

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

Peace, Goodwill—and Hypocrisy.

The "Merry Christmas" of the dead year was a sinister reflection on the state of this Christian world. Carnage and plunder in the East, and the bitter cry of the class-struggle at our own doors,—these were the messages with which a civilised world, unsated with the daily round of its blood-sucking exploitation, rung in "the Christ that is to be." Financiers and capitalists, Tsars and Liberal Cabinets—frail beings like ourselves, who will die and turn to dust just as the poor slaves "they tax and starve, or imprison and kill—these men are our brothers! The gospel of peace and goodwill has told us so! The blood they shed is only shed in the cause of civilisation. The petty thieves of our wretched system have no such excuse. "National expansion" and "international commerce" are above them, and are the business of the great ones who build our churches and appoint our teachers! And yet, as Reclus says, "there is room for us all on the broad bosom of the earth." Room, indeed! But then we must really be brothers. And to be brothers we must be equals. And to be equals we must be free. But the great ones will not have it so; and that is why there is not room for us on "the broad bosom of the earth." Whichever way we reason, whichever way we turn, we are faced with the same conclusion: to end slavery, to end war, to end misery, oppression, starvation, we must work and struggle, day in, day out, for the Social Revolution. That alone can ultimately bring the peace and goodwill which churches preach, but never realise.

"When wilt Thou save Thy People?"

The poet asked this question years ago. It has been left to the *Labour Leader* (December 29) to answer it. Here it is:—"When we have a Parliament and local Councils prepared to see justice done to the workers, when their rights are embodied in law and safeguarded by law, the sword of the strike will probably be snapped for ever." Which reminds us very forcibly of Pope's line: "Man never is but always to be blessed," and we can imagine hundreds of thousands of workers asking: When will that "when" be realised? No; the answer of the *Labour Leader* does not seem to inspire confidence. The Social Revolution may be a long way off; but that "when" is in the "Never, Never Land." It is sad, too, that a writer who admits the workers have, *in spite of Parliament*, won concessions equal to nearly £500,000 by the strike, cannot, or will not, see that the moral of the Labour struggles of the past year is the efficacy of the strike, and the contemptible failure of what is called political action. And not only that, but where the meddling Labour M.P.s have intervened, they have done their pitiful best to mar the victory of the men. To argue as the *Labour Leader* does is to put the cart before the horse. Look at the last incidents of the year. Another strike victory in Dundee, while Lloyd George's legislative attempt to ameliorate the conditions of the workers shows how impossible it is to harmonise conflicting interests.

The Non-Unionist and Liberty.

The cotton lock-out in Lancashire has brought the case of the non-Unionist to the front, and Miss Bury, who is one that holds aloof, has, as might be anticipated, received congratulations from such oppressors and exploiters of the workers as the President of the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States, and, as the *Daily News* reports, more than a score of congratulatory letters, many from "people of social standing,"—a euphemistic title for those who live on the unpaid labour of the toilers. This is just what one might expect, and if Miss Bury really cared for justice to her class, these "congratulations" would fill her with shame. These Januses tell her she is fighting for liberty. What liberty? Whose liberty? Is she a free

woman by remaining a non-Unionist? To ask the question is to answer it. *The industries without Unions have the longest hours and lowest wages of any in the kingdom.* That is the kind of "liberty" Miss Bury is entitled to, and the "people of social standing" know it. Another thing. Why is there always such an influx of non-Unionists into the Unions after the strike has been won? "They're not too proud to accept the rise, but too 'free' to join the fight." Because the fight does not consist only in the strike, but as much in the hard work of maintaining the Union amidst the economic struggle which is always with us. Consciously or unconsciously, Miss Bury is fighting the fight of the masters. Hence these congratulations.

Solidarity an Aid to Liberty.

Here is an object-lesson for non-Unionists, and we trust that Miss Bury will please note. It concerns the charwomen of the London County Council schools, and the matter stands thus. Without any guarantee of continuous employment, with average earnings of about 7s. per week (excluding six or eight weeks of holidays, when they had the "liberty" to live as best they could), victims of the caprice of minor officials, their conditions seemed hopeless. But at last some good friends explained their position to them, and they were "enthusiastic to form a Union." So a branch of the National Federation of Women Workers was formed, and the Council received deputations and circulars, and was wakened from its apathy by the fact that a strong Union of the women was prepared to fight for better terms. A new scheme has been passed by the Council, and from April of this year the charwomen will be entitled to a minimum of 14s. for a week of thirty-three hours, and 5d. per hour after; steady employment the whole of the year, and a fortnight's holiday on full pay. This has been won by the Trade Unionists. It is not liberty as we understand it, nor even justice; far from it. But if these women had all been Miss Burys they would have the prospect of continuing to enjoy 7s. per week instead of 14s.; of being at the mercy of the Council officials—and we all know how *they* respect the liberty of those they control—and finally six or eight weeks out of work instead of a fortnight's holiday on full pay. We are wondering if Miss Bury's gushy, middle-class friends will have a word of congratulation for the charwomen—not that it matters.

The McNamaras and the Moral.

We call our readers' attention to the interesting article on the McNamara case from our old friend, H. Kelly, of New York. A later communication from him tells us that public opinion is again beginning to veer in favour of the men. Notwithstanding the confusion left in many minds at the confession and the sentences, there seems to be no doubt as to the sincerity of the men, and, as Kelly says, "they have been game and fought the fight as they understood it." The *New York Sun* of December 18 publishes the report of what was said on the case at the Church of the Messiah by the Rev. John Haynes Holmes. We shall print the report in full in our next issue, but we quote a few remarkable sentences to indicate the above-mentioned change of feeling which is growing towards the McNamaras. "If I had to choose," he says, "I would rather be a criminal with blood upon my hands than one of the leaders of the Steel Trust. . . . Murder is not always murder, and the McNamara brothers are not criminals in the ordinary sense of the word. Rather they are unselfish soldiers of a cause. . . . Human nature being human nature, dynamite was inevitable, for what channels of protest have we placed before the working man except violence? . . . Violence, the strike, the boycott, are war measures, for the labourer is not dealing with his friends." Such language, uttered in church by the successor of Robert Collyer, shows the fierceness of the struggle that, ruthless, life-devouring capitalist greed is waging against Labour in America.

RECOLLECTIONS AND REFLECTIONS.

By FRANK KITZ.

Knowing that I was engaged in Socialist propaganda prior to the foundation of the existing Socialist organisations in this country, some comrades think that my personal recollections of events subsequent to the decline of the British Federation of the International and of the revival of Socialist agitation will be of interest to readers of FREEDOM. I do not profess to be a facile writer, nor do I lay claim to literary ability; but I will give as coherent a narrative as my memory will enable me to do.

In autobiographical sketches it is expected that a writer should give some account of his early life, and whilst I am reluctant to put my own personality in the forefront of a narration of events in which I was a humble and obscure actor, I think that a relation of the causes which made me an antagonist of the capitalist system, and led me to engage during the best years of my life in persistent warfare against it, may not be out of place.

