

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

VOL. XXVI.—No. 281.

SEPTEMBER, 1912.

MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

Fair Speaking.

It is a pleasure (too seldom afforded us) to acknowledge the fair and courteous statement of the Anarchist position by "G. R. S. T." in his "Reflections" in the *Daily Herald* of August 26. It is a satisfaction to know that he understands and to a large extent sympathises with the Anarchist ideal, and, unlike the *Daily News*, does not take the press and police-made travesty of its aims and methods. We admit, and always have admitted, that in the social and political reform movements there are honest people prepared to make sacrifices for the improvement of society. They can do good work when they leave politics alone and try to educate the people; but when "G. R. S. T." says the reformer "does not like laws, and he intends to do away with them as soon as possible," we fear he is overlooking the actual fact that nowadays, unfortunately, the reformer is all for the law, and so far from wishing to do away with it, he is constantly invoking the aid of new ones. And the continuous failure of Government to cure the ills of society proves that the anti Statist teaching of Anarchism has at least the virtue of warning the people against treading the quicksands of political action, and compelling their attention to direct action. We do not, of course, profess to have found out anything new in all this, but we do maintain that for years it was the Anarchist alone who advocated these things when calumny and misrepresentation were the only answers given by those who should have known better.

Reformers and "Reforms."

The question of reformers and their "reforms" suggests a point in connection with the Insurance Act which has not been sufficiently noted. So far as honesty and sincerity are concerned, all politicians are suspect. That is a common understanding. But let us in this instance give Lloyd George the benefit of the doubt: let us admit his sincerity. Even then what has happened? He has tried to do by compulsion that which it is impossible for any man or any set of men to achieve. The advantages of insurance—under a capitalist system—have been understood and taken advantage of by an immense number of people for generations. It was voluntary. It has now been made compulsory. Why? Because, as Lloyd George admits, the evils of capitalism are so great, and the outcry against them is becoming so threatening, that Government is compelled to make an attempt to mitigate the evil consequences of capitalist exploitation. They call this a "great reform"; but what is the result? Simply that the people who most needed the benefits of insurance are the greatest sufferers under this measure of "reform." Thousands are losing their employment; thousands to gain or retain employment are paying the masters' share. Other evils are arising which will inevitably show themselves. Lloyd George has tried to remedy some of the evils of capitalism by State interference; and he has failed because it is impossible. The little good that may come in some directions will be as nothing compared to the injustice it will do to those who already suffer most from unemployment, low wages, and insanitary conditions of life.

A Complete Condemnation.

The *Star* of August 15 contained a leader in which, amidst many absurdities, there appeared a grain of truth. This momentary spasm of candour, though only used to bolster up an attack on Bonar Law's Ulsterian attitude, was in effect a most tremendous indictment of this system under which we suffer. "There are," it said, "millions of underpaid and underfed workers in this country who have nothing to lose but

their lives in a revolution." In this country, mark you, where we have "free trade," "free speech" (?), a "free press" (?), and "free" starvation! "Underpaid and underfed workers," remember—not idlers (they're all right—the rich ones); and not one here and there, but millions of them. Well, what are we to say after this: we, who are condemned as outlaws because we say that a radical reconstruction from the bottom upwards of what, by the *Star's* admission, is a murderous "social" system could not but be a blessing for the people? The trouble of expropriating the relatively few overgorged landlords, capitalists, and usurers, for whose benefit these starving millions have to suffer and die, would be surely repaid by the incalculable good that would result. Because we must remind the *Star* and all whom it may concern that it is the privileges of this class that hinders healthy production, common-sense distribution, and, as a consequence, the general well-being of the nation.

The Logic of Trade Unionism.

As revolutionary Syndicalism, with its tactics of direct action and general strike, is developing and spreading, the number of parties and persons trying to misrepresent and stem it is also growing. On the one hand, the capitalists and their press are systematically discrediting Syndicalism (Trade Unionism) in the eyes of the general public; on the other hand, politicians, and especially Social Democratic politicians, are provoking confusion in the minds of the workers by claiming that revolutionary Syndicalism is nothing but Marxism, and that consequently the Syndicalists ought to drop their anti-State tactics and subordinate their economic struggle to Parliamentary action. Works on Syndicalism written by Marxians, as Sorel, Lagardelle, and Leone, men who have never taken part in any Syndicalist or Anarchist movement, and who are entirely ignored by the active Syndicalists of their own countries, have especially contributed to increase the confusion of people desirous of inquiring into the origin and character of revolutionary Syndicalism. One of these days we shall return to this subject, and deal with those works on Syndicalism.

The history of the social and political struggles of the last forty years shows that Anarchists tried as much as possible to help the working-class organisations (Trade Unions) in their fight by direct revolutionary action against capitalism as well as against the State. In spite of misrepresentations, persecutions, and calumnies, at last our efforts begin to bear fruit, especially in France, Italy, and Spain; and, happily, these two years here in England also, the organised workers have moved in the same direction and employed the same tactics. Any attempt to obstruct and turn the rising workers from their aim, whether in the name of Social Democracy or Anarchism, seems to us such a grave misunderstanding of the economic struggle that we ask in all sincerity, what would the present condition of the workers be without the Unions and the solidarity they develop against capitalist aggression? They are a logical necessity, whatever faults they may have.

Mark This!

Last June a Cardiff steamer, the "Mark Lane," was lost near the Straits of Gibraltar. An inquiry has been held under the Merchant Shipping Act, and the Court has decided "that the employment of seamen ignorant of the English language on British ships has been the contributory cause of the loss of life and property." The employment of such seamen is so common an occurrence that nobody takes any notice of it. What is not so well known, however, is the fact that the Merchant Shipping Act of 1906 makes provision that men ignorant of the English language should not be engaged. In other words, the ship-owners just wipe their boots on the law when it is against their interests, and only invoke its aid when it can crush the workers. Certainly, labour legislation is an expensive failure.

The Right to Ignore the State.

BY HERBERT SPENCER.

[It is only fair to the memory of Mr. Herbert Spencer that we should warn the reader of the following chapter from the original edition of Mr. Spencer's "Social Statics," written in 1850, that it was omitted by the author from the revised edition, published in 1892. We may legitimately infer that this omission indicates a change of view. But to repudiate is not to answer, and Mr. Spencer never answered his arguments for the right to ignore the State. It is the belief of the Anarchists that these arguments are unanswerable.]

