

Freedom

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NOTICE.

With this issue of FREEDOM we are giving away a Cartoon entitled:

"WAIT AND SEE!"

NOTES.

Labour Day and the Labour Movement.

If the weather permits, there will be a great gathering of Socialists and Trade Unionists on Sunday next. Many things have happened since May, 1909, which both parties—indeed all advanced parties—have cause to discuss with the deepest interest. Labour politics have brought little enough grist to the mill of the worker. The wage-earner has found after all that he cannot make his force felt at the polls to anything like the extent he has been told, for reasons which we hope soon to make clear, in spite of the lies upon which he has been fed. For Socialists there are even more interesting problems to discuss. Hyndman and his satellites who represent the S.D.P. have, as they tell us after all these years, only been "ploughing the sands." Blatchford has reduced himself to ashes, the Grayson rocket has come down like a stick, and the luminaries who "represent" the Socialist (?) and Labour movements in Parliament are not in the best of odour with the "rank and file"—to use a hateful phrase. Such being the case with the "leaders," it might have been imagined these movements would have been demoralised by such a state of things. We are glad to say that nothing could be further from the truth. Many branches, we learn, have found new strength by continuing their activities without regard to "leaders." They have become real, active, autonomous groups, self-reliant and independent of party red-tape. We hope they will increase and multiply.

The Foundations of Government.

The Anderson affair is no surprise to those who know well enough the rottenness of society, and the infamous rascality that underlies all government. The virtuous serenity of the governing classes was probably a little disturbed to find all this filth and corruption of the spy system so near home. The respectable bourgeois does not mind paying to be "governed"—that is to say, having his interests protected—but he does not wish to be reminded of the crimes that are committed under the cloak of that word. He thinks the tribe of the Azeffs is only to be found in the police system of the Continent, and does not exist among the saints of Scotland Yard. After the Anderson disclosures, perhaps he may have his doubts. But why should all the odium be cast on such tools as Le Caron and his like? Governments have always used them, and always will; in fact, they breed them. Why not then blame the moral cowards who are content to live in a society that can tolerate such abominations, and who never raise their voices to denounce it? Why not execrate those who vote the secret service money, well-knowing the vile uses to which it will be put? In a word, why cannot the exploiting classes be honest for once, since the cat is out of the bag, and own that the soldier with his bullets, the policeman with his club, the spy with his corruption, are the real pillars of their precious society and of the government that takes it under its wing.

Socialism (?) in Australia.

If the millennium is to be brought to the people by political action, it seems to be about due in Australia at the present moment. But so far we hear nothing of the beginning of the reign of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The *Daily News* is certainly right when it warns us to expect nothing of the kind

to happen. For after all, perhaps, the biggest of all political lies is the lie that tells the workers they can win their emancipation through the ballot-box. They can by these means tighten their chains rather, and postpone the coming of real economic freedom—freedom from wage-slavery. Take any country in which the Socialist party is using political methods to further their ends, and what shall we find them doing? Wasting time in trying to secure miserable petty reforms, which the bourgeois class will very willingly give to the workers when outside pressure becomes sufficiently strong to threaten the "rights of property." And now we have the opportunity of watching developments in Australia with its "Socialist" Government, it is devoutly to be hoped the working classes the world over will mark, learn, and inwardly digest the moral of the situation. And when bitter experience shall have taught them how mistaken it was to put their trust in the broken reed of political action, we may hope they will learn that it is to their own right arms, directed by clear ideas, that they must turn for the conquest of those rights that can alone make life worth living.

Hooligans on the Bench.

We hope the British people begin to understand that all our hooligans are not bred and born in the slums. Not infrequently we hear of their doings at Oxford and Cambridge, where their "social position" saves them from the punishment served out to the slum-dweller. And these well-to-do cads are occasionally appointed to the magistracy, and then we get an exhibition of brutality such as we have lately had at Haywards Heath. If it could be supposed that such a sentence was applicable to a child for appropriating a piece of coal worth fivepence, what sentence, we ask, would be suitable to those who have appropriated to themselves the entire coal supply of Britain? The calculation is beyond us, so we leave it to the legal lights of Haywards Heath, merely noting the fact that these worthies—true patriots, no doubt—seem to think their child victims will be very useful in the Navy, helping to defend institutions that make them gaol-birds first, and food for powder after.

British Rule in Ceylon.

The *Free Hindustan*, of New York, gives some facts regarding the blessings of government as experienced by the Cingalees at the hands of the British administration. After reminding us that the pernicious opium traffic is still a Government monopoly, it gives the following figures to prove what a costly blessing foreign rule becomes to a subject race:—

"The salary and allowances of the English Governor of the island in 1908 was 181,519 rupees. The allowance for higher education, 136,221 rupees. Thus the allowance of an individual officer is more than the allowance voted for the higher education of the whole island by 45,298 rupees. Allowance for the retired officials of the British Government (1908), 1,608,539 rupees. Allowance for the vernacular education of four millions, 768,079 rupees. Pensions exceed the educational vote by 847,460 rupees. Revenue obtained by Government in 1909 by the sale of intoxicants and opium, etc., 7,777,189 rupees. Blessings of Western civilisation in Ceylon after a hundred years of British rule: Increase of crime, increase of insanity, increase of poverty and ignorance, destruction of indigenous arts and industries."

It is such an oft-told tale that one only wonders how much longer it can be repeated.

Government is the great blackmailer. . . . No good ever came from the law. All reforms have been the offspring of Revolution.

—BUCKLE.

The trade of governing has always been monopolised by the most ignorant and most rascally individuals of mankind.—THOMAS PAINE.

MODERN SCIENCE AND ANARCHISM.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

VII.

THE FUNCTION OF LAW IN SOCIETY.