I have been asked frequently of late years how I became a Socialist and the reasons for my conversion. Some have hinted—not ill-naturedly, I hope—that I was born with a rebellious kink in my composition, which is, perhaps, near the truth. I was a fatherless lad living in a single room, for my mother had to go out to service. I supported myself as errand boy, porter, and messenger in various situations: ill-shod, badly clothed, and seldom enjoying a square meal, except occasionally when my mother smuggled me into her employer's kitchen. This employer, I may mention, was a vitreous, scraggy old maid, related to a well-known firm of manufacturers. She occupied her spare time in writing to Tory magazines advocating compulsory military drill for the working class, especially on public holidays. And now we see the working class voluntarily lending itself to this scheme to make the gallery fight the battles of the stalls.

I decorated the walls of my lonely room with pictures of the French Revolution, which I purchased out of my scanty earnings. Brought up in the neighbourhood of the West End, with the evidences of wealth and luxury confronting me—wealth unearned, comfort undeserved—and with my own undeserved hardships, I needed no lectures upon surplus value or dissertations upon economics to cause me to challenge the justice of a system which confers wealth upon the parasites of society and clouds the lives of thousands, as it had already darkened mine at the outset, with care and poverty.

At the time I am writing of it was still possible to catch glimpses, on clear days at some points in London, of the distant Surrey hills or the Northern heights, now obscured by an ever-extending canopy of smoke. I have an intense love of the country, and it was my habit to make excursions on foot nearly every Sunday, with a scanty wallet of food, into the then remaining rural spots around the Metropolis. Those "kneaded fields," as Ruskin described them, have long since become noisy, sooty wildernesses of bricks and mortar. In later years, when engaged in Socialistic propaganda, I have listened with mingled anger and amusement to opponents who alleged that we desired to destroy everything that is beautiful and upbraided us for our "grossly materialistic aims"; and I have thought of the vanished pleasaunces, the desecrated landscapes, the obliteration of every reminder of Nature, and also of the crowded slums which have replaced those scenes. Ruskin has poured out the vials of his wrath upon the spoliators, and Morris owed in great part his conversion to Socialism to his abhorrence of this aspect of the beast of Capital.

I was soon to undergo wider experiences which gave shape to my ill-defined hostility to the present system, and made of me an active propagandist against it. I had been articled to a garment dyer, but his conditions of service were such that I determined to seek fresh fields. I left him, abruptly, and obtaining a shilling from a too-confiding recruiting sergeant, I enjoyed a steak washed down with stout at her Majesty's expense. The call of the road was upon me, so getting a little help from a few friends, I sallied forth on tramp. Starting out through Surrey, I traversed the South-East Coast, repeating near garrison towns the recruiting experiment, for as there were rumours of war, and England expected to be involved, the roads were being scoured to pick up likely recruits. All the recruiting sergeants said I was a fine young fellow who would be better off in the service. I did not stay long enough in those parts to gather their subsequent opinions of the "fine young fellow." I had no intention of dying for a country which condemned me to tramping and starvation.

Among my experiences on this comparatively short tramp—for I doubled back from the Cinque Ports through Kent—I made acquaintance with "doss kens" and casual wards, and often had to shelter beneath a barn or a hedge. In passing through Rochester on my way back to London, I asked for employment of a local dyer who was standing before his counter measuring up the next day's work, a custom at that time. He gruffly told me, throwing down 1½d., that he had no room for tramps. That night I had to sleep in a casual ward at Strood. Upon my return to London, I learned that the dyer of Rochester was dead, and that his widow wanted a hand. I secured the job, and returned to Rochester to measure up work on the same spot where I had been so harshly treated.

My next tramp was undertaken in the depth of a hard winter, when the unemployed were thronging the streets of London. This time I journeyed towards the North, passing through the Midlands and North Wales into Liverpool, where I arrived lame and penniless,

without boots. They had long since departed, and I had been forced to take to my clogs. In Liverpool I secured temporary employment, and forgetting my past troubles, the frozen roads and grim lodgings, with the buoyancy of youth I managed to pass a pleasant time. Still, my wanderings were not ended, and I went still further north, in all covering over two hundred miles on foot on the upward journey alone. I found everywhere the same conditions—the factory with its iron discipline, the mazes of mean streets and insanitary slums for the workers, the enslavement of women and children. The champions of the family and those who predict its dissolution under Socialism might see what Capitalism does in that direction if they witnessed the rows of mothers outside a factory at meal times, suckling their babies brought to them for the purpose.

In the course of my travels I met with widely different treatment when forced to ask for assistance. I have been hospitably treated by parents for the sake of a son, a wanderer like myself, whose whereabouts they knew not. At other times I have been threatened with having the dog set on me if I did not clear. As a propagandist of Socialism, I have returned to some of the towns in which I first arrived as a wanderer; and the memories of my own sufferings and the sufferings of my class have given emphasis and force to my attacks upon the citadel of property and privilege.

I need not dwell longer upon the subject of my tramping experiences. On my return to London I settled in Soho, and here I was induced by a friend to attend a political discussion held at a public-house; and becoming a regular attendant at those meetings, I there became acquainted with G. Odger, John Rogers, G. Milner, W. Townshend, the brothers Murray, G. Harris, and G. Eccarius, all members of the lately defunct British Federation of the International.

This society was styled the Democratic and Trades Alliance Association. Most of the members were Soho tailors and shoemakers, always the most advanced amongst the workers. I became a member and a regular attendant at the meetings. There I made my first attempt to open a debate, reading a paper against political action, and was sat upon heavily and informed that I would never be a speaker and not to try again.

Though this was my first entrance into membership of any democratic society, I had in boyhood attended nearly every meeting or demonstration held by the advanced movement in London. In the riot at Hyde Park at the time of the Reform League my white printer's jacket made me conspicuous in the skirmishes with the police, and only my nimbleness saved me from arrest. The police behaved then with their usual brutality, and when a deputation from the Reform League afterwards waited upon Home Secretary Walpole to protest against the outrages they committed, Walpole shed tears at the recital of their doings; as the Press had it, "he wept upon the bosom of the League." The League turned the incident into profit, for at the great triumphal meeting at the Agricultural Hall they reaped a harvest by selling Walpole's tears in penny bottles.

This is a digression, however. I was now to be a co-worker with men to whom in the past I had been an unknown auditor. They have all joined the great majority, many passing away in abject poverty, neglected and forgotten by the class for whom they sacrificed the best years of their lives. I recall them as I write, the steadfast old guard who in the midst of the reaction following the collapse of Chartism and the decline of the Owenite agitation were the last remnant of the British Federation of the International. Deserted by the Trade Unionists at the outbreak of the Commune, they still upheld the principles of the Social Revolution. The English Trade Union leaders of this period, with the exception of George Odger and a few others, were the rump of the Manchester School of Liberals. They battered upon bogus political associations and electioneering dodges of every description. Here is a sample of their tactics. A certain Alderman who sat for a London constituency had always employed the Mottershead party as his election committee; but, tiring of the bleeding process, he determined to dispense with their services in one election. Consternation reigned in the camp of the hoodlers; visions of dry throats and empty pockets rose before them. But they had heard that an itinerant herbalist had Parliamentary ambitions and also a little cash. They waited upon him as a deputation of the electors, and urged him to put himself up as a candidate. He rose to the bait, parted with several pounds, and the next day the division was placarded with his name posted over that of the Alderman, who capitulated and put them upon his committee; and the herbalist was a sadder and poorer man. The difference between the old Trade Unionist and the new variety is that to their credit it must be said they did not use Socialistic phrases to cover their nefarious designs or to gain power.