§ 1. As a corollary to the proposition that all institutions must be subordinated to the law of equal freedom, we cannot choose but admit the right of the citizen to adopt a condition of voluntary outlawry. If every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man, then he is free to drop connection with the State,—to relinquish its protection and to refuse paying towards its support. It is self-evident that in so behaving he in no way trenches upon the liberty of others; for his position is a passive one, and, whilst passive, he cannot become an aggressor. It is equally self-evident that he cannot be compelled to continue one of a political corporation without a breach of the moral law, seeing that citizenship involves payment of taxes,—and the taking away of a man's property against his will is an infringement of his rights. Government being simply an agent employed in common by a number of individuals to secure to them certain advantages, the very nature of the connection implies that it is for each to say whether he will employ such an agent or not. If any one of them determines to ignore this mutual-safety confederation, nothing can be said, except that he loses all claim to its good offices, and exposes himself to the danger of maltreatment,—a thing he is quite at liberty to do if he likes. He cannot be coerced into political combination without a breach of the law of equal freedom; he can withdraw from it without committing any such breach; and he has therefore a right so to withdraw.

§ 2. "No human laws are of any validity if contrary to the law of nature; and such of them as are valid derive all their force and all their authority mediately or immediately from this original." Thus writes Blackstone, to whom let all honour be given for having so far outseen the ideas of his time,—and, indeed, we may say of our time. A good antidote, this, for those political superstitions which so widely prevail. A good check upon that sentiment of power-worship which still misleads us by magnifying the prerogatives of constitutional governments as it once did those of monarchs. Let men learn that a legislature is not "our God upon earth," though, by the authority they ascribe to it and the things they expect from it, they would seem to think it is. Let them learn rather, that it is an institution serving a purely temporary purpose, whose power, when not stolen, is, at the best, borrowed.

Nay, indeed, have we not seen that government is essentially immoral? Is it not the offspring of evil, bearing about it all the marks of its parentage? Does it not exist because crime exists? Is it not strong, or, as we say, despotic, when crime is great? Is there not more liberty—that is, less government—as crime diminishes? And must not government cease when crime ceases, for very lack of objects on which to perform its function? Not only does magisterial power exist because of evil, but it exists by evil. Violence is employed to maintain it; and all violence involves criminality. Soldiers, policemen, and gaolers; swords, batons, and fetters,—are instruments for inflicting pain; and all infliction of pain is, in the abstract, wrong. The State employs evil weapons to subjugate evil, and is alike contaminated by the objects with which it deals and the means by which it works. Morality cannot recognise it; for morality, being simply a statement of the perfect law, can give no countenance to anything growing out of, and living by, breaches of that law. Wherefore legislative authority can never be ethical—must always be conventional merely.

Hence there is a certain inconsistency in the attempt to determine the right position, structure, and conduct of a government by appeal to the first principles of rectitude. For, as just pointed out, the acts of an institution which is, in both nature and origin, imperfect cannot be made to square with the perfect law. All that we can do is to ascertain, firstly, in what attitude a legislature must stand to the community to avoid being by its mere existence an embodied wrong; secondly, in what manner it must be constituted so as to exhibit the least incongruity with the moral law; and, thirdly, to what sphere its actions must be limited to prevent it from multiplying those breaches of equity it is set up to prevent.

The first condition to be conformed to before a legislature can be established without violating the law of equal freedom is

the acknowledgment of the right now under discussion—the right to ignore the State.

§ 3. Upholders of pure despotism may fitly believe State-control to be unlimited and unconditional. They who assert that men are made for governments and not governments for men may consistently hold that no one can remove himself beyond the pale of political organisation. But they who maintain that the people are the only legitimate source of power—that legislative authority is not original, but deputed—cannot deny the right to ignore the State without entangling themselves in an absurdity.

For, if legislative authority is deputed, it follows that those from whom it proceeds are the masters of those on whom it is conferred; it follows further that as masters they confer the said authority voluntarily: and this implies that they may give or withhold it as they please. To call that deputed which is wrenched from men whether they will or not is nonsense. But what is here true of all collectively is equally true of each separately. As a government can rightly act for the people only when empowered by them, so also can it rightly act for the individual only when empowered by him. If A, B, and C debate whether they shall employ an agent to perform for them a certain service, and if, whilst A and B agree to do so, C dissents, C cannot equitably be made a party to the agreement in spite of himself. And this must be equally true of thirty as of three: and, if of thirty, why not of three hundred, or three thousand, or three millions?

§ 4. Of the political superstitions lately alluded to, none is so universally diffused as the notion that majorities are omnipotent. Under the impression that the preservation of order will ever require power to be wielded by some party, the moral sense of our time feels that such power cannot rightly be conferred on any but the largest moiety of society. It interprets literally the saying that "the voice of the people is the voice of God," and, transferring to the one the sacredness attached to the other, it concludes that from the will of the people—that is, of the majority—there can be no appeal. Yet is this belief entirely erroneous.

Suppose, for the sake of argument, that, struck by some Malthusian panic, a legislature duly representing public opinion were to enact that all children born during the next ten years should be drowned. Does any one think such an enactment would be warrantable? If not, there is evidently a limit to the power of a majority. Suppose, again, that of two races living together—Celts and Saxons, for example—the most numerous determined to make the others their slaves. Would the authority of the greatest number be in such case valid? If not, there is something to which its authority must be subordinate. Suppose, once more, that all men having incomes under £50 a year were to resolve upon reducing every income above that amount to their own standard, and appropriating the excess for public purposes. Could their resolution be justified? If not, it must be a third time confessed that there is a law to which the popular voice must defer. What, then, is that law, if not the law of pure equity—the law of equal freedom? These restraints, which all would put to the will of the majority, are exactly the restraints set up by that law. We deny the right of a majority to murder, to enslave, or to rob, simply because murder, enslaving, and robbery are violations of that law—violations too gross to be overlooked. But, if great violations of it are wrong, so also are smaller ones. If the will of the many cannot supersede the first principle of morality in these cases, neither can it in any. So that, however insignificant the minority, and however trifling the proposed trespass against their rights, no such trespass is permissible.

When we have made our constitution purely democratic, thinks to himself the earnest reformer, we shall have brought government into harmony with absolute justice. Such a faith, though perhaps needful for the age, is a very erroneous one. By no process can coercion be made equitable. The freest form of government is only the least objectionable form. The rule of the many by the few we call tyranny: the rule of the few by the many is tyranny also, only of a less intense kind. "You shall do as we will, and not as you will," is in either case the declaration; and, if the hundred make it to ninety-nine, instead of the ninety-nine to the hundred, it is only a fraction less immoral. Of two such parties, whichever fulfils this declaration necessarily breaks the law of equal freedom: the only difference being that by the one it is broken in the persons of ninety-nine, whilst by the other it is broken in the persons of a hundred. And the merit of the democratic form of government consists solely in this,—that it trespasses against the smallest number.

