively during the strike of the railway workers. It appears that the secretary of the A.S.R.S. deliberately held back the telegram that he received from London calling the men out on strike. Some of the men did not get their notices until three days had elapsed—after it was all over. "Two sergeants of the Irish Dragoons were taken in irons for refusing to go to Derby to shoot down the strikers there. Good luck to them. It all helps the cause." So much for our colleagues in Brighton. But why not give us a monthly report of things? It also helps the cause.

The International Club is closed. Kindly address letters, etc., to 15 Boswell Street. School Fund: F. Goulding 6d. DICK JAMES.

The following sums were contributed to the defence fund opened on behalf of our comrade Smith, who was arrested for distributing Anarchist leaflets:—L. P. 5s., G. S. 2s. 6d., G. D. 14s., S. H. M. 2s. 6d., Total £1 4s. As the receipts balance the expenses of the case, the subscription list is closed. S. H. MUSTON.

BURNLEY.—Large crowds are the rule on the Market every Sunday night. On the 10th I had an audience of quite 1,500 for two hours. After dealing with the Trades Union Congress and the Labour M.P.s' Bill to kill strikes, I talked for an hour on Anarchy pure and simple. Every apostle of the Government cult, from S.P.G.B. to Tory, is having a rare old time misrepresenting me; and I laugh and tell my audience that as most of these people are their open enemies by interest, the fact of them all being against Anarchism ought to make them consider seriously if the Anarchist be not right. There is no great sale of literature at present, but it will grow as prejudice and fear die down. Comrades in Burnley and district are invited to give a helping hand. J. TAMLYN.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.—We have just had a visit from our comrades Davison, Turner, Jaxon, and Dick James; the result is that we have been roused into action. Public interest has been centred on the Trades Union Congress, but by the help of our visiting comrades we have been able to focus some attention on the Anarchist ideals and movement. On Thursday evening, September 7, John Turner spoke to a large audience in the Bigg Market, on "Direct Action in the Labour Struggle." At the conclusion there plenty of questions and a good sale of literature. On the following night Honoré Jaxon spoke at the same place on "Direct Action in Mexico," and at the end of the meeting several applied for literature on the subject. At both meetings we gave some hundreds of leaflets away ("What is Anarchism?"), and the sale of literature, including four dozen FREEDOMS, amounted to between 8s. and 9s. Through the efforts of comrade Davison, each delegate at the Congress received one of our new leaflets, "Anarchy and the Labour War."

Our new group meets on Thursday evenings (7.30) in No. 2 Room, Lockhart's Café, opposite the Fruit Market, Clayton Street. Comrades who are willing to help should communicate with G. George, 18 Sandringham Road, South Gosforth.

LONDON.

CLERKENWELL.—Since our last report very successful meetings have been held at Garnault Place, where our propaganda has made things move, although we have been in existence but a few weeks. Meetings have been addressed by our comrade Mrs. Baker, whose splendid speech dealing with the strikes was so much appreciated by the audience that they are continually inquiring for the date of her next visit. A very successful meeting was also addressed by our comrade Ponder, who, in spite of a downpour of rain, began to speak to the few assembled, and in a very few moments was able to convince the Clerk of the Weather of the truth of Anarchism, as the tap was turned off and our principles were expounded to a large crowd. The sales of literature are fair, considering the neighbourhood, but would be better if we had the support of those comrades who, although unable to speak, might succeed in pushing literature. J. WALSH.

WALTHAMSTOW.—Meetings at Church Hill have been going strong despite the fact that our comrade Ponder has been almost our only speaker. He has mostly had a good crowd to speak to, and always makes it worth their while to listen, for he usually gives them an intellectual set lecture, which he delivers in good style, to the disgust of the State Socialists (S.D.P., S.P.G.B., etc.), especially when he deals with the science of Government (Socialist and otherwise). On September 27 our comrade Mrs. Baker paid us a visit. In spite of the opposition of some sky-pilots, we soon had a very large crowd, and our comrade gave a splendid address, which was greatly applauded. F. LARGE.

VICTORIA PARK.—As usual, the public will attend our platform, knowing that here they can hear the principles of Anarchism in simple language, and no questions are evaded. Our comrades Ponder and Baron have been doing splendid work, Sugar and Seltzer giving a helping hand. J. Tochatti paid us a welcome visit. Literature sales increasing. A. S.

MILE END.—Splendid meetings are being held at the corner of Sidney Street on Saturday evenings. At first our audiences were surprised at the audacity of Anarchists coming to Sidney Street, of Yellow Press fame. Now we have a fort there, and expound the principles of Anarchist Communism. Each meeting gains fresh sympathisers, and the sale of literature and collections are good. Numerous speakers have taken part in the meetings. We hope comrades will give us assistance on Saturdays at 7.30. A. S.

HYDE PARK.—On Sunday evening, September 24, our comrades Ewart Webster, the Australian, and Percy Tanner, the ubiquitous, were arrested in Hyde Park on a charge of selling literature. The next day at Marylebone they were fined 5s. each. Tanner paid for business reasons, but Webster elected to do five days in prison instead. A voluntary witness named Smith, with the appearance of a retired professional man, said that he had listened to all the speakers, but never saw literature sold, and was much disgusted when he saw the detectives rush in and arrest our comrades.

WOOLWICH.—The great feature of the Beresford Square meetings is the

sale of literature, which has been as high as 18s. on one Sunday, and the demand still continues. Good work has been done by Ray, Tschatti, Ponder, and others.

SOUTH LONDON.—At Rushcroft Road, Brixton, and St. George's Circus the meetings are still going strong, the speakers at the former place being Mrs. Baker, Ray, and "the Man from Nowhere." Literature sales good.

NOTICE.—A meeting will be held on Wednesday, October 11 (8 p.m.), at 139 Great Titchfield Street, W., to discuss winter propaganda. All concerned are invited.

Anarchist Communist Meetings in London.

Brixton—Rushcroft Road, Sundays, 7.30.
 Clerkenwell—Garnault Place, Mondays and Thursdays, 8.
 East Ham—Cock Hotel, Thursdays, 7.30.
 Edmonton—Silver Street, Thursdays, 8.
 Fulham—Walham Green Church, Sundays, 11.30; Tuesdays, 8.
 Hyde Park—Sundays, 7.
 Mile End Waste—Saturdays, 8.
 Regent's Park—Sundays, 11.30.
 Southwark—St. George's Circus, Thursdays, 8.
 Tottenham—West Green Corner, Sundays, 7.30.
 Upton Park—District Railway Station, Mondays, 7.30.
 Victoria Park—Sundays, 11.30.
 Walthamstow—Church Hill, Wednesdays, 8.
 Woolwich—Beresford Square, Sundays, 11.30.

Speakers wishing to book up vacant dates, or willing to exchange dates, should write J. F. Tanner, 29 Beryl Road, Hammersmith, W.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(September 1—October 3.)

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