In this survey of the time, one notes that whilst a strong Republican and Freethought agitation was being carried on all over the country, there were only the few elderly men of the British Federation to represent and uphold Socialism. As a young recruit, I stood alone. Of literature there was little worth mentioning, except that issued in the Republican and Freethought propaganda. In passing, I must pay a tribute and own my indebtedness to them for their sledge-hammer attacks upon the landocracy and theologians. The facts and knowledge they spread broadcast had an educational effect which has been of advantage to other and more advanced movements. We owe nothing to Christianity, the historic foe of all progress. Personally, I have met only with virulent opposition from Christian advocates when battling for Socialism. The intrusion of Christianity into the Socialist movement to-day is designed to vitiate it and thwart its aims.

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE.

WILLIAM MORRIS AND THE ANARCHISTS.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—I must really take exception to your note on "William Morris and the Anarchists" in the December number of FREEDOM. What Lowerison writes has long been to me of a negligible nature. I read his rubbish some twenty years ago, but find now he has sounded even lower depths. The writer of the note has misunderstood Morris in relation to Anarchism quite as much as Lowerison has misrepresented him. The only objection Morris had to Anarchism was in the name. He was well satisfied to call himself Communist; and for myself, from his writings and lectures, have always understood him to include in his Communism what Anarchist Communists include in their philosophy. In the course of a long correspondence with the author of "The Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto," Morris says: "I can see that our views as to Anarchism are very close together." All his writings go to prove this. If I may be allowed to particularise, I should name "News from Nowhere," "Whigs, Democrats, and Socialists," and "For Whom shall We Vote?" My feelings prompt me to write much more, but considerations of space prevail, trusting these few words may let readers know the real position Morris adopted towards Anarchism.—Fraternally,

A. G. B.

[The question of Morris's attitude towards Anarchism is, we are afraid, not made much clearer by the letter of "A. G. B.," which we gladly print. Obviously, the whole question turns on the attitude adopted by the author of "The Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto." Until we know this, the quotation from Morris's letter means nothing. It seems to us that all we can fairly say, judging by his writings, speeches, and his work in the Socialist League, is that by temperament and sympathy he was as near to us as it was possible to be without actually being *with us*.—ED. FREEDOM.]

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM OR ANARCHIST COMMUNISM?

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—The letter from Comrade Stubbs under the above heading raises some interesting questions. He asks if Industrial Unionism is more attractive to Anarchists than Trade Unionism. Certainly. Industrial Unionism, like Anarchy, aims at the overthrow of capitalism. Does Trade Unionism do so? His next question requires no answer. Has Comrade Stubbs ever met an Anarchist who needed to become any more infused with the breath of solidarity and revolt? He then asks if we can better spread the idea of Anarchy by joining the Industrial Workers of the World, than by joining an ordinary Trade or Labour Union. Certainly. Anarchy makes a stronger appeal to intelligence than to narrow-minded egoism. Perhaps the best and most original part of the letter is his definition of Industrial Unionism; its only fault being that it is not correct. Comrade Stubbs should avoid confusing the terms "Industrial Unionism" and "Industrial Union," as the result is sometimes ridiculous. The remainder of his first paragraph is unintelligible, and I will not attempt to guess at his meaning.

In the next paragraph he asks if the Industrial Commonwealth, which is the aim of the I.W.W., means anything different from the Independent Labour Party's State-ownership of all the means of production and distribution. Certainly; the difference is vast. Comrade Stubbs should compare the literature and methods of the I.W.W. with those of the I.L.P., and he will never repeat the question. Perhaps he can oblige us with a little of the "abundance of evidence" that Industrial Unionists do not favour Anarchy. Is he aware that an American paper advertised in FREEDOM advocates both Industrial Unionism and Industrial Freedom? Is he aware that there are hundreds of Anarchists in the I.W.W.? Is he aware that many fighters in the Mexican Revolution are members of the I.W.W., and that the ideal of the Mexican Revolutionists is "Land and Liberty"?

He concludes his confusing and contradictory criticism of the I.W.W. by asking: What can Anarchists have to do with such an organisation? That is easily answered. They can use their influence to make it anti-Parliamentary (the Industrialist League, the British section of the I.W.W., is already anti-Parliamentary); they can point out to Industrial Unionists the fallacies and dangers of centralisation; and they can help the movement to reach its logical aim,—Anarchy. At the very least, Anarchists like Comrade Stubbs can refrain from criticising a movement which they do not understand. I am too modest to claim that my statements are indisputable, but I cordially invite Comrade Stubbs to point out where I am wrong.—Yours fraternally,

INDUSTRIALIST.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—I am pleased to see the vital question of organisation is being dealt with in FREEDOM, and trust it will be well threshed out. It is not for me to decide, as I am not a wage-worker in the proper sense, but it will be in order for the wage-workers who are in revolt to invite suggestions from all who are determined for economic and mental freedom.

My concern is with R. Stubbs and Industrial Unionism. He does not state which brand he refers to, and having studied both, I claim for them that they are rebels and in the van of progress. He says they are doing more at present to broaden the minds of Trade Unionists than are the Anarchists. This should be obvious, since many of them are Trade Unionists, and, being so, of course their ideal is something

more than State ownership. They, and even the S.L.P., know your "State" through and through, yet will have no dealings with Anarchists according to their conception of Anarchism,—which is a species of G. B. Shawism. Therefore why the bogey of "oppressors" and "governmental superstition"? Who is there to oppress us when class distinctions are swept away through the victory of the Industrials, which assumes the sources of wealth and means of production shall be communally possessed?

We, our class, with a few exceptions, are victims of "governmental superstition" and all other superstitions, because throughout the ages the priests and rulers, the cunning and the strong, craftily withheld instruction, and are doing so to-day (hence need of weekly paper), and they have instilled their teaching so thoroughly that it has become part and parcel of the mentality of the bulk of our class, that we must have heaven-sent leaders and saviours, either with crowns of gold and precious stones made by some of our class, or the one of thorns, which to-day is pictured as radiant with electric light. Hence the need to support such men as James Dick and the little ones, and the noble and vital work which our martyr, Ferrer, gave his life for, and which so many undaunted comrades are taking up. All this goes to show we must have organisation, and yet at the same time spread ourselves everywhere, in season and out of season, using our intellect, tongue, and the printed message, with the old cry,—

"Arise, ye starvelings, from your slumbers!"

"Arise, ye criminals of want!"

—With fraternal greetings, yours in the struggle for emancipation,

F. W. SANDERSON.

53-4 Upper Jackson Street, Hulme, Manchester.

To Correspondents.

MRS. L. PARSONS.—Your interesting article will appear next month.

THE STRIKE IN DUNDEE.

For the whole of the third week in December Dundee was a storm-centre. More than half-a-century has passed since such a struggle took place here between the forces of Capital and Labour. The only important strikes during that period were those of the mill-workers, who were either poorly organised or misled; but in the recent contest it was a different class of workers, thoroughly equipped for battle. We have not space here for details. Let it suffice that the carters and dockers came out to secure certain concessions, an advance of wages, and reduction of working time. They have got what they demanded, but only after holding up the entire traffic of the city for a whole week at a time when such a course spelt disaster and much discomfort to the smug middle class. These gentry have bitterly inveighed against the men for choosing such a season; but the choice was a wise one, as events proved.