Spencer is not the only one who fell into these errors. Remaining true to the teaching of Hobbes, the philosophers of the nineteenth century persisted in looking at primitive men as wild beasts living in small isolated families and fighting one another for their food and their womenfolk, till a kindly authority settled in their midst in order to enforce peace. Even a naturalist like Huxley went on repeating the same assertion as Hobbes, and wrote (in 1885) that in the beginning men lived by fighting "one against all," until, thanks to a few superior beings, "the first society was founded." (See his article, "The Struggle for Existence: a Programme.") Thus, even a learned Darwinian like Huxley had no idea that society, far from having been created by man, existed among animals long before his appearance on the earth. Such is the force of an established prejudice.

If we endeavour to trace the history of this prejudice, we soon find that it derived its origin from religion and churches. The secret societies of wizards, rain-makers (shamans—half sorcerers, and half priests), later on, the Assyrian and Egyptian priests, and still later on, the Christian priests, always endeavoured to persuade man that "the world is steeped in sin"; that only the kindly intervention of the shaman, the wizard, the saint, and the priest hinders the powers of evil from taking possession of man; that they alone can induce an angry divinity not to crush man by sin and then punish him for his ill deeds.

Primitive Christianity vainly endeavoured to weaken this prejudice as regards priests; but the Christian Church, taking a stand on the words of the Gospels concerning "eternal fire," only strengthened it. The idea itself of God the Son coming to die on earth, in order to redeem the sins of humanity, confirmed that way of thinking. And this is just what permitted the "Holy Inquisition" to subject their victims to the most atrocious tortures and to grill them on a slow fire: thus they were offered a chance of repentance and salvation from eternal suffering. Moreover, it was not only the Roman Catholic Church which acted in this way: all Christian Churches, faithful to the same principle, vied with one another in the invention of new sufferings in order to correct those stuck fast in "vice." Even now, nine people out of ten believe still that natural occurrences, such as droughts, earthquakes, and contagious diseases, are sent from on high by some kind of divinity to bring back sinning humanity to the right path.

At the same time, the State in its schools and universities maintained, and continues to maintain, the same faith in the natural perversity of man. Its teachers and professors everywhere teach the necessity of having a power above man, and of implanting a moral element in society by means of punishments, inflicted for violation of "moral law," which by some cunning they identify with written law. To convince men that this authority is necessary is a question of life and death for the State; because, if men began to doubt the necessity of strengthening moral principles by the strong hand of authority, they would soon lose their faith in the high mission of their rulers.

In this manner all our religious, historical, juridical, and social education is imbued with the idea that human beings, if left to themselves, would revert to savagery; that without authority men would eat one another; for nothing, they say, can be expected of the "multitude" but brutishness and the warring of each against all. Men would perish if above them soared not the elect: the priest and the judge, with their two helpmates—the policeman and the hangman. These saviours prevent, we are told, the battle of all against all; they inculcate respect of law, they teach discipline, and lead men with a high hand, till nobler conceptions shall have developed in their "hardened hearts," so that the whip, the prison, and the scaffold may be less necessary than they are to-day.

We laugh at one of those kings who, having been driven away in 1848, said on leaving: "My poor subjects! without me they will perish!" We mock at the English tradesman who is persuaded that his compatriots descend from the lost tribe of Israel, and therefore it is their destiny to impose good government on "inferior races."

But do we not find in all nations this same exaggerated self-appreciation amongst most of those who have learned something?

* *

And yet a scientific study of the development of societies and institutions brings us to quite different views. It proves that usages and customs created by mankind for the sake of mutual aid, mutual defence, and peace in general, were precisely elaborated by the "nameless multitude." And it was these customs that enabled man to survive in his struggle for existence in the midst of extremely hard natural conditions. Science demonstrates

to us that the so-called leaders, heroes, and legislators of humanity have added nothing to history beyond what had already been worked out by the Customary Law. The best of them have only put into words and sanctioned the institutions that already existed by habit and custom; while the great number of these would-be benefactors only strove to destroy the unwritten customary law whenever it hindered the establishment of their personal authority, or else they remodelled the popular institutions to their own advantage and to that of their caste.

As long ago as those remote ages which are lost in the dark night of the Glacial period, men lived in societies. And in these societies a whole series of institutions were worked out and rigidly observed, in order to make possible the life in common. And later on, through the whole course of human evolution, the same creative power of the nameless multitude always worked out new forms of social life, of mutual aid, of guarantees of peace, as soon as new conditions arose.

On the other hand, modern science clearly demonstrates that law, whatever its origin—whether represented as derived from a divinity or from the wisdom of a lawgiver—has never done more than to widen the sphere of application, to fix, or rather to crystallise in a permanent form, such customs as already were in existence. But in doing so, it always added to these customs some new rules—rules of inequality and servile submission of the masses, in the interest of the armed rich and the warlike minorities.

"Thou shalt not kill," the law of Moses said; "thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness." But to these excellent moral rules it added: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his slave, nor his ass," by which for a long time it legalised slavery, and put woman on a level with slaves and beasts of burden.

"Love your neighbour," said Christianity later on; but it hastened to add by the mouth of the Apostle Paul: "Slaves obey your masters," and "No authority but from God's will"—thus legitimising and deifying the division between masters and slaves, and perpetuating the authority of the scoundrels who ruled in Rome at that time.

Even the Gospels, while teaching the sublime idea of no revenge for offences, which is the essence of Christianity, speak all the while of a God of Vengeance, and by this means teach vengeance.