The very existence of majorities and minorities is indicative of an immoral state. The man whose character harmonises with the moral law, we found to be one who can obtain complete happiness without diminishing the happiness of his fellows. But the enactment of public arrangements by vote implies a society consisting of men otherwise constituted—implies that the desires of some cannot be satisfied without sacrificing the desires of others—implies that in the pursuit of their happiness the majority inflict a certain amount of unhappiness on the minority.

—implies, therefore, organic immorality. Thus, from another point of view, we again perceive that even in its most equitable form it is impossible for government to dissociate itself from evil; and further, that, unless the right to ignore the State is recognised, its acts must be essentially criminal.

(To be concluded.)

THE POWER OF THE CHURCH.

The power of the Church has been a great deal upheld through custom. Eighteen centuries of Christian practice and formula have created an extraordinary amount of atavism. Family traditions, our very ancestors, protect the Church. The dead plead for dead causes.

The phase which arose when the prophetic cry rang forth, "Great Pan is dead!" is being renewed at this moment. Belief is gone, yet practice continues. Without troubling themselves as to the object of the cult or its true meaning, the peasants of the fourth and fifth centuries continued their devotions to Apollo, Jupiter, and Minerva, while giving homage to the new divinities—Christ, the Holy Spirit, and Mary.

People were not able to distinguish clearly. And in our days, among the believers who haunt the churches, how many are there to whom the dogma is little better than an obscure labyrinth where reason wanders bewildered? How many are there for whom the word "God" has an intelligible sense? How many who understand the meaning of the Trinity? How many who believe seriously in hell, paradise, angels, devils? How many to whom the miraculous birth is other than a legend into which they do not care to look too closely for fear Voltairean misgivings might stifle their faith?

Still, people "practise"—much less certainly than formerly, but still they practise. The fact being that the Church has an immense social influence which reacts upon everything. It takes the human being into its arms at birth by baptism, and abandons it only after the earth closes upon the coffin. It interferes in every transaction and every decisive moment of our existence; it directs and superintends such agencies as marriage and the means of livelihood; it is the mournful side of our society, robbed of joy and merriment, a centre of feminine vanities and distraction. A clever observer has remarked that on every countryside it is at Church only that the young girls and women can wear their Sunday clothes. The remark may sound childish: it is full of deep meaning.

The political influence of the Church, especially in monarchical countries, is immeasurable. Governments lean upon it and it upholds the Governments. Empires, monarchies, even republics, become in turn impregnated by it. It offers to each (reciprocity understood) its influence, devotion, and, if need be, apparent servility. Where does despotism meet with such amity or absolute complicity as in religion, which places heaven at its service, declaring that as all power proceeds from God, Governments should be rendered rigid obedience? Is it not to Christianity we owe that monstrous institution—king by divine right; the affirmation of Caesarian laws, the doctrine that reserves to sovereigns every right and leaves to subjects duty only?

"By rights," said Augustine, commenting upon St. John, "God made the rich and poor from the same piece of earth, and it is the same world which supports both. It is, therefore, through human right that one can say, 'This house is mine.' But the human right is nothing else than the imperial will. Why? Because it is through emperors and kings of the period that God distributes human rights to the human race. Take that right from emperors, and who would dare to say, 'This house is mine'? It is by right of kings that we possess anything at all."

To these means of domination and oppression the Christian Church adds one other, no less formidable—the power of money.

Never, in antiquity, has a metaphysical creed had such financial resources at its disposition as Christianity, through State Budgets, accumulation of capital, and private gifts. The revenue of the various Christian Churches amounts to more than a thousand millions.

Imagine what this enormous sum must be able to do towards the purchase of allegiance, convinced or not!

Every day, every hour throughout the world, millions of voices proclaim the superiority of the Christian Church and overwhelm its adversaries with outrages or anathemas.

If ever Churches have been armed for resistance and domination, they certainly are the Christian Churches. During fourteen centuries they have had decrees of exile, confiscation, and death, special tribunals, torture under every form, scaffolds and executioners at their service. Whoever wrote against the Church was overwhelmed by severe penalties. The smallest offence denounced by its intolerance was followed by cruellest punishment.

Under these conditions and with such means for existence, it is neither surprising nor difficult to understand how the Christian Church became all-powerful; but that this power, thus constituted, thus organised, thus enriched during centuries, should begin to weaken—that is the miracle, the great miracle—and that miracle is to-day a truth.—(From "La Fin des Religions," by A. Dide.)

ANARCHISM IN NEW ZEALAND.

Our comrade, P. Josephs, of Wellington, New Zealand, has succeeded, almost single-handed, in building up an agency for the distribution of Anarchist literature on quite a large scale. For six or seven years he carried it on in the usual way, by attending meetings and trying to interest individuals by conversation and the gift of an Anarchist paper or pamphlet, with very poor success. But thinking it time to try other methods, about twelve months ago he inserted an advertisement of pamphlets and books in the *Maoriland Worker*, the official organ of the New Zealand Federation of Labour, which has a large circulation. Immediately orders and inquiries began to flow in, the business increasing so quickly that he had not enough stock to keep up with it. This was soon remedied, and large advertisements brought still bigger business. Now he has issued a four-page list of books and pamphlets on sale, the variety of which is a striking testimony to the interest he has aroused in Anarchism. Agencies have also been established in Canterbury, Otago, and Auckland.

At the present moment there is no Anarchist movement, as we understand the term, in New Zealand. But from articles and speeches reported in the *Maoriland Worker* from time to time the influence of Anarchist ideas can be easily traced, and it is certain that comrades will shortly be holding meetings and carrying on more active work. Credit is due to the editor of the *Maoriland Worker* for his sympathy and assistance; in fact, although not an Anarchist, his opponents have charged him with advocating Anarchism in his paper.

Our comrade Josephs' initiative and energy have met with the success they deserved, and should be an object-lesson to those who are sometimes only too ready to sit down and bemoan their own impotence.

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

In the death of Voltairine de Cleyre the libertarian movement has lost one of its most talented and devoted workers. For nearly twenty-five years she has by voice and pen championed the cause of the downtrodden, and with a courage equal to her great ability stood for light and liberty.