At an early stage of the contest the Lord Provost, at the bidding of his capitalist masters, sent a frantic appeal to the Home Office, and three hundred of the Black Watch Regiment were quartered in the city as a consequence. But it proved a comic-opera move. The striking men, with the whole working population, showed so much resentment that the Tommies were mewed up in the Drill Hall, a vast, dreary shed, and never allowed out all the time of the strike. Mill after mill had to shut down for want of coal, and the streets soon became filled with bands of young workers.

A number of blacklegs had been brought from other towns, as well as special constables to escort them when they drove goods through the streets. There were numerous collisions with the police, many arrests, a few casualties. When a policeman got mauled, the newspapers had scare headlines about it; when an infant in its mother's arms got its little head smashed and its eye knocked out, the Press was silent. The blacklegs had to be sent away. The strikers held the town, and only allowed household coal and flour for the bakeries through their cordons.

Sir George Askwith came down to "settle" the strike, and of course he gets the credit. But the battle was won before he appeared on the field. It was a brilliant victory for Labour, for far more important than the concessions won is the lesson taught the workers by the spectacle of a whole city's trade paralysed by the action of a few hundred men acting in concert and with resolution. Another significant point is that the thousands of mill and factory workers thrown out by the stoppage showed sympathy instead of resentment.

ALVAN MARLAW.

The Weekly Paper.

Our efforts on behalf of the Anarchist weekly paper have in some quarters failed to bring any result. Why is this? We should be glad to know the reason. For if the paper is needed, so is the help to start it. Let those who have their doubts write to us and explain the obstacles. To those comrades who have responded to the call we return our thanks for their courageous pioneer work. But to the silent ones we say again, let us hear your voices, whether for or against. Don't be afraid. None but the brave deserve success, and let that be our reason for succeeding.

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D. K.

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1911.

An eventful year has just closed. So crowded has it been with unexpected happenings at home and abroad that a mere reference to them all would be impossible here. A glance at such as have a special interest for Anarchists may help us to form some conclusions as to the progress of our ideas.

It may be said that mere changes in the form of government can have no interest for us. But we think this is not true. That we cannot personally take an active part in such work is quite obvious. The point, however, is that a year which opened with the establishment of a Republic in Portugal, and closed with almost the certainty of a similar political development in China, must be marking a period of change that has underlying causes of deep significance for us.

What we can see passing before our eyes is, in fact, an astonishing development of what Ibsen called the "law of change." And it is observable everywhere; not only in political life, but in economic life; not only in industry and commerce, but in the spirit of revolt which begins to reawaken in the oppressed masses. It is, of course, true that the "law of change" is ever at work, but for us its importance consists, first, in the direction it takes, and secondly, in the power and vitality it displays. And, judged on these grounds, there can be no doubt whatever that the tide of progress is favourable to Anarchist ideas.

Regarding the vexed question of the change from a Monarchy to a Republic, small as the advantages may be—and economically hardly appreciable—it is still in a direction which has some advantages. Relatively speaking, there is more liberty in France than in Germany, and surely it would, from that point of view, be preferable to live in America than Russia, in Portugal rather than Spain. If this is true, as we believe it to be, then 1911 has loosened a few of the rivets in Portugal and China that unhappily seem to be tightening again on the victims of the Tsar's rule, not only in Russia, but in Finland and Persia.

Whatever difference of opinion there may be on these questions, there can be no two ways of regarding the great Labour struggles of the past year. These have shown a development that we firmly believe marks the beginning of a new era, both in the solidarity of Labour that has inspired the struggle, and the tactics of spontaneous direct action with which the war has been carried on. It is now a commonplace to say that the men led the leaders. They did more: they defied them. They threw to the winds the old, worn-out, hoary tradition that without their leaders the men would be lost. At one blow they cut the red-tape and the leading-strings that had been twined about them more or less for half-a-century, and had been increased during the past twenty-five years to an extent that had not only killed all initiative in the rank-and-file, but had smothered the spirit of revolt. So far had this gone that many of the leaders had denounced the strike as a weapon both barbarous and ineffective, and had turned their attention to electioneering, securing for themselves seats in Parliament. Everything seemed to favour legality and submissive obedience. The Fabians, the Social Democrats, the I.L.P., all were preaching the same thing,—vote and keep quiet. But the boilermakers had shown the fire that was already smouldering, and when the seamen's strike burst into flame there was no longer any doubt of the leaven that had been working.

It was something more than a dream of victory for the workers, and little less than a nightmare for the masterful employers. The great Shipping Federation was beaten at every point. The tocsin had begun to ring for the General Strike, and

the spirit of revolt, animated by the finest display of solidarity that has ever been seen, spread like wildfire. It was a great victory and a great gain for the workers, and the echo of it can still be heard, and will be heard for many a day to come. The toilers have realised their power and have found a way of expressing their will which compels the attention of the exploiters, who have only laughed at the vote. The General Strike has been tried, and has proved its mettle. It sounds a note of hope and deliverance for the toilers,—a note that will sound louder and louder, till the Revolution is accomplished. For the issue is clear—the Social Revolution or Social Slavery: there is no other choice. And the year 1911 will be the historic year of the first real victory of the proletariat by means of Direct Action.

THE McNAMARA CASE.

The past ten days may properly be called a "McNamara nightmare." Like a bolt from a clear sky came the plea of the brothers that they were guilty of blowing up the *Times* building and the Llewelyn Iron Works of Los Angeles. Day after day the papers have featured it, and columns upon columns have been written, until the brain fairly reels at the thing. Epitomising the Labour struggle as it does, it is more than possible that the consequences of this plea may be so far-reaching that some of us may not even live to see them. From our knowledge of Europe and the Labour struggle there, this incident—for, after all, it is but an incident—is so peculiarly American that it is necessary to explain briefly the background as we see it.

The Labour movement here, as elsewhere, can be divided into two camps, and then sub-divided into two more. The first two are those who believe in Direct Action and those who theoretically favour peace at any price. The Direct Actionists are represented by those who frankly and openly defend their views, and those who, for strategic reasons or from cowardice, disavow the acts they commit or abet. The peaceful camp includes the Parliamentary Socialists, like Berger and Hilquitt, and the pure and simple Trade Unionists who believe in treaties with the employer to exploit the public, a case of "our craft against the community." The overwhelming majority of all sections are the victims of a common superstition that nullifies their actions and paralyses their activities. This consists in the belief that at any and all costs they must gain the support of the "respectable public" to win their fights. This is a fallacy and a most pernicious one, for, except in matters of transportation and strikes of great magnitude, the public plays no real, tangible part in the affair. Further than this, the support the Unions hope to gain by repudiating violence in all forms is bourgeois in principle and opposed to Union labour. The real support comes from men who believe in winning, peacefully if possible, but winning. Thus we have the spectacle of men repudiating acts they commit, and which their supporters approve of in principle, to gain the support of a class at all times hostile to them.

At the time of the Homestead strike, the Pittsburg Unions were unanimous in denouncing Alexander Berkman for shooting Frick, and some even branded him as a "scab." Four years later the writer visited Pittsburg and spoke before the United Labour League (the central body), the Glassworkers' Convention, and more than twenty Unions, and in every case sympathy or money—sometimes both—were voted for the movement for reduction of sentence. In a number of cases members took the floor and expressed their approval of Berkman and his act. Later on, the same experience was repeated here in New York.