At a still later epoch, we find the same again in the codes of the so-called barbarians: the Gauls, the Longobards, the Alemanni, the Saxons, the Slavonians, after the fall of the Roman Empire. These codes legalised a custom, excellent no doubt, which began to spread at that time: that of paying *compensation* for wounds and murders, instead of practising the then general law of retaliation which said: "Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, blow for blow, and life for life." By doing, the barbarian codes certainly represented an improvement on the law of blood-revenge, which had been the code of tribe life; but at the same time they also established the division of free men into classes—a distinction which was hardly perceptible yet at the time when law came in to enforce it.

So much compensation—it was said now in the Barbarian codes—has to be paid for a slave (to the master of the slave); so much, much more, for a freeman; and so much, very much more, for a chieftain. In this last case the compensation was so high that it meant lifelong slavery for the murderer. Now, the primary idea of these distinctions, established by custom, was no doubt that the family of a chieftain, killed in a brawl, lost by his death far more than the family of an ordinary freeman who would have been killed in the same circumstance; consequently, the first had a right to a higher compensation than the second. But in *legalising* this custom, the code established a division of men into *classes*, and so firmly established it that up till now we have not been able to get rid of it.

* *

And the same obtains in all legislation, even in that of our own times—the injustice and oppression that were practised at a particular period being handed down by law to the later periods. The tyranny of the Persian Empire was thus transmitted to Greece, that of Macedonia to Rome; and the oppression and cruelty of the Roman Empire and the Eastern autocracies and theocracies were transmitted to the young barbaric States when they began to be formed, and even to the Christian Church. By means of Law the past fettered the future.

All the guarantees that are necessary to the life of society, all the forms of social life elaborated within the clans and tribes, the village communities, and later on in the mediæval cities; all forms of relations between different tribes and clans, and between the city-republics of the mediæval age, which became later on the first elements of International Law; all forms of mutual support and of the defence of peace, including tribunals and juries, were elaborated by the creative genius of the nameless multitude; while all *laws*, from the most ancient ones till those of our own times, have always been composed of two very different elements. One of them strengthened (and fixed) certain habits and customs, already recognised as useful; while the other element of all laws

was an *addition* to these customs—very often a mere malicious wording of an existing custom—the aim of which was to implant or strengthen the nascent authority of the kinglet, the nobleman, the soldier and the priest, to consolidate and sanction their power and their authority.

These are the conclusions to which we are led by the scientific study of the development of societies, a study that has been carried on during the last twenty or thirty years by a great number of conscientious scientists. It is true that men of science do not themselves dare to draw conclusions as heretical as those mentioned above; but the thoughtful reader of necessity comes to these conclusions after reading their works.

(To be continued.)

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Germany.

From statistics collected by a big Conservative paper, *Germania*, it appears that of 49,000 children born in 1908 in Berlin, 6,700 had not been baptised. As to marriages, out of 22,800 between persons "brought up in a Christian way," 9,489 were not celebrated in a church, and of 34,000 persons who died that year 19,562, or more than one-half, were buried without religious rites. "Heavens!" exclaims the *Germania*, "what will become of the Berliners in two or three generations?" "Real men and women," answers *Germinal*, an Anarchist paper. And, indeed, those figures give furiously to think, and from our point of view decidedly much hope.

The lock-out in the building trade in Germany, which for some time was foreseen, has been declared, and has thrown more than 60,000 workers out of work in different parts of the Empire. In Hamburg the contractors and the workers have come to an understanding. The Centralist as well as the Christian Unions have rejected the wages offered by the employers. The workers refuse to accept a convention concluded for the whole of Germany by the employers' and the workers' committees. In their proposal of wages the employers insist that the workers shall recognise the employers' labour exchanges. The workers, on the other hand, will not admit that piecework shall be undertaken without the intervention of the Trade Unions. It must be mentioned as another example of the solidarity of capital that the employers have put themselves in connection with the employers of Sweden and Denmark in order to make it impossible for the German workers to obtain employment in those countries in case a general labour struggle should break out in Germany. The strikers find much sympathy among the public, who understand quite well that the employers intend to crush the very life of the Trade Unions.

France.

In France it is no longer the exception for soldiers and sailors to refuse to play the role of blacklegs. In the recent strike of the gas-workers of Lorient some of the sailors from a man-of-war lying in the port who were ordered to the gasworks refused to take the strikers' places. In Paris a strike had broken out among the street cleaners. Among the soldiers who were ordered to do their work five refused, and were of course condemned to heavy disciplinary punishments.

The strike of the maritime workers (*Inscrits Maritimes*) of Marseilles has, notwithstanding the threats, promises, and presence of the Under-Secretary of the Navy, spread and developed into a general strike. Trams stopped running, shops closed, the sailors of several mail steamers ceased work, and when the Government ordered sailors from the fleet to replace them these declared they were already over-worked, and refused to help on the steamers. The latter fact has caused a great excitement, and is considered as another proof of the spreading of the anti-militarist spirit, not only in the ranks of the army, but now also of the navy. *L'Insurgé*, an Anarchist paper, makes its appearance in the centre of France. It hopes to decentralize the revolutionary forces who now mostly congregate in Paris, and to bring Anarchist ideas and revolutionary Syndicalism into the provinces.

The General Confederation of Labour continues its agitation against the Government's Old-Age Pension scheme. This law, proposed by a Socialist Minister and accepted by Parliament, allows the worker one franc a day when he has reached the age of 65. But to obtain this blessing he must have paid 9 francs yearly for a period of 30 years. His employer and the State are equally responsible for paying the rest, but as both exist on his labour, after all it is only another way of making the working classes pay, pay, pay. And note well, the worker who does not feel attracted by this insurance is not left the choice of keeping clear of this "benefit." His contribution to this scheme is compulsory. This law, modelled on the German Old-Age Pension system, has been called by Viviani, the Socialist Minister of Labour, the "greatest social work of the Republic"!

It is not astonishing that the Confederation of Labour has decided to continue its meetings, publications, and demonstrations against this bitter piece of Governmental mockery in dealing with the aged workers.