Owing to ill health her voice has not been heard so frequently of late years, and her best work was done with the pen. Her poems, essays, and reviews have inspired thousands in their fight for freedom, to an extent impossible to measure. In the interest of libertarian thought and the struggle for a larger life, as well as a testimonial to her great talents and devotion, a committee of Voltairine de Cleyre's personal friends and co-workers has been selected to gather and publish her works. Many poems and articles, as yet in manuscript, are in hand, and these, with her published works and a biographical sketch, will be issued in two volumes, making a fit monument to one of America's greatest women. That it will be an arsenal of knowledge for the student and soldier of freedom, none who knows the depth of her thought and beauty of style will dispute.

Contributions to the Publication Fund are earnestly solicited. Donations and advance orders can be sent to Harry Kelly, care of *Mother Earth*, 55 West 28th Street, New York, and to S. Yanovsky, office of the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, 30 Canal Street, New York.

Necessary information will be supplied by Margaret Perle McLeod, Secretary of the Committee, 78 Putnam Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.

BOOK NOTES.

La Escuela Moderna. By Francisco Ferrer. 256 pp. 2 pesetas. Barcelona: Publicaciones de la Escuela Moderna, Cortes 478.

This book, which was written by Ferrer and has only just been published, gives the history of the Modern School in Spain from its beginning till the tragic end of its founder. It is preceded by a statement by L. Portet (Ferrer's successor), and a preface by our comrade Anselmo Lorenzo. There are seventeen chapters, explaining the means by which he obtained the money to start his experiment and the course of instruction in his schools, terminating with an appendix which demonstrates scientifically the value of Ferrer's method of instruction. The work is to be translated into English by G. H. B. Ward, of Sheffield, and into French by Charles Malato. Every one desirous of learning the true history of the Modern School should read this book.

We have received the first number of a French monthly review, *Le Mouvement Anarchiste*, published by the Anarchist Communist Club in Paris. The little review of 16 pages is well edited and contains good articles. In our days of strikes and economic upheaval the articles "The Economic Question and the Anarchists" and "The Insufficiency of Strikes" are specially interesting. The address of *Le Mouvement Anarchiste* is 36 Rue Rochefoucault, Paris. The subscription for foreign countries is only 1s. 3d.

Anarchy. Translated from the French of André Girard. 3d. London: Y. Pinot, 38 Kingsland Road, N.E.

Las Bases Morales y Sociología de la Anarquía. Pedro Gori. 10c. Barcelona: *Salud y Fuerza*, Provenza 177, principal, 1A.

Entre Campesinos. E. Malatesta. 10c. Barcelona: Same publishers.

The New Single Tax: What It Is and What It Will Do. By Henry Boothman. London: A. C. Fifield, Clarendon's Inn, E.C.

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

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A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

Monthly, One Penny; post free, 1½d.; U.S.A., 3 Cents; France, 15 Centimes.

Annual Subscription, post free, 1s. 6d.; U.S.A., 36 Cents; France, 1fr. 80c.
Foreign subscriptions should be sent by International Money Order.

Wholesale price, 1s. 6d. per quire of 26 post-free in the United Kingdom.

All communications, exchanges, &c., to be addressed to

THE MANAGER, 127 Ossulston Street, N.W.

The Editors are not necessarily in agreement with signed articles.

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THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

As we go to press, the forty-fifth annual Congress is being held at Newport (Mon.). Considering that the delegates represent two million organised workers, this should be an event of great importance to those who work in factory, mill, or mine; but in looking back at past Congresses, it is difficult to point to any one which has done anything that has really struck at the roots of our economic slavery, and, judging from the agenda of the present Congress, there seems no prospect of it being more revolutionary than its predecessors. It is related of Queen Elizabeth that on returning to London after a short absence she asked her favourite Minister what had passed whilst she was away. He replied: "Seven weeks." And if it were asked what had passed at any one previous Trades Union Congress, the answer might fitly be: "One week."

The fact of the matter is that the objects and methods of the Congress are hopelessly out of date. The rising Socialist movement has had very little effect on it so far. It is true that some years ago the Congress passed a resolution in favour of the collective ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange; but it was a pious resolution, and has never had any effect. As the stated objects of the Congress are "to watch all legislation affecting Labour, and to initiate such legislation as Congress may direct," it necessarily follows that only resolutions advocating Parliamentary action can be discussed; and year after year there are appeals to either the Parliamentary Committee or the Government asking for legislation to remedy the many grievances of various sections of organised Labour, some of which are of comparatively minor importance. Imagine five hundred delegates, drawn from all parts of the country and from numerous trades, discussing resolutions such as these:—

"That this Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to again introduce into Parliament during the next Session the Bill relating to one person having charge of two horses and two vehicles."

"That this Congress reaffirms the resolution passed at the Liverpool Congress, 1906, 'That all four-wheeled dicky vans should be fitted with dicky straps, skid pans, and efficient brakes.'"

These questions, of course, are of vital importance to carmen, but are entirely out of place at a Congress like this, where only broad questions of policy affecting Labour as a whole can be properly discussed.

With the growing feeling in favour of Syndicalism and Direct Action, and against Parliamentary methods, must come an entire change in the objects and procedure of Congress. Instead of passing resolutions instructing the Parliamentary Committee to ask Parliament to grant favours, the workers will present their demands direct to the capitalists and enforce them with their united strength. No more will the representatives of Labour go, cap in hand, asking for another penny an hour or a reduction in working hours, or even for the "right to work." The cry of the workers will be "To Labour all that Labour produces!" and nothing less than the expropriation of the landlords and capitalists will satisfy that demand.

Hope is the mother of Revolution, and the hope of sweeping away the present system and of living a free and natural life will bind the workers together into an irresistible force. In that day all the much-belauded social panaceas of our "great" statesmen—old-age pensions, compulsory insurance, the single tax, small holdings, etc.—will be swept on to the rubbish heap; and Congresses then will be gatherings where free men and women will meet on grounds of equality and discuss social questions with one aim—the well-being of all.

Who are the Feeble-Minded?

Once when someone told Professor Huxley that "a little knowledge was a dangerous thing," he asked: "Then where is he who knows so much as to be out of danger?" To those detestable people who are prescribing all sorts of horrors for the unfortunates they regard as the feeble-minded the question may likewise be put: "Are you then such powerful specimens of perfect mentality that you are without faults? Far from it, if one might judge from your lack of real science."