The life of a housesmith or bridgeworker is an extremely dangerous one, and, according to statistics compiled several years ago, the percentage of accidents among the members of the Housesmiths and Bridgemen's Union is one in ten per year. As these men are engaged on bridges or houses varying in height from four to forty-seven stories, it will be seen that even where death does not result, the man is probably maimed for life. In these circumstances, it is small wonder these men have a contempt for human life; the struggles between them and the employers have been, and are, more fierce and bloody than those of men engaged in sedentary occupations. Back of the small employer or builder stands the National Erectors' Association, which is in reality the Steel Trust. Engaged in a struggle with such a monster, and knowing that Union after Union has been forced to the wall, they fought back viciously and desperately, and struck their enemies in their most vulnerable spot—their pocket.

It is the most hideous mockery, as well as the most grotesque comedy, to pretend that human life is sacred in America, or that Capital so regards it. Judge Gary, titular head of the Steel

Trust, is one of the leading members of an association to reduce the number of what are euphoniously called "preventable accidents." These accidents, which are estimated by this association to equal in number every two years those who were killed and wounded during our Civil War, occur for the most part simply because it costs money to safeguard human life. One thousand men, women, and children lost their lives some years ago by the burning of a steamer called the 'General Slocum,' in the Hudson River, due to the downright criminal negligence and rapacity of the owners, who refused to provide proper safeguards for the boat's passengers. After a long and expensive investigation, one poor lone man, the captain, an employee, nearly seventy years of age, was sentenced to prison for ten years. He served three years and was then released. Comment is unnecessary. At this moment there are three men on trial in the city of New York for that terrible holocaust of last winter known as the Triangle Shirt Waist Fire. Needless to say, these men are not on trial for murder, although the blood of those poor girls is on their heads quite as much as the twenty-three victims in the *Times* catastrophe are on the head of J. B. McNamara, with this very striking difference: McNamara fought for a principle, the upbuilding of human labour, and threw his life in the balance. The Triangle Shirt Waist capitalists now on trial sacrificed their victims for greed, and did it with a feeling of security for their own miserable hides.

The above are but isolated instances of the disregard for human life that exists in America, and they could be multiplied a thousand-fold. The hysteria of the capitalist newspapers of a "nation-wide dynamite conspiracy" may be real enough, but it is not due to their belief in the sanctity of human life. Property is the thing sacred to them, and the growth of sabotage among Labour leaders is not a thing to be treated lightly. It is one thing to kill men by the hundred by fire, tuberculosis, on railroads, bridges, and buildings, or in a thousand other ways; but it is quite a different thing to destroy buildings, bridges, etc., by dynamite at the hands of Union men who are struggling to better their condition.

It is a peculiar fact that the McNamara brothers should be denounced by men calling themselves Socialists and Trade Unionists, for fighting the fight as best they knew how. Victor Berger, who has the distinction of being the first Social Democratic Congressman in America, also has the distinction of being one of the first to demand "the extreme penalty of the law for the McNamara brothers." It is true they have broken the law, that same law that has disinherited the toilers of the earth; that robs, sweats, and starves the producers of wealth; that kills and maims ten per cent. of their fellow workers and fellow members by accident every year. They are soldiers in a common cause, and as "war is hell," their acts at times must be brutal.

In the midst of this turmoil, and in face of the fact that the Labour movement of America is likely to receive a serious setback, we cherish the belief—perhaps but the delusion would be a better expression—that the wheat will be sifted from the chaff, that a few conscious, consistent revolutionists will be created as a result of this denouement. For the first time in the history of America, a definite class war is admitted by men of all shades of opinion. Concealment of this fact will no longer be possible, for when both capitalists and Labour leaders admit that force, if used on one side, must be used by the other, the first step toward the parting of the ways has been accomplished.

HARRY KELLY.

The Industrial Syndicalist Education League.

This League, the object of which is explained by its title, held a very pleasant conversation on January 1 at Anderton's Hotel, Fleet Street. There were some speeches during the evening, the most notable being those by George Lansbury (in the chair) and Tom Mann. After Lansbury had spoken, one could only wonder how long he will remain a Member of Parliament. His advocacy of the General Strike, coupled with his denunciation of all parties in the House, can but lead to resignation of his seat as a proof of his sincerity. Tom Mann, who charged himself with foolishness in the past in looking to Parliament for Labour's emancipation, now came out as a full fledged Direct Actionist. He described how at Liverpool the "bread and butter" question brought solidarity amongst those who were the bitterest of enemies where religion or politics were concerned, and he said that what had been done there was possible elsewhere. Other speakers were J. Walters, Guy Bowman, J. Barnes, Malatesta, John Turner, and Honoré Jaxon, the last-named saying that the Mexican workers were employing direct action to recover the land stolen from them by the great financial interests.

Full particulars of the League can be obtained from G. Bowman, 4 Maude Terrace, Walthamstow, N.E.

THE SAD CASE OF THE S.P.G.B.

Amongst the "splits" in the Socialist movement in this country, one of the most interesting, and also one of the most pathetic, is that which took place in the Social Democratic Federation about eight years ago, and which resulted in the formation of the Socialist Party of Great Britain. A number of earnest members of the S.D.F. were greatly disturbed in mind by the weakness and shuffling in political matters on the part of the leaders of Social Democracy in this country, and after a period of conflict within the organisation, determined to leave it and form "the Only Socialist Party" to preach the "pure milk of the word." It must be conceded that they have fought bravely against apparently overwhelming adverse circumstances. They have survived pointed ridicule of the "three tailors of Tooley Street" description, and have tenaciously upheld the narrowest possible Marxian dogmatism in a manner unequalled even by Scottish theologians. However, every reasonable critic must honour them for their display of downright sincerity and steadfast adherence to principle. But one must deplore obstinate adhesion to a policy which produces, and which must produce, so little of value when compared with the motives actuating the men in the movement and the energy expended by them.

But the causes of their failure as a party are easy to discern. They are, chiefly, two. First, the absence of any fundamental difference between themselves and their comrades of the S.D.P. and I.L.P.; and secondly, the obvious fact that the policy of Parliamentary agitation and the achievement of what is regarded as legislative procedure in the direction of Socialism is already being carried out by the more powerful sections of Social Democracy with whom they appear to be at variance. The insistence upon Karl Marx's writings as practically the sole source of enlightenment on social and economic questions cannot be more than a transient excuse for separation from the general State Socialist movement. All sections of Social Democrats subscribe to the great tenet in the creed of the S.P.G.B., that "the working class must capture the State, the political machine." And it seems to us that Messrs. MacDonald, Snowden, Hyndman, and Quelch have good ground for grievance against this party in that they so cantankerously refuse to help in efforts "to capture the State," etc.

It is true that many sins of commission and omission may be alleged against Socialist politicians both in and out of Parliament, but the fatal defect in the reasoning of the S.P.G.B. is their apparent inability to comprehend the conditions of electioneering and Parliamentary tactics, and the environment of bourgeois politics generally. The leaders of the party could only act similarly to the men they criticise had they to take their places, or they would be obliged to leave the Parliamentary arena in disgust and defiance. Of course, that method results in compromise, shuffling on matters of principle, and other unsatisfactory consequences; even in many instances betrayal of the workers' interests. Without tactics of that kind the State cannot be "captured"—and then the State captures the miracle-workers instead. For in all countries and in all ages the State has been and is an instrument of oppression and a perfect mechanism for securing the legality and continuation of injustice.