Holland.

The strike in the building trade in Amsterdam has entered on its eighth week and there is no sign of weakening from the side of the

strikers. As the latter have no well-provided money box, and the struggle is long drawn out, the suffering among the families is very great, but their spirit remains quite unshaken. Generally the Revolutionary Syndicalist movement which a year ago had to pass through a crisis, attacked as it was by the employers on one side and by Social Democratic Trade Unions on the other, has reasserted itself and is going forward splendidly. The Labour Secretariat is publishing its weekly paper *De Arbeid*, which has been recently enlarged. This favourable state of things in the movement was announced at a congress which was held a few weeks ago in Amsterdam.

United States.

The Social Democratic "victory" in Milwaukee, which was made so much of in the *Labour Leader* (April 22nd), and described as "one of the most notable incidents in the history of the American States," has just about as much importance for the workers as might be expected from a political victory. *Mother Earth* (April) points out that it is "the cumulative disgust with the old parties and broken pledges" that has swept the Social Democrats into power. And it adds, the success is a "victory for petty bourgeois reformers," and "is fraught with great danger to real Socialism, the ideal liberty, equal opportunity and justice." The truth of this statement is confirmed out of the mouth of Victor Berger, whom the *Labour Leader* regards as "one of the chief intellectual forces in American Socialism." This gentleman after being elected alderman said: "We won't do anything revolutionary. We must keep up the credit of the city. The capitalists need not be afraid. We will make haste slowly." All of which confirms every word the Anarchists have ever said of "Socialist" politicians.

Comrades will have noted how the capitalist press had suppressed all news of the general strike in Philadelphia. As a matter of fact, there have been some important consequences arising from the strike which the English workers should understand. The solidarity of Labour has benefited greatly as one result; 20,000 new members have been enrolled, and these mostly from among the aristocrats of skilled labour who had previously held aloof. Again, "*Six different companies in as many cities have raised the trolley-men's wages since the strike began.*" So Voltairine de Cleyre tells us in *Mother Earth* for April last; and those who would understand more of this important event should not fail to read her article.

Emma Goldman has been again arrested in Cheyenne (Wyoming), but the whole police business was so stupidly brutal and ridiculous that on the following morning she was released with the apologies of the authorities.

Argentine.

The following is an extract from a letter received from a comrade in Buenos Ayres:—

"There have been events here since last you heard from me. On the 14th of November last a Russian comrade threw a bomb and killed the Chief of Police, who on the 1st of May, 1909, massacred so many workers who were in peaceful manifestation. The authorities went mad, you may say. The writer, and all known to have Anarchist opinions, were imprisoned in the city of Buenos Ayres. I had gone in to see the destruction done to the *Protesta* newspaper printing office. We were brutally treated while in prison; the others suffered more than myself. I will not go into particulars. A great deal of damage was done to the said printing office, but nothing but what has since been repaired. As soon as martial law was ended on January 14th, the paper again appeared four days after, and now the result is two daily papers instead of one. Now the position is much improved, and two linotype machines are in use; and further, on March 8th, the comrades have had the courage to publish an evening paper entitled *La Batalla*. It has been a great success, and has quite an extraordinary circulation. From this it may be judged that help has been forthcoming, as it always is after every brutal persecution. Great preparations are being made for the celebration of the Independence of Argentina, and it seems that many foreigners will come to see the glories of the exploiters of this country. Should you have any friends thinking of coming, they would do well to give up the idea. The tyranny of the president Figueroa has made a political revolution inevitable, and this will most likely break out in or about May."

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

GOD AND THE STATE.

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THE FIRST OF MAY.

Once again we celebrate the First of May. It is twenty years since, on the First of May, 1890, the old Socialist League organised the first demonstration to Hyde Park, with a view to inducing the British workers to unite with their fellows all over the world in a protest against capitalist exploitation and oppression.

At the Paris Marxian Socialist Congress the year before (1889) a Knights of Labour delegate from America brought forward a motion suggesting that the workers of the world should simultaneously demonstrate in favour of the "eight-hour day," and so show their international solidarity against the degrading conditions of life imposed upon them. With slight amendment it was carried.

But the Possibilist Socialist Congress being held at the same time, and to which the S.D.F. had sent its delegates, did not have this proposal before it. The result was that till 1903, after the next Socialist Congress, where it was again endorsed, they took no official part in three international demonstrations of working-class solidarity. But to the credit of some individual Social Democrats, among them Hunter Watts, they stepped out from the stupid position of their organisation in those early years, and helped to popularise their remarkable idea in action.

Unfortunately, for some time after 1903, when the S.D.F. took up the attempted demonstrations, it gave one more proof of its "dog in the manger" policy. And, as a result, little was done beyond embittering those who had tried to make it a success from the first.

It is pleasing to see, however, that the twenty years of propaganda has not been entirely thrown away. The intention of those who brought the idea forward was to secure an imposing international demonstration of working-class solidarity, independent of particular political opinions. Unhappily, the Social Democrats desired to confine it to an international expression of their particular tenets. The results were disastrous.

Twenty years ago the "New" Trade Union movement was beginning to sweep the country. The Gas Workers' Union, led by Will Thorne, and inspired by the revolutionary Socialist spirit of that time, had secured the eight-hour day for its members in almost all the places where the men had organised. Prior to this they had been working a twelve-hour day at their terribly exhausting labour. In many cases they got increased wages too. But few strikes were necessary to secure this. The spirit of the men—and of the leaders at that time—cowed any opposition on the part of the capitalist companies, or municipalities, owning the gasworks throughout the country. Except at Leeds, where the attempt to import and house blackleg labour, led to the storming of the works, and the ignominious defeat of these creatures of the capitalist, the eight-hour day was quietly conceded without an open struggle! The militant mood of the men scared the employers: a revolutionary spirit was in the air! Direct Action was the order of the day, and the unskilled workers, catching the fever, proved themselves capable of organisation and action, to snatch any industrial advantage.