We do not propose to argue with these bigoted haters of the poor—for the rich they will never touch—but we shall take the opportunity of putting before our readers the views of Dr. Henry Maudsley, who has studied deeply and in the true scientific spirit the difficult subject of the eccentricities of the human mind. In his renowned work, "Responsibility in Mental Disease," he says:—

"Let it be observed now that in its less marked forms the insane neurosis is by no means the unmixed evil which it might on a superficial consideration appear to be. When we look into the matter it is truly remarkable how much mankind has been indebted for its originating impulses and for special displays of talent, if not of genius, to individuals who themselves or whose parents have sprung from families in which there has been some predisposition to insanity. Such persons are apt to seize on and pursue the bypaths of thought which have been overlooked by more stable intellects, and so, by throwing a sidelight upon things, to discover unthought-of relations. One observes this tendency of mind even in those of them who have no particular genius or talent; for they have a novel way of looking at things, do not run in the common groove of action or follow the ordinary routine of thought and feeling, but discover in their remarks a certain originality and perhaps singularity, sometimes at a very early period of life."

Who knows then what we owe to those eccentric members of the community who are frequently quite harmless, but whom most of us have seen at some time or other working out problems, or discovering small but useful things that the ordinary "practical common-sense man" could not and would not apply himself to? And let us note a particular point about those people who (in present society) are considered so desirable because they show their sanity (?) by following the "common groove of action." In Rome they do as Rome does. If it is a question of erecting jerry-built houses, they do it. If it is a question of adulterating human food, it's all the same. If it is a question of concocting pernicious literature, writing lying articles for the press, or preparing advertisements for quack medicines, well, that's all right—there's money in it. We are greatly indebted (for many evils) to these obliging people, who are "sane" enough "to manage their own affairs" and damn other people's. On the other hand, some poor devil of a genius who is too fond of whisky, or some victimised inventor who has the "eccentricity" of getting into debt—these unfortunates are to be sterilised by order of the Eugenists because they do not fit the pattern they have made for humanity to conform to.

But let us listen to Maudsley again:—

"In very truth it will be found that many of the great reforms of thought and action have been initiated by persons either sprung from insane families, or some of whom might themselves have been thought insane. They present what in our ignorance we are constrained to call accidental variations of mental structure and function, which may, according to circumstances, either perish or initiate new lines of evolution. They have had the necessary zeal, and they have had also the impulse of originality, which is a sort of inspiration, for it cannot be acquired by reflection; whence probably has arisen the superstitious notion, which has prevailed in certain countries, that the insane were divinely inspired. They were cracked, but, as it has been remarked, the crack let in light."

Now is it not obvious that a large proportion of the greatest minds the world has ever known would have come under the ban of these faddists if their principles were to be applied to the lives of the great ones among mankind? What would have happened to Burns, to Byron, to Shelley, and a whole host of ne'er-do-wells who have helped to make life beautiful and enduring. Poor Goldsmith would have been a jail bird all his life. Keats would never have been born, since we know that his consumption was congenital. His beautiful sonnets and the "Ode to a Nightingale" would have been lost, and we should have been sure only of such gems as the "Absent-minded Beggar"!

However, it will be more profitable to follow Maudsley as he

enlarges on this point, so we need make no apology for a long quotation:—

“The insane person is in a minority of one in his opinions, and so at first is the reformer, the difference being that the reformer's belief is an advance upon the received system of thought and so in time gets acceptance, while the belief of the former being opposed to the common sense of mankind gains not acceptance, but dies out with its possessor or with the few foolish persons whom it has perchance infected. But it has happened again and again in the world that opinions which seemed absurd to the common sense of mankind, and which were therefore accounted madness, have turned out to be true. The novel mode of looking at things, which is characteristic of the insane temperament, may be an intuitive insight, a sort of inspiration, which laboured reflection could never attain unto; it is the very opposite in action to that bond of habit which enthral the mental life of the majority of mankind. The power of stepping out of the beaten track of thought, of bursting by a happy inspiration through the bonds of habit and originating a new line of reflection, is most rare, and should be welcomed in spite of its sometimes becoming extravagant or even degenerating into the vagaries of insanity. The individuals who manifest these impulses of development may not see their true relations, and may carry them to a ridiculous extreme; but they are still, perhaps, the unconscious organs of a new germ of thought, which shall plant itself and become largely fruitful in the minds of others of a larger philosophic capacity, but not perhaps capable of the originating inspiration; for those who perceive and co-ordinate the tendencies of thought are commonly not those who originate them.

“There are antagonistic forces at work in the determination of the orbit of human thought as there are in the determination of the orbits of the planets—a centrifugal or revolutionary force giving the expansive impulse of new ideas, and a centripetal or conservative force working in the restraining influence of habit; the resultant of their opposing actions being the determination of the path of the evolution of mind. Add to the eccentric impulse the ardent enthusiasm and passionate energy with which a belief is maintained and propagated, the self-sufficing faith which overcomes incredulity, gradually gaining disciples, and we have an explanation of the resemblance which has been noticed between the prophetic inspiration of genius and the mania of insanity. For the insane temperament may, according to the direction of its development, conduct its possessor to madness, or make him the originator of some new thought or new thing in the world; the faith and labour with which he labours in the achievement of his aim actually saving him from the madness from which he might otherwise have suffered. Here as elsewhere we must have regard to the external circumstances as well as to the internal fact in the determination of the result: we shall sometimes find one member of a family who has had an active career in a suitable track go on through life without ever breaking down into mental derangement, while another whose circumstances have not been favourable becomes hopelessly insane.”

This splendid statement of a difficult problem displays the true scientific mind—a mind not divorced from humanity. At the same time does it not open our eyes to the frightful iniquities made possible by such legislation as is proposed in the Feeble-Minded Bill? The awful abuses that have been possible under our lunacy laws, and which have been exposed over and over again, will be doubled if this Bill should pass. And, above all, it should be understood that the power of putting under detention those who preach against the established order is a danger that may be threatened. As Maudsley truly says, “opinions which seemed absurd to the common sense of mankind, and which were therefore accounted madness, have turned out to be true,” and we see clearly enough the possibility of truth, instead of being for “ever on the scaffold,” being for ever in a mad-house!

Every thinking person knows, of course, that the subject of heredity is of the deepest interest, and requires the most profound study. How difficult that study is, with what care and sympathy it should be approached, Dr. Maudsley makes clear to us. But that this infamous preaching of the sterilisation of the unfit should find supporters while science is still so much in the dark over the obscure workings of heredity, proves before all things the desire to distract the public mind from the attention that should be given to the influence of environment—of social and economic conditions—on man's character. We think G. K. Chesterton is absolutely in the right when he says these people are making a crusade against the poor for being poor. The idiots amongst the aristocracy and the middle-classes—and heaven knows they are plentiful enough!—will never suffer the tortures of this new tribe of inquisitors; and when one remembers all that Maudsley has explained to us with such care and insight, we are brought to the conclusion that the best thing the Eugenists can do is to sterilise themselves.