And so because of the plausibility of the Parliamentary thesis—i.e., that the vote is political power or the means whereby the workers may secure it—the S.P.G.B. are intent upon seizing the shadow for the substance, in spite of the lessons of experience; and are feeling very sore because the policy of capturing the political machine pursued by the Marxian Socialists in this country for the last twenty-six years has had an effect similar to eating the proverbial Dead Sea fruit. This soreness has occasioned a style of criticism by the "only Socialist Party" which has made them notorious in the Socialist movement. They treat with disdain the moral of the story of the advocate who for want of a case found refuge in the policy of abuse.

It would be folly to expect their advocates either in their press or on their platform to examine any counter proposition or principle to their own without the use of flowers of rhetoric worthy of *Etan'swill*. And so in a debate held a few weeks ago at Nottingham between Mr. Paul, of the Socialist Labour Party, and Mr. Anderson, S.P.G.B., we notice that the latter gentleman elegantly referred to the "sewers of Anarchism, general strike, and sabotage." Still, accustomed as we are to ignorant abuse from many quarters, for ourselves we do not mind. The loss is not so much ours but a loss to the cause of the Social Revolution, which is prejudiced by such conduct. However, incidentally retribution followed quickly, for even if Anarchism was not directly vindicated, at least its fellow "sewer," the general strike, was; and Mr. Paul is to be congratulated upon the manner in which he so completely confounded his antagonist. From a capital report of the debate given in the *Socialist*, we glean that Mr. Anderson had been firing off the big guns of Social Democratic argument. His chief line of attack was directed against Industrial Unionism and the general strike. Such methods were "folly." "The capitalist class would drown the working class in their own blood. . . . It was no use talking about taking and holding. The action of the Government proved they would hurl their force against you, and, in face of that, where was your industrial organisation? . . . Your Industrial Union might paralyse industry by a general strike, but that was not taking and holding the means of production. The workers must vote themselves behind the guns."

But alas! for plausibility *versus* fact. Mr. Paul said that his antagonist "wanted to know what industrial organisation could do if

faced with armed troops. His opponent could do worse than read the *Socialist Standard* for September, the organ of his own party. There it was clearly pointed out that during the late strike, when the railway men came out, they beat the Government to a standstill, left them without another move." The S.P.G.B. advocate challenged proof of the assertion, and Mr. Paul immediately gave it. Then the quotation was alleged to be partial in character, "torn from its context." The chairman, an S.D.P. member, then read the full reference and said it amply justified Mr. Paul's assertions. The chairman read as follows: "What was the position? The companies had bluffed and failed. They were surprised at the effectiveness of the strike. The Government had bluffed and failed. They had thrown the whole military might of the nation against the strikers, and the only result was to demonstrate the weakness of their position. The crude incapacity of their leader, whose traditional remedy for every difficult situation is murder, had got them into a blind alley. They had not another move left." Mr. Paul said afterwards: "If the S.P.G.B. had to admit that the Government had failed, even with every available soldier behind it, during a strike which was not properly organised, and which was hampered by all the traditions of sectional Trade Unionism and treacherous Labour leaders, then what shape would the Government cut against a disciplined, well-organised working class, where the organisation was a class, the *unit only*—being the industry? Such a class would not declare a general strike, for if they had the power to stop industry, they had also the power to start industry for themselves by declaring a general lock-out of the capitalist class."

We fancy that the S.P.G.B. will not consider that debate as one of their party's triumphs. We hope also that the sad position of this party, which is pledged wholly and solely to the use of an obsolete political instrument, which must react unfavourably upon the cause of Socialism, will be a warning to the Socialist Labour Party, which has done some good work in the country, and which may do much more if it recognises clearly and fully that the political ideas and methods of capitalism are consonant with the economic injustice of the present system of society.

The economic revolt is the most rapid and powerful means at hand, and the unity of Socialist effort in that direction would do more in a few years to bring about the downfall of the present system than a lifetime spent in pursuing the will-o'-the-wisp of Parliamentary agitation.

G. BARRETT'S TOUR.

To attempt to give any detailed report of my efforts and those of comrades in the localities visited, and their failure or success, would be foolish; but a few passing remarks cannot fail to be of interest to all who are concerned as to the propaganda in Britain.

The towns visited up to the present are Edinburgh, Liverpool, Manchester, and Leeds. My departure from Edinburgh was delayed by the fact that Newcastle comrades were unable to get meetings fixed up at so short a notice. Edinburgh, above all places, is assuredly the land of possibilities. In response to a tiny advertisement inserted in an evening paper, a good audience assembled for the one indoor lecture, a most surprising contrast to the ineffective efforts in Manchester and Leeds. Already there are a dozen or two comrades who declare themselves Anarchists, while thirteen gave in their names as 10s. subscribers to the coming weekly. The material in Edinburgh on which to work is unequalled in any other town; and the material in the group to undertake that work will be quite equal to the task when once it knows its strength and starts along the warpath. The Musselburgh contingent cannot fail to make history, and if these miners are typical of those throughout Britain, some inroads will be made in the capitalist entrenchments in the very near future.

The fact that Glasgow and Edinburgh both show distinct signs of going strong, and that Airdrie, Falkirk, Darvel, Kilmarnock, Denny, etc., each contain at least some one interested in our movement, has suggested to the Glasgow comrades that a Scottish Conference should be held at Glasgow prior to the Conference which will be held at Leeds on February 24 and 25, this having been postponed from December 24 and 25, as at first suggested. The chief purposes of the Scottish Conference will be (1) to discuss local propaganda and an interchange of speakers, and (2) to discuss the agenda for the national Conference. All interested please write to the Secretary, Anarchist Group, 7-Holland Street, Glasgow.

Now, as to Lancashire and Yorkshire my impression is bad. Liverpool made a good effort, and when shortness of notice is considered I don't think that the meetings there should be held to be discouraging. At least this we know, that there are a few earnest and sincere men who will do their utmost for the movement and the paper, and that if each town had a similar little group, success would be certain.

As to Manchester, having fooled away my own time that could be ill afforded, and other people's money; I am not inclined to speak with great moderation. The reputation of FREEDOM, however, forbids my speaking with that fluency which my emotions inspire. The man who opposes the Anarchist may perhaps be a fool, and the man who misrepresents him we generally regard as something much worse; but of all men I would avoid it is he who pretends to be an Anarchist and will do nothing to help our movement. It is strange why these men who do nothing and whose lives mean nothing should attach themselves to a movement that means so much and has so much to do. I still

hope that there *may* be some genuine English Anarchists in Manchester; modern history says so, but history lies, and until a little evidence is brought forward I shall not believe it. The Manchester visit was interesting, however, in that it gave me the very pleasing opportunity of meeting many of our Jewish comrades, who all assured me that they would do their utmost for the weekly when it appeared. The energy of our comrade Max Seltzer is as much worthy of praise as is the laziness of the English "Anarchists" worthy of condemnation.