The great Dock Strike followed, and that dramatic struggle was watched with such social tension all over the civilised world, it is not too much to say, that those weeks brought this country nearer to a revolution than any other one event in the last half century.

It was in this industrial and social turmoil that the First of May demonstrations began twenty years ago.

It is sad to think that while this very struggle was going on, which was bringing these advantages for the workers, there

were those who never ceased trying to teach the workers to rely on legal means to secure any improvements. Slowly the poison did its work.

The workers tired of the incessant struggle, forgetting that the exploiters never weary in plotting and scheming to plunder them. The leaders sickened with fatigue, and catching a glimpse of an easier and far better paid game in the political arena, headed off this movement, which had done so much for the wage-earners, into the more pleasant paths of Parliamentary action.

It has been better for the leaders, but deadly for the workers. What has been secured since this change of policy? Who will dare to say that political and legal action can show results so far? What has become of the very industrial and economic questions that were to be pressed to the front in Parliament by the Labour Members? Who will dare to deny that they are now anything but an appendage of the Liberal Party, paid for by the organised wage-earners? It is pitiable to think of.

In the meantime, what has become of the eight-hour agitation? As the situation stands to-day, there is little prospect of carrying a universal legal eight-hour day law through Parliament this century. Mere empty political issues will be kept before the country for the next twenty-five years at least. Trifling reforms, which will be grossly exaggerated by the Labour politicians to justify their position, will occupy the attention of the workers, if they are simple enough to be gulled.

But it is doubtful if this self-deception can go on indefinitely. There are serious signs of dissatisfaction among the rank-and-file. After all, the economic side of life will always reassert itself. It will grow in intensity, and find voice in due time. When it does, the Anarchist position will be fully vindicated.

One of the most pleasing features in this year's demonstration is the fact that the Trade Union movement as a whole has in a kind of academic way identified itself with the First of May. It has been the slow but steadily increasing interest shown in it by the Trade Unions locally, all over the country, that has saved it from being strangled by the official Social Democrats.

If only there should be a revival of revolutionary spirit, the First of May ought in future to come near realising the intention of those who started it. That was, that it should be a simultaneous massing of the working-class forces on one day of the year throughout the world. This review, it was hoped, would prove to them two things—their strength, and their oppressors' weakness. Once the blind Samson of Labour realised his strength, only a revolutionary spirit would be wanted to overthrow the temple of capitalist exploitation, and to rebuild a social system based on securing to those who work the full results of their labour.

DESTITUTION AND DESPOTISM.

This fellow Webb ought to be pilloried—pilloried, that is to say, by public opinion. Not because he is a Fabian, although that is enough to stamp him as an enemy of the workers, but because he is a pettifogging busybody, crazy with the love of officialism and bureaucracy, and a real danger to the liberties of the people.

Unfortunately, those who ought to be on their guard against the reactionary schemes of Webb and Co. are silent as dumb dogs, and it is left to Hilaire Belloc to sound the alarm (see *New Age* for April 14th), and to expose the dangerous fooling of these "class-conscious" Fabians.

In the I.L.P., amongst the "Clarionettes," in the various organisations bearing a Socialist label—even in the S.D.P.—there are some friends (even though few) who have a clear and sincere conception of what Socialism means. We hope all these—and many others—will read and weigh well Belloc's criticism of the Webb scheme.

Now the particular scheme that is being discussed is called the "Prevention of Destitution Bill," and as Belloc truly says, these so-called "preventive" Bills are invariably eccentricities, and latterly have become—as in the case of the Prevention of Crimes Act—dangerous and wicked. But this Destitution Bill applies to a whole population who are living, or trying to live, on the fringe of employed labour. They literally pick up the crumbs that fall, not from the tables of the rich, but from the cupboards of their more fortunate fellow-workers. And to deal with them there is to be a Minister for Labour (of course), and besides powers to be vested in County and Borough Councils, there is to be the creation of salaried posts (of course). For the harrassing and inquisitorial details of administering the Act readers should go to Belloc's article itself. They will then begin to understand how these smug Fabians, masquerading as "Socialists," are

"WAIT AND SEE."



WORKING MAN.—"You seem to be doing all right in there. When does our turn come?"
 J—s R—y M—d.—"Don't you be in a hurry. WAIT AND SEE."

beginning to prepare what Mr. Belloc well describes as the "Servile State."

The following quotation will be an eye-opener perhaps to—amongst others—those sleepy Social Democrats who chatter about "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity":—

"In the first clause of Part Three which defines this new category of, I will not say citizens, but at any rate human beings, vagrants are, of course, included. The vagrant is meat and drink to the peculiar moral appetite which frames such Bills as these. He can be bullied with an impunity which must, I think, irradiate with an almost indecent joy the mind of your reformer. Meanwhile, let us see what is to be done for the margin of the proletariat. Assistance in a labour colony is to be 'granted' under Clause 82 by this new all-powerful Minister of Labour to those who can find no employment through the national labour exchanges. His actions are to be sifted (under pain of punishment), he is to be cross-examined and turned inside out like any applicant to the C.O.S. to see whether he is not a recalcitrant worker who is or has been sullen in his previous efforts to maintain the landlord and the capitalist. (Clause 84.) If his service to these classes has hitherto been cheerful and ungrudging he is to be 'granted' assistance.

"What assistance?"