THE LAND FOR THE PEOPLE.

There has been of late a healthy and welcome revival of interest in the question of land ownership and tenure in this country. This question has been obscured to a great extent for many years by reason of the attention of social reformers and revolutionists being centred upon the conditions of the working classes in the great industrial centres, and the strenuous efforts which have been necessary to arouse in them a comprehension of the situation and a feeling of revolt against the domination of capitalism and the hope of freedom.

It would not be true to say that the subject has been altogether overlooked, for, naturally, the evils of land monopoly have been so prominent that it would be impossible to pass them by. There has been, however, too little direct and vigorous assault upon the entrenchments of the land-owning class, and too much pious agreement that the land question is “the root question,” and that when the evils of commercialism are attacked and swept away by a frontal attack upon the capitalist forces the landowner will vacate his position. Rather should the matter be stated the other way round, for, given the free access of all men to the land and the raw materials which it contains, economic independence even to-day might speedily follow, and the reign of the profitmonger, the sweater, and financier come to an end.

While it is true that the attack upon landlordism in Britain by no means originated with Henry George, it is also the fact that his campaign against this great source of human misery and slavery gave an immense stimulus to the movement of revolt against bad social conditions in these islands. It has often been remarked that the Socialist movement benefitted most of all by his efforts. But is this not because a study of the history of landlordism and its effects upon the lives of the people induces radical thought more than any other portion of the system of exploitation and tyranny in vogue to-day? The problem is simpler and clearer. The injustice of land monopoly, and the wholesale and heartless robbery of labour which is its consequence, is more patent and more easily discernible by the simple intelligence than the proceedings of the capitalist, which are more or less hidden from the gaze of the ordinary man or woman, and by specious reasoning may be made to appear justifiable by a plausible reasoning which asserts that the capitalist plunderer is but taking the reward of his ability from the social store, or receiving the natural return upon his capital for the indispensable part it has played in the production of wealth.

It is difficult, or rather it involves a long course of economic education, to make the worker realise the fallacy and often wilful deceit of these pretences—for as reasoned arguments they have been tried and found wanting—though there is happily nowadays in every part of the country men and women engaged persistently in this necessary task. But land monopolists and their apologists are intellectually naked against the reasoned assault upon their privileges. The social revolutionist cannot afford to ignore these facts, but ought to recognise the advantage which he possesses, and, regarding it as the weakest portion of the present system—and one most profitable in results for his efforts—strike home right there.

The politicians have been at their wits' ends for a long time past for bait for the electorate. Various catcheries and sham remedies have been utilised whereby it was hoped to stave off the demands of the “have-nots.” Just as their fears of the Parliamentary Labour movement had subsided—being found to be baseless—the labouring people began to use the weapon of direct action, and all the politicians' schemes of trickery were shattered.

Now that the land question is coming to the front—due largely to the efforts of the advocates of the Single Tax—it is possible that the clap-trap of the “People's Budget” *pro* and *con*. may be repeated. Not that the Single Tax theory is to be taken as the basis and plan for the action of any party, except may be the Labour Party, because that would not suit the books of the managers of the political game at all; but while the fire and thunder of that section of land reformers is stolen, the same old reactionary trick is being performed, *viz.*, making a new arrangement which strengthens rather than weakens the power of the classes who live by the robbery and oppression of the poor. The farce of taxes upon land values will be played off on a big scale. The landowning class and their supporters will shriek and whine over a pretended “confiscation,” and in the end will turn out to be richer and more powerful than ever.

We have to recognise that the landlord and capitalist classes are becoming identical in every sense of the word. The abolition of primogeniture, the cheapening of the sale and transfer of land, while these things will facilitate the complete development of the capitalist as “the lord of creation”—and for ever obliterate the distinctions between the contesting hordes of social parasites—they can only result so far as the workers are concerned in placing them under the rule and mastery of an absolutely united foe.

The shifting of the incidence of taxation upon the land to a greater or lesser extent simply means, as in Germany, the provision of a larger sum for the enormous cost of militarism and other useless and wasteful State services. Even the much-belauded Single Tax could only result in a gigantic single haul of the nation's wealth for State purposes—a kind of political monopoly. And to pay the huge cost of an infamous Governmental system by levying taxation upon land values would not

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lessen the loss and injury which they cause to the working community. Neither could the Single Tax rescue the propertyless wage-workers from the effects of their present economic position in society. It may, as claimed by its advocates, force land into cultivation or release it for building purposes and stimulate trade; but we know only too well that all these things whenever and wherever they occur offer no means of redress or emancipation to the working classes. On the contrary, the power of the capitalist increases thereby instead of diminishing.

Peasant proprietorship and small holdings, pet schemes of Tories and Labour M.P., hardly need serious treatment just now. They have in them, if only in theory—one cannot say more for them—the suggestion of the truth. That is, *the people need the land*. State taxes never did and never will accomplish that purpose; but exactly the opposite.

There is the obvious and simple solution of the problem before us all. That is, that the people shall recognise no man's claim to monopolise the land or the minerals, and shall refuse to pay over the proceeds of their labour to any idler or monopolist in return for the permission to live upon and use the soil. That direct social action is necessary to realise that condition of things is true; but it will and can only be done in defiance of the State.

It is, indeed, a pitiable state of things to-day that here we have a beautiful and fertile land pleading for wise and rational use by its people, and yet they leave it lying idle. They cross the seas to unfriendly climes and harsher and more ungrateful soil; they crowd in slums and tread each other's lives out in the social press. And all the while, right to their hands, within walking distance everywhere, lies Nature's own door of escape from man's error and oppression. Not even manufacturing industry, with all the wonderful aids which science and invention have provided, offers a more bountiful reward for the labours of mankind.

Oh, for the great International General Strike against rent, followed by the march of the people to take possession of the land for common use and benefit—the only secure basis for economic freedom.

G.

THE CAPITALISTS' SPECTACLES.

At a general meeting of the Great Northern Railway Company on August 15 last, in proposing a vote of thanks to the chairman, a Mr. Dingwall said: "Of course, when this country comes to the happy position of being able to deny itself the luxury of a strike every month or even six weeks; when everyone understands about the wording and working of the Insurance Act—especially those who are responsible for it; when people have actually tasted the 'rare and refreshing fruit' which we have heard so much of during the past year—which some people think so good, and which others think no better than sour grapes; when Capital and Labour can work together, and everyone realises that what is for the benefit of one is almost always for the benefit of the other; and when strike leaders and Labour leaders allow other workers the same liberty of action that they claim for themselves—we shall have better results."