What has been said of Manchester can be said in a very much modified sense of Leeds. The comrades who showed themselves to be anxious to forward the movement there were a mere handful; there are, however, others, I believe, who will come into line. The organisation of the Conference is left in competent hands, while the propaganda meetings in connection with it will, I predict, be a success, in spite of the failure of my own visit.

G. BARRETT.

PRINTED PAGES.

Some Anarchist publications which deserve fuller notice, and in some cases a translation of extracts, are:—

The fifth volume of Bakunin's works ("Œuvres," Tome V., Paris, P.-V. Stock, 1911, vii. 362 pp.), comprehending mainly the propagandist part of his works, his articles in the Geneva *Egalité* (1868-69), and his lectures delivered before Jurassian workers in May, 1871.

A wonderful work of which further notice *will* be taken is in course of publication: Elisé Reclus's correspondence ("Correspondance," Tome I., Paris, Schleicher Frères, 1911, 352 pp., 1850 to May, 1870; there will be two other volumes, containing letters up to the time of his death in 1905). These letters, mainly the second and third parts, contain so many remarks on Anarchism, theoretical and practical, and the Anarchist spirit permeates almost everything Reclus wrote, even in his early unconscious days, that this book, when completed (one of Reclus's sisters is preparing this edition most carefully), will be a real gem of Anarchist literature; it almost makes Reclus live again whilst we are under the spell of reading it, those of us who knew him, and gives an insight of Anarchist mentality and conduct as very few other books do.

Another departed, our friend and comrade Pietro Gori, the orator, poet, and disinterested lawyer of the Italian movement, is commemorated by the publication of his collected works in ten volumes, which *Il Libertario* (Pasquale Binazzi, editore, La Spezia, Italy) is now publishing.

John Henry Mackay, after publishing an enlarged edition of his *Life of Max Stirner* (in German, Berlin, 1910, xix. 298 pp.), brings out a special private edition on large paper of Stirner's "Ego and His Own" (the original German text). A little bibliophile zeal never does harm, and Stirner's book is always obtainable in the ordinary German edition, sold for 10d. since 1892. Mackay's collected works, including "The Anarchists," "Storm," etc., are also published in eight volumes (B. Zack, Treptow bei Berlin, 1911). By the way, an Individualist paper, the first in Spanish, I believe, is now issued in quite a new country for Anarchist literature, the Canal Zone of the Isthmus of Panama; it is called *El Unico*.

A book of lasting interest, and fuller of ideas than current publications usually are, is "Aufruf zum Socialismus" (Appeal for Socialism), by Gustav Landauer (Berlin, 1911, viii. 164 pp.), advocating the ideas of the "Socialisten Bund" (organ, *Der Socialist*, fortnightly), that section of Anarchists who endeavour to realise something of Anarchism in real life, here and now. We all try to do this, no doubt; but few are examining this difficult problem closer than G. Landauer and his friends.

Another volume of P. Ramus's Anarchist annual (*Jahrbuch der Freien Generation für 1912*) is to hand; also the report of the trial which the same author had to undergo at Graz (Styria) for quite an inoffensive Ferrer lecture.

The Paris Syndicalists publish now a daily paper, *La Bataille Syndicaliste*, a very interesting monthly review, *La Vie Ouvrière*, and a new monthly publication, *Encyclopédie du Mouvement Syndicaliste*, which will consist, in part, of an alphabetical dictionary of information relative to Syndicalism, Socialism, Anarchism, Labour, and their antagonists, in the widest sense.

In the United States has recently appeared *Hammerslag*, a small periodical for spreading Anarchist ideas and thought in Norwegian, published by Johan Hellum, 964 John Street, Seattle, Wash.; price 50 cents per annum for the United States, and 2 kronor for Norway.

N.

Other Publications Received.

- The Modern School in New York.* By Bayard Boyesen. 5 cents. New York: Francisco Ferrer Association, 104 East 12th Street.
- Vers l'Education Humaine: La Laïque contre l'Enfant.* Par Stephen MacSay. Pp. 144. 2 fr. Paris: Schleicher Frères, 8 Rue Monsieur-le-Prince.
- Uno des Formes Nouvelles de l'Esprit Politicien.* Par Jean Grave. 5c. Paris: Temps Nouveaux, 4 Rue Broca.
- Quelques Vérités Économiques.* Par Louis Blanc. Same publishers.
- Le Nourisson.* Par Michel Petit. 10c. Same publishers.
- Sur l'Individualisme.* Par Marc Pierrot. 10c. Same publishers.
- Vaterland, Krieg, und Kaserne.* Von Charles Albert. 5 pf. Johannisthal bei Berlin: Erich Goschke.
- La Vie Naturelle*, No. 5, December, 1911 (including "Ecrits Anti-Mortuaires, No. 2). Paris: Henri Zisly, 7 Rue Jean-Robert.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Australia.

During a recent strike of wharf labourers in Sydney the Labour politicians again sold the strikers, Bill Hughes stating in Parliament that the men had signed an agreement with the masters and must return to work, which they did. Owing to the Labour politicians denouncing the strikers, a strong opposition was aroused throughout Australia, which succeeded in crushing direct action. No wonder, either, seeing the anxiety the Labour M.P.s displayed to imprison the strikers. The treachery was unique, and will be remembered as one of the most infamous tricks the political Labour charlatans have accomplished. If the workers undertake to strike, the Labour politicians step in at once and persuade the men to go back, while they dine and wine with the Governor-General, rubbing shoulders with the capitalists the men struck against. Bribery and corruption of the most vile description prevails. Fellows who used to be ragged (before entering Parliament) are now rich, riding in capitalists' motor-cars. Australia is the sad example of workers being in power,—no progress, every strike defeated, the wage-slaves remaining a herd of tame sheep driven to the ballot-box.

We commemorated the anniversary of Ferrer's martyrdom at the Trades Hall, which was well attended. We also commemorated the anniversary of the Chicago Anarchist martyrs on Sunday afternoon, November 12. The weather being fine, there was a large audience. I spoke explaining the cowardly, callous crime of the authorities, also mentioned that I had commemorated the anniversary for twenty-four years, and appealed to the young men to step out and proclaim themselves Anarchists. The photos of our murdered comrades were exhibited, and the meeting concluded with three cheers for Anarchy, Revolution, and the memory of our late comrades. Two other comrades, Messrs. Sheelinghert and Westbery, also spoke.

J. W. FLEMING.

Glad that FREEDOM is still keeping above water, and hope it will continue to do so. It is a thousand pities that Australia cannot produce a single Anarchistic paper. I almost think the heat has something to do with it—and the beer. The workers have no confidence in themselves, they often make a good start, but a bad finish is always the result, all the strikes have proved it. The capitalists are getting quite used to the little skirmishes—like a driver to the kicking of his horses; they are always prepared for it, and with the aid of the Labour politician, succeed in keeping the reins in their hands. Therefore, "Down with the Labour politicians!" It is the first step to be taken. Before the land can bear any crops it must be cleared of the timber. It is the same with the workers; they have to remove all obstacles in their fight for human rights, and I am sorry to state that this has not been done yet. May the future bring better prospects in this direction!

E. P. H.

Argentine Republic.