"Why, when this charitable action has taken place the beneficiary of it is 'to receive' (by force of course) 'such physical and mental training' as the politician 'may think fit.' He is (Clause 83) 'required' to be in attendance in a compound termed 'a colony,' where he will do such work as he is told, while his family in some place apart are receiving relief from public moneys. What is to happen if he gets bored in the 'colony' and knocks off for a day, or in a mad moment of virility climbs the high wall, Mr. Webb's scheme does not tell us—but we can guess."

And again:—

"The reader may ask whether this scheme for putting citizens (or should I say comrades?) into compounds, applies to the whole population. The answer is in the negative. It does not apply to the class to which the Webbs belong, nor indeed to anyone, who, under the present capitalistic system, is in possession of the means of production. It applies only to the very poor. The authors of the proposal cannot wriggle out of it by pretending that this imprisonment will only result upon a voluntary application—though that would be bad enough. A man who asks another man for money to keep him alive can be condemned to twelve months' servitude in these compounds. A man who has despaired in our dreadful society even of that resource, and who takes to the road, picking up his living as he can, will also be condemned if Mr. Webb has his way to this form of forced labour. So for the poor there is to be no choice, they must go into the compound or gaol. If they are wise they will prefer gaol.

"There is this Prevention of Destitution Bill in a nutshell."

Mr. Belloc begins his article by asking: "What has all this to do with Socialism?" And shows clearly enough that all these Bills, emanating from a desire of the rich rogues to rule the poor devils, are really the pathway to the "Servile State" which "is the negation of that state [of society] Socialists by definition demand." And amongst other things, what does the Servile State mean for the community? Let Mr. Belloc explain, and with this quotation we will conclude:—

"It gives the middle class, the politicians and the rest, a fine time of it! It organises the poor like a flock of sheep. It effects plenty of those results which the opponents of Socialism tell us Socialism might bring; but of the main principles of Socialism it contains not a word. Of that democratic judgment which is the genesis (among other ideals) of Socialism, it presents flat contradiction. Of the prime concrete proposal of Socialism—the proposal which makes Socialism Socialism—the proposal to transfer the means of production from private hands to the mass of the community—it contains no hint."

AN APPEAL TO ALL COMRADES.

We are incurring a heavy outlay in giving away with this number a special May Day cartoon. Besides this we are printing for free distribution a new leaflet, "What is Anarchism?" We can only ask that each one who can should help either in the sale of FREEDOM and pamphlets, in the distribution of leaflets, or, where possible, by sending some financial help to aid us in continuing with this extra work. All amounts received will be duly acknowledged in FREEDOM.

FRANK KITZ FUND.

We regret to hear that, owing to the boycott of the employers, our old comrade Frank Kitz has no work and is greatly in need of help. We shall be very glad to receive and forward to him any sums sent us. Received since last issue—R. Avis 5s; M. K. 1s; J. D. 1s.

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

Pages of Socialist History.

By W. TCHERKESOFF.

CONCENTRATION OF CAPITAL.

We saw in the last instalment (April) that the number of capitalists had increased as follows:—

| | 1815. | 1907. |
|----------------------------------|--------|---------|
| Number of small capitalists ... | 29,575 | 190,694 |
| " middle-class capitalists... | 9,179 | 68,139 |
| " great capitalists ... | 814 | 9,259 |

It is evident, therefore, that the number of small capitalists, far from diminishing, is rapidly increasing. Where, then, has the action of this metaphysical German law of the expropriation of the greater number of capitalists by the smaller managed to hide itself! How does it happen that a law, acting, as Marx said, "with the absolute certainty of the metamorphoses of Nature," shows itself in real life by results of exactly the opposite sort!

Simply because no such law exists.

We have been saddled with this absurdity by German metaphysics, the injurious influence of which, especially among Russians, has been as great in morals and art as in Socialism. For forty years a more than Mahometan neo fatalism has been taught to the workers of the civilised world! Not only by ignorant exponents of so-called scientific Socialism and the new German bureaucrats known as "Socialist" Deputies, but by valuable and courageous men, men of genius like William Morris, and of ability and education like H. M. Hyndman.

It is difficult to estimate the evil which this imaginary law has worked in modern Socialism. It underlies all Social Democratic tactics. Thanks to it, we are hampered by such absolute nonsense as that the social question is merely a matter of political reform. Finally, it gave the aforesaid new German bureaucracy the effrontery to present the following to the International Labour Congress at Zurich in 1893 as a *Socialist* resolution:—

"The struggle against class domination and exploitation must be a political one, having the conquest of political power for its end."

This formula is a complete negation of Socialism. The power of the ruling class is based on the wealth produced by the people, which is appropriated by the said class. Consequently, to free themselves from this domination, the people must refuse to yield up the fruit of their toil to their masters. As Robert Owen and W. Thompson said, the workers must retain the surplus value of their work. This cannot be done by a political, but by an economic struggle; not by ballot-boxes, but by strikes; not by a decision of Parliament, but by a well-organised and triumphant general strike the people can inaugurate a new era—the era of economic and social equality, of solidarity, enlightened, not by metaphysics, but by thoroughly scientific instruction.

We have seen that, despite the imaginary law of Marxist metaphysicians, the number of exploiters increases. Consequently, the number of upholders of the existing order, instead of decreasing to a "constantly diminishing number of magnates of capital," is growing. It has, in fact, multiplied 14 times between 1815 and 1907, while the population has only doubled. This result has been obtained from the official figures of Blue Books.

If we consult the works of well-known specialists like Mulhall or Giffen, who took the period from 1830 to 1890, the results will be still more striking. From Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics" and "Fifty Years of National Progress," and Sir R. Giffen's "Essays on Finance," it appears:—

First, that the number of property-owners dying was, in—

| Year. | Number of Probates. | Amount of Property. | Amount per Estate. |
|----------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1833 | 25,368 | £54,887,255 | £2,160 |
| 1882 | 55,359 | £140,360,854 | £2,500 |
| Increase | 29,991 | £85,473,599 | £340 |

"We have the fact that these classes [capitalist] are themselves increasing. They may be only a minority of the nation, though I think a considerable minority, as 55,000 estates passing in a year represent from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 persons as possessing property subject to probate duty." (Giffen, p. 396.)