Now the noticeable thing about this outburst is the "point of view." It paints the picture of a shareholder's mind as nearly as one could get it. For him a strike is a mere outbreak of devilment on the part of a jolly lot of overpaid and well-fed workers who don't know when they are well off. The reason why harmony does not exist between Capital and Labour is because the damned Socialists, Anarchists, and strike leaders prevent the wage-slaves from realising "that what is for the benefit of one is almost always for the benefit of the other."

Who would imagine after all this that it sometimes happens a railway worker can be found trying to keep himself, wife and family on a pound a week, while the chairman (Lord Allerton), who takes, let us suppose, a cool £5,000 a year for filling that post, can if he choose have a special train to carry him to and from his country mansion? "What is for the benefit of one is almost always for the benefit of the other" takes a lot of "realising" under these conditions. On the other hand, the railway worker has no difficulty in "realising" that one of the easiest things in the world is for him to taste "the rare and refreshing fruit" of injury, dismemberment, and death in the service of those good people whose interests are "almost always" identical with his own. Obviously the thousands injured and the hundreds killed in the interest of *economy*, as well as the starvation wages, are facts that do not cross the mind of the gentlemen whose privilege it is to taste "the rare and refreshing fruit" of pocketing the dividends.

And then that talk about allowing "other workers the same liberty of action." What do they mean by "liberty," but the right to "blackleg." And do they like "blacklegging" amongst their own class? Not a bit of it. What they really want is only one thing—they want it all their own way. That is their "only point of view."

SOUVENIR OF VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE.

We have received a few copies of an interesting souvenir of Voltairine de Cleyre, consisting of a good portrait, the words and music of her favourite song, her last public recitation ("Revolution," by Freiligrath), and a poem addressed to the Tsar. It is printed on good paper, with a red cover. Price 9d. each post-free.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

France.

On September 16-24 the national Congress of French Trade Unions will be held at Havre. The four questions which the affiliated Unions voted to have on the programme are—(1) Shorter hours of labour; (2) antimilitarist propaganda, the attitude of the workers in case of war, Millerand's Bill; (3) old-age pensions; (4) high cost of living. For us Anarchists the second question is certainly the most interesting. The growing expenditure on militarism, which has to be borne by the workers, and the more and more frequent use of soldiers and sailors against strikers, make it urgent for organised Labour to realise the position and make up their minds how to combat it in time of peace and what attitude to take when their Government has declared war. That antimilitarist activity hits the State and Capitalism in a tender spot is shown clearly by the special Bill proposed by the ex-Socialist War Minister, Millerand, who wants to put young men who have been condemned for antimilitarist acts under the tender care of the well-known brutes of special African regiments. To the lasting shame of the Socialist Deputies, this infamous law against the flower of the French youth was allowed to be rushed through Parliament without their energetic opposition. But the workers are awakened to the danger, and everywhere discussions and meetings of protest are taking place. The Rousset case, with its exposure of the horrible brutalities practised in these African disciplinary battalions, is also helping to fan the flame of indignation against the new law.

After fifty days of struggle, the seamen in the Atlantic and Channel ports decided to resume work. The strike continues only in Marseilles. But the resumption of work by the others does not mean that they are beaten. Never before has their Union been so strong. The solidarity and tenacity shown in this strike have been far greater and more general than ever before; and have deeply impressed the ship-owners, who have suffered such losses that they are far from wishing for another struggle like the last one. The increase of wages demanded by the men is expected to be granted. In any case, the proud position of the shipping companies has been shaken. When the seamen at Havre started the movement, they did not guess that it would spread to all the chief ports and could last so long. The National Federation of Seamen has proved to be a real Labour force which will be able to spread everywhere the principles of revolt against exploitation.

Switzerland.

Our friend Bertoni has been arrested in a small village not far from Zurich. For four days he was kept in prison without having been charged with an offence, and not permitted to communicate with anybody. This treatment, resembling Russian police methods, was meted out to our indefatigable comrade, according to some papers, simply because the authorities wanted to put him out of the way, as the Kaiser's visit is expected; but others explained it by the fact that Bertoni had given lectures on Bresci. As Bertoni on every anniversary of Bresci's deed has commemorated the event in his paper *Le Reveil* and by holding meetings, it looks as if the police must indeed have been urged on by the special circumstances of the Kaiser manoeuvres. *La Voix du Peuple*, of Lausanne, states sarcastically that during the Emperor's stay in Switzerland the cry of "Long live William Tell!" will probably be made punishable as an incitement to crime, by immediate arrest by the police.

Italy.

The Italian press has been discussing whether the split in the Italian Socialist Party and the formation of a new Reformist Party would bring about a change in the attitude of the central Trade Union organisation, the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro. When the Reformist wing of the Socialist Party seceded, they hoped that most of the Labour leaders would follow their example. But, except Cabrini, who was expelled from the Italian Socialist Congress, Dell'Avale at Milan, and Calda at Genoa, few Trade Union leaders are expected to leave the party. Nevertheless, the executive of the Confederation of Labour was obliged to deal with the question of the split and its own attitude at elections in the future. It had been expected that the Confederation would perhaps decide to put up its own candidates for Parliament, thereby taking the first step towards the formation of an Independent Labour Party, as in England. In this case it would have been possible that in one constituency three candidates, each pretending to represent the proletariat, would have presented themselves: a Socialist, a Reformist, and a Labour man. This edifying spectacle has been spared to the Italian workers, as the Confederation of Labour has decided to remain strictly neutral towards the Socialist and the new Reformist Parties, not to nominate its own candidates, nor to give to its members any instructions how to vote in elections.

Spain.

Two months ago the masons and other workers in the building trade at Zaragossa went on strike for shorter hours and other small ameliorations of the conditions of work. Some of the employers were inclined to give in, but finally the negotiations failed, as the other employers remained obdurate. Then the masons asked for the help of other Unions, which was readily given. On August 12 a general strike was proclaimed, in which all the Unions took part. Traffic in

the town was at a standstill. The local police was strengthened by several companies of civil guards. But the solidarity and unanimity of the workers had a great effect on the employers, and they consented to a nine-hour day and other claims of the strikers.

At Malaga, Madrid, Barcelona, and several other places strikes still continue, and the situation is serious.

Bosnia.