We have pleasure in once more announcing the reappearance of *La Protesta*. We quote here a notice which appeared in one of the first numbers of the new series, addressed to "The Free Men of the World":—

"There exists neither free assembly nor free Press in the Argentine Republic, a country which pretends to have closely followed in the footsteps of all other civilized nations. The places where the workers hold their meetings are arbitrarily raided by the authorities. All those who are known to have free ideas are expelled or incarcerated. The 'free' Press has to be published clandestinely. Workers! do not emigrate to the Argentine, where there is no liberty; the well-being they boast so much about is nothing but an infamous make-believe. (Libertarian papers are requested to reprint the above.)"

We congratulate our South American comrades on their energy and courage, and earnestly hope their efforts will be rewarded with success.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

LIVERPOOL.—George Barrett held fairly successful meetings during his short stay in Liverpool. On Sunday afternoon, December 10, he addressed the youngsters; a fine lecture, good programme, and a crowded house. In the evening our comrade addressed a meeting at Milton Hall on "Anarchy and Progress." This was not so successful regarding numbers, but the meeting proved interesting. The lecturer had his matter well in hand, and when question time came he dealt cleverly with the opposition. On Dec. 11 an open-air meeting, but owing to inclement weather only a few decided to stay. On the 12th a lantern lecture at Milton Hall, "Recent Strikes" being the subject. About a hundred and fifty people assembled, and an interesting discussion followed. On the 15th a group meeting was held, and Barrett pushed forward the claims of the new paper. The upshot of this was the formation of a concert group to endeavour to raise funds for it. The concert will take place some time at the end of January. Our Jewish comrades are throwing in their lot with us to make this project a success. In return, the English comrades are aiding them in the same way to help along the *Workers' Friend*. It is pleasing to note the fusion of forces. We hope for good things this New Year.

For Barrett's visit—G. D. £2, J. H. D. 10s., F. Goulding 6d., Collections £1.

J. H. D.

GLASGOW.—During the past month propaganda has been somewhat quiet, owing partly to unsuitable weather and partly to the absence of our comrade Barrett, who is on tour lecturing on behalf of the coming weekly. In Vale of Leven a strike is in progress in which mostly women are involved, and they seem likely to obtain the doubtful concessions of better conditions and recognition of their Unions. But the Trade Union leaders still control their actions so that the employer may not get too bad a time of it. Madame Sorgue, who is an advanced revolutionist and lectured here recently under the auspices of the Clarion Scouts, tried to impress on these strikers that they must act for themselves and beware of being "led" (? betrayed) by leaders. Of course, some of the local Labourists who thought they were running the strike, and considered it their own little affair, perverted her warning against leaders into an advocacy of blacklegging, and this led the workers should learn that "he who would be free himself must strike the blow," and so be able to do without their direction. Madame Sorgue gave a strong and eloquent address in favour of direct action and the general strike or lock-out of the capitalist.

These events show that our weekly paper is much needed, so all comrades might please let us know of their intention to help. Local comrades, note that the Group meets in Clarion Rooms, 7 Holland Street; and please turn up.

A. F.

Huddersfield.—Anarchist Communism is gradually finding favour in this district as a sound and reasonable conception of a new society. The people of these parts—Holme and Colne Valleys—have always been among the foremost in times gone by in taking action against tyranny in times of social stress; and now that the policy of Parliamentary Socialists is being exposed as a failure, the rank-and-file are showing remarkable appreciation of the ideas propounded in FREEDOM literature. One of the speakers on the I.L.P. platform at a May Day demonstration some time ago told the workers that "they should regard the Houses of Parliament as their Holy of Holies." Since then a few individuals have been busy spreading an idea different from that, and not without success.

It may interest readers of FREEDOM to recall that a hundred years ago this December sixty-four persons were apprehended in this town in connection with the Luddite movement, and after being lodged in York Castle, they were tried. Eighteen were sentenced to death; three of them were executed on Friday, January 8, 1812, and fourteen others were executed on Saturday, January 16, the sentence of one being commuted to transportation for life. Others were sentenced to various terms of transportation, but seventeen against whom a true bill of indictment had been found for capital offences were liberated on bail, the authorities apparently being glutted with blood for the time being. All this shows the way this "Holy of Holies" has of dissembling its love of the common people.

H. S.

BRISTOL.—Since the start we have met rather oftener than fortnightly at Jack Flynn's, 19 The Haymarket, being gratefully indebted to Socialist friends for seating accommodation. Attendance has been good, and inquiring friends have come amongst us. Giving almost all our attention to the work necessary for the success of George Barrett's visit, we are leaving the organising of group lectures, discussions, etc., until after the forthcoming public lectures, from which we anticipate great things for the group and the new paper. Our smoking concert has been postponed through a "mistake" of the management of the hotel at which it was to have been held.

G. Barrett's dates for Bristol—Sunday, January 14, Open-air Meetings; Monday, 15th, Lecture, "Recent Strikes," at Kingsley Hall; Tuesday, 16th, Group Meeting; Wednesday, 17th, Lecture, "Anarchy and Progress," at Kingsley Hall.

STROUD B.S.P.—has arranged for a public lecture on "Recent Strikes" by G. Barrett on Friday, January 19.

CARDIFF has been in communication with us; we are glad to hear that they are arranging for Barrett to give two lectures there, and for him to stay from January 8 to 11.

A. P.

LONDON.

EAST LONDON.—The Victoria Park meetings are still going well, in spite of the inclement weather. Tohatti, Ponder, and Baron have been the speakers. A strong working group exists here, with meetings on Tuesday evenings at 9 o'clock at 1 Newbould Street, Commercial Road. Quite a number have joined recently. Our excellent sales of literature are being maintained. The snail gets into its shell in the winter; now then, comrades, there's no necessity to imitate it. Audiences of interested people can still be had for the asking. Last Sunday a crowd listened in the rain for two hours at our platform; in fact, it is becoming usual to start here in the morning and stay till closing time. Comrades, each of you, what are you doing? are you giving of your best? If so, well and good; if not, let us hear from you. Better still, let us see something of you.

Our Anarchist weekly will shortly be published. What about providing a sound basis for it by increasing our efforts to permeate people's minds with our principles? Never mind about the weather, Anarchism can be propagated in the winter, and we can increase our present number of adherents. Instead of allowing our efforts to slacken in these times, we ought to increase them. An invitation, then, to all Anarchists and sympathisers not otherwise employed to make our meetings more successful, give point to the success of our methods of free organisation, and show our critics and opponents the enthusiasm engendered by our common activity. Our literature sales need not lessen, the comrades will be more closely bound together, and then we will be gratified in the knowledge of having done our best for the principles we hold dear.

W. P.

WALTHAMSTOW.—Our outdoor propaganda meetings have ceased for the rest of the winter, and it seems as if some of the comrades have retired into their shells. Those of us who are still pegging away in other directions would be pleased to hear that our absent comrades are yet in the land of the living, and will crawl out of their shells again soon. Or have we to wait till the sun shines? Perhaps they could turn up at our Group meetings now and again. Or is it that they are reserving their energy for Comrade Barrett's visit this month? We hope so; any how, we can do with all the help possible to make his efforts as successful as they deserve, and therefore we ask you not to leave it to one or two, but come and put your back into the rough-and-tumble work that is all the time necessary to be done. Don't forget that Barrett's lantern lecture is on Friday, Jan. 26, at the William Morris Hall. We would like to see a big audience, and we can get it with your help.

F. L.