Second, income tax was paid—

| Year. | Number of Income-Tax Payers. | |
|--------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| | £150 to £500. | £1,000 and over. |
| 1843 | 87,946 | 7,923 |
| 1889 | 333,970 | 21,842 |
| Increase ... | 370 per cent. | Only 288 per cent. |

(Id.)

Third, since 1840, the growth of the possessing classes has, according to Mulhall ("Fifty Years of National Progress," p. 24), been four times as quick as that of the population as a whole. It is admitted that in 1840, 97,675 men died owning less than £100, while in 1877 this number had already fallen to 92,447, and yet the population had increased more than 26 per cent. (Id.)

Fourth, reckoning the number of shops and stores—

| Year. | Number. | Rent. |
|-------------------------|---------|-------------|
| 1875 | 295,000 | £14,300,000 |
| 1886 | 366,000 | £18,900,000 |
| Increase in 11 years | 71,000 | £4,600,000 |

(Mulhall's "Dictionary.")

This increase indicated by Mulhall thirty years ago has been steadily going on. The 51st Report of Inland Revenue shows on p. 144:—

| Year. | No. of Shops and Stores. | Rent. |
|-------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| 1897 | 408,840 | £23,000,000 |
| 1900 | 438,195 | £25,000,000 |
| 1907 | 459,592 | £27,000,000 |

It appears that Whiteley, Maple, Shoolbred, the Army and Navy, and Civil Service Stores, etc., have in no wise diminished the numbers of parasitic shopkeepers, those petty capitalists whom John Stuart Mill described so repulsively, and over whose fate Marxist orators so often weep, for, according to the fancied law, they are being devoured by the big shops.

Fifth, in the typically capitalistic operations of banking the like increase in the number of property-owners is to be observed.

"There are [1886] 140 joint stock banks in the United Kingdom, with an aggregate paid-up capital and reserve of £100,000,000, held by 90,000 shareholders. . . . This does not include 47 Colonial banks." (Mulhall's "Fifty Years of National Progress," p. 66.)

To these statements of well-known English authorities we may add the figures of a French statistician, Alfred Neymarck, vice-president of the French Statistical Society, who made a report* to the International Congress of Statisticians on the Banking and Exchange operations in France for the same years which the above-quoted English statisticians dealt with. For the year 1888, Neymarck states that the amount of capital held by French possessors was valued at 80 milliard francs (not including land and houses), which brought the capitalists a yearly income of 4 milliard francs, "which is distributed among an infinite number of the very smallest possessors" (p. 9).

On p. 14 he gives the following table of the increase in the number of possessors:—

| Year. | No. of Possessors. |
|-------|--------------------|
| 1814 | 137,950 |
| 1830 | 195,570 |
| 1848 | 747,744 |
| 1852 | 810,901 |
| 1871 | 1,269,000 |
| 1888 | 4,141,281 |

These figures strikingly demonstrate the tendency towards democratisation of capital. It is known that the number of the middle classes in France is nearly 4,000,000; but the greater part of these shares, Consols, Rentes, and State Loan obligations, etc., are held by small peasants, artisans, officials, and even labourers. France is the country of saving before all. M. Neymarck in his recent work (1908), "Capital et Revenu," gives the yet more striking figure of 4,500,000,000 francs as the yearly income of the "rentiers" of France.

No matter from which side we approach the question, the number of exploiters always and everywhere increases. There is no necessity of "one capitalist killing many others," as the yearly national income is increasing continually owing to the rapidly increasing productivity of modern society. It is something more than simple to continue repeating the absurd statement that the number of owners of capital being reduced by an inevitable law to an infinitesimal minority, the middle classes will gently submit to expropriation voted by Parliament. If in June, 1848, they reddened the streets of Paris in their struggle against the Socialistic demands of the victorious people, we may be sure beforehand of their conduct in future, for their numbers have tripled. The Bloody Week of 1871 is not too favourable an augury for optimists and Parliamentarians.

(To be continued.)

* "La Repartition et la Diffusion de l'Epargne Française, etc." Alfred Neymarck. 1891.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LAW AND EXPERIENCE.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—You misunderstand me. I know that "law" and "experience" are not synonyms. Neither are they antonyms. The terms must always be too nearly related to be differentiated. History shows that experience is responsible for law. One is the natural expression of the other. Our masters use their experience to good purpose, surely. You state that "if law is in accord with experience there is no necessity for it." No, no. You are arguing from the point of view of a perfect being. Agreement with law is the one just reason for it. Would you abolish compulsory free education? Remove the compulsory clause and you take away from thousands of children much-needed instruction. Evolution is responsible for experience being constantly at variance with law. A boy outgrows his garments; they are no longer of service. Is that any argument in favour of nudity?

Our masters are not only law-makers, but slave-makers; our legal-masters, as well as work-masters. The unjust conditions of industry are more exacting than State laws. Then why not advocate the abolition of industry? To make your case sound, you must show that all law is bad, that no law can be good or just. The theory of law, whether State, industrial, or of that governing games, is identical.

Trade Unions are autocratic and tyrannous. To be born in certain families is equivalent to being born a Trade Unionist. Like father, like son. Some join, it is true, whilst many are compelled to enter. To say that workers have the choice of accepting or rejecting the advantages of a Trade Union is in many cases untrue. The free personal association of Trade Unions in their early growth no longer prevails. They necessarily must, as they grow larger and more numerous, become less "free," more autocratic. Have you forgotten the recent deputation to the Government re insurance? The "free will" question put to candidates for membership during their initiation is often a ghastly farce, bearing in mind the "squeezing" which has preceded it in the workshop. To condone such injustice on the ground of freedom of choice is monstrous. Are Ferrer's murderers less deserving of condemnation because he was free to leave his country? "An individual is born into the State. He has no choice in accepting the statute laws of any State." Just so. An individual born into the Anarchist community in Gloucestershire can choose one of two courses: leave the colony to be sweated or remain to be bored. Should he be born when Anarchist communities prevail everywhere, he would either fall in with the existing order or found a State himself—probably a State of death. So that we find in each case all must conform to the conditions prevailing or suffer accordingly, whether capitalist, Socialist, or Anarchist. The customs formed by free association would be just as rigorous to a rebellious member as the simple, just laws of a Socialist Administration or the injustices imposed by a Monarchy.

I am not obsessed with modern political institutions. I detest them. I also am conscious of the enslavement of our unjust laws. I would perfect, not destroy. I see a way to freedom, and a short way, too, but for the ignorance of my Tory and Liberal fellow workers, and the inactivity of my Anarchist friends.

I accept your definition of statute law. But when it expresses the desires of the whole of society, where is the injustice? That a few will always be rebellious is natural. There cannot be a conscious social organism unless it expresses its will. The rebellious few must bow to it. The social mind must be like the individual one—it must have absolute power, with this improvement, that whereas the human mind controls the body with monarchic sway, the social body would control its mind with democratic intelligence.

During the present transitory period, the social organism is an abortion; consequently all the evils of statute law of present and past ages constitute no valid argument against the theory of law.

Man is interdependent. Individual, as opposed to collective, action and enlightenment go not together. True individualism is found in the recognition that certain natural laws must be obeyed, true freedom in obedience to them. The animal needs are so exacting that without co-operation there can be no rising above the animal. Bearing this in mind, we see that human laws must be passed to enforce the natural ones, otherwise we shall perpetuate the present parasitic growths. By the application of machinery, man has so mastered Nature as to almost laugh at her laws. The sub-division of labour has made possible the introduction of machinery otherwise valueless. There is no instance of the sub-division of labour among the lower animals. Bees, ants, etc., are polyartists, all the members of each section of the community performing the same duties. The same bee makes bee bread, honey and wax, builds, etc., and there are no degrees of skill. I don't want to gather honey all the day; I want rest and recreation. Handicraft is art. The sub-division of labour is valuable, and must be preserved. It entails municipal and national organisation. To prevent plethora or insufficiency, national administration is necessary. Free association would utterly fail here. Of course, I may be wrong.—Yours fraternally,

A BRISTOL SOCIALIST.

REPLY.

DEAR COMRADE,—You say I misunderstand you. Yet it was you who in the first place implied that "law" and "experience" were the

same thing. I fancy from your present letter you have abandoned that position. Good!

Experience may be responsible for *statute* law, for the strong and cunning—the predominant section in society at any given period—putting into writing their desires and wishes, and using the power of social institutions to enforce them. Yes, the experience of *some*; but what of it? The theory of government is that it protects the weak against the strong; the practice is, and must be, to bolster up and make more powerful those already strong. If it occasionally protects the weak, it is in the same spirit that the shepherd protects and feeds the sheep—preparatory for the butcher. Evidently you see this dimly when you say, "Our masters use *their* experience to good purpose." Government and law are the expression of the minds of our "masters," always changing, yet always the same. Their primary function is to impose these on society. In a society of equals these organs will die out, because their functions will cease. Co-operation will succeed "masterdom." All those who in any way believe in and support these institutions help to perpetuate inequality. This is often done quite unintentionally, because they do not realise that the very reason for the existence of these institutions is to impose the will of the masters of the period.

Forgive me saying that your query as to compulsory education is puerile. It shows why the current ideas on education are so shocking. The children of the poor being prepared for industrial slaughter (exploitation), and compulsorily crammed, like so many chickens for the market! No better illustration of the horrible results of even what is believed to be beneficial legislation for the oppressed could be given. There will be no necessity for "compulsory clauses" or "Education Acts" when the workers are free—not perfect. Men and women—all those so inclined—will be students all their lives, eager to learn, happy in gaining knowledge, and anxious to transmit their joy of life to others. This has always been so.

The unjust conditions of industry are due to belief in governmental ideas—the respect for law. It is the deference paid by the workers to that subtle legal robbery which enables their masters to appropriate the result of their labour and call it theirs without question.

Rules regulating the playing of games are on an entirely different footing to statute law. There are often different rules for the same game, *agreed to freely* by different associations of players in the same country and internationally, and played simultaneously, as Rugby, Association, and Celtic football. It is quite a question of free choice whether any one joins either or supports them. All games are Anarchist in conception. You could not have given a better illustration in its favour. Apply the same principle to social, political, and industrial affairs, and you have full-blown Anarchism.

Statute law, on the other hand, is imposed on everybody within a given territory, whether in agreement or not; and all are forced to support it, directly or indirectly, by taxation. There is free choice as to whether you join any club, for games or other things. Here lies the essential difference between freedom and tyranny, mask it how we may.

You again make the same mental slip in your reference to Trade Unionism. The son is *not* compelled to follow his father, but undoubtedly learns of the advantages of mutual help afforded each other by the workers in their combinations, and so desires to take advantage of them. In the same way, the sons of all the social thieves learn from their surroundings and training the benefit to them of government and law; how they enable them to rob Labour and to keep possession of the plunder. But the basic principles underlying the two institutions—Trade Unions and governmental law—are entirely different. One is voluntary association for mutual help among equals, the other an instrument to enforce the wishes of the strongest section in society upon all the rest.

I will leave your subsequent