Even in the Balkan countries, which seem to be merely the plaything of diplomatists and the hunting-ground of concessionaires, the workers begin to awaken. Wherever Capitalism exists, the struggle between exploiter and exploited is sure to break out sooner or later. The Congress of Trade Unions of Bosnia-Herzegovina was held recently. The report of the secretary showed a satisfactory condition financially and an increase in membership. Of the 60,000 workers of the country only 6,000 are organised, the majority of whom work in the capital, Serajevo. Last year twenty-five strikes took place, sixteen of which were won, eight lost or still continue, whilst four conflicts were settled amicably.

Japan.

Alarmed at the growth of labour unrest throughout the country, the Mikado's advisers are urging the speedy passage by the Diet of an amendment to the Factory Law designed, as it is expressed at Tokio, to prevent future "outbreaks of dangerous thought." By the amendment's provisions, large manufacturers are required to set aside a percentage of their profits for their employees in addition to their regular wages. The employees will receive this money, however, only upon completion of specified terms of service. The Government has had much trouble with the awakening workers of late, and there can be no question that Japan is on the eve of important labour reforms.

Australia.

Side by side with unemployment—in Melbourne alone 1,500 Union men are on the streets—the "Labour" Governments are more and more interfering with the liberty of the workers. A Bill has been brought before the Parliament of Queensland which will introduce a system of arbitration which may be declared compulsory in certain cases. Any person inciting or provoking a lock-out will be fined £100, and if participating in or inciting to a strike, £50. This, of course, is not an innovation; as in New Zealand and some of the States of Australia compulsory arbitration with all its blessings has existed for some years.

The Commonwealth "Labour" Government, always mindful of the interests of the workers, has decided to impose conscription on the youth of Australia. But the people seem determined not to take this lying down. Over 10,000 young men have refused to come up for the compulsory military training, and a society has been formed which is actively working against conscription and organising the opposition. The Government, however, has decided to institute prosecutions in all cases, the young fellows to be imprisoned during the proceedings. Even if the people see no other way of showing their resentment of these Russian methods, it is quite possible they will turn out the present Government at the coming elections in October next.

Transvaal.

The following notes are taken from a letter from a comrade in Pretoria:—

"I have not given you any Anarchist notes of this country, as I promised, for the simple reason there is no organisation representing that name here. Most of the Socialists are of the political order, and we have many sections of them in the various industrial towns, Johannesburg, I suppose, representing the greatest mixture. I thank you for sending me the *Anarchist*. I was so glad to get it, and I was rather pleased with its contents. The brothers Blake, who run Little's News Agency in Market Street, get all papers, including FREEDOM, and have now ordered the *Anarchist* through their London agent. The Central News Agency won't supply them. Yet they do a roaring trade with all the mechanics working on the buildings going up about here. We have a new railway station, museum, and post-office, Church Square being adorned with pedestals for the statues of some famous butchers, I suppose. A new Government building is also going up, costing about £1,500,000. Still, in a couple of years or less they will all be completed, and the workers will be doing a hop again to some other portion of the globe for a job.

We have an I.W.W. here, and a Socialist Society, though neither very strong. I held forth at both of them on different occasions on Anarchy, and distributed the pamphlets I got from you. It is still a vague dream to them. I know only one other Anarchist in Pretoria—an Italian—and I fear he does not make a deep study of the philosophy. I belong to the Socialist Party, as there is no Anarchist group. I often see Crawford, editor of the *Voice of Labour*, Johannesburg, of which I will send you a couple of copies. I have started a series of articles in there, which are afterwards going to be published in pamphlet form. I will send you some when they are published.

I am sending you a cutting from the *Transvaal Chronicle* on you London Anarchists. I am wondering what you think of it? The local paper here often gives us such stuff. We do a bit of propaganda, and had inter-debates with the Labour Party and other debating clubs. We have now formed a Socialist Government (*sic*) at the Pretoria

Parliamentary Debating Society. They are giving me a portfolio, I think. We meet in the Town Council Chamber. I refuse to rise to the Mace and Speaker; some take it as a joke, others seriously. I am repeatedly called to order for deviating from the point and for red-hot utterances.

We hail with delight the industrial unrest in England. The Labourites are gaining political ground fast here.

W. H. HARRISON.

GROWTH OF STRIKE MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA.

Sometimes the statement of revolutionists that all is *not* quiet in the Little Father's domains is confirmed from unexpected quarters. One of the recently published bulletins of the Union of Manufacturers in Moscow gives some facts and figures which show that unrest, political and economic, is growing everywhere. Though Trade Unions are persecuted, meetings prohibited, and everything done by the Government to prevent the workers taking organised action, this bulletin states that the resistance to the authorities and the struggle for economic amelioration among the working classes is as marked and strong as in the fateful years 1904-5.

The strength of the strike movement may be seen from the fact that whilst in 1911 only 103,000 workers (5½ per cent. of all workers) took part in strikes, during the first six months of this year the number of strikers was 614,000, which is 31 per cent. of the working class. Of this number 515,000 struck work for a political purpose, as a protest or manifestation. This class of strikes is increasing rapidly.

The bulletin, though published by a most powerful Russian capitalist organisation, admits that if the present police rule and bureaucratic oppression continue, industry will suffer heavily and become disorganised. That the unrest is not confined to the workers is proved by the rumours of naval mutinies in the Baltic and Black Seas, and the news of executions and condemnations of hundreds of sailors who were said to have prepared the seizure of their ships and an attack on Odessa and other ports.

THE ETTOR AND GIOVANNITTI TRIAL.

The movement in favour of our imprisoned comrades is spreading to all countries. Meetings of protest have been held in Italy, France, Holland, and other countries; and the resolutions passed have been sent to President Taft and the Governor of Massachusetts. The Defence Committee at Lawrence is publishing constant reports of the movement, and an extensive campaign in the whole of the States has been carried on by experienced speakers. The two propagandists must be saved from the vengeance of the capitalists, and the criminal daring of the masters put a stop to, or the lives of every militant will soon be in danger.

Resolutions of protest and sympathy have been passed by the Glasgow Trades Council, the Glasgow branch of the British Socialist Party, the Glasgow Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party, and by a mass meeting held on Glasgow Green under the auspices of the Transport Workers' Union. A meeting is to be held in London at an early date.

Another Lesson Learned.

The recent coal strike has opened the eyes of many of the miners to the necessity of swift action if they desire to win a victory in the fight against the employers. Instead of giving the latter ample time to make arrangements and lay in a large stock, the strike must be unexpected and general, in order to make the masters consent to the demands. The Northumberland miners recently adopted the following resolution: "We recommend the Federation of Miners of Great Britain, in case of a national strike, to give a notice of twenty-four hours only in order to end our contracts."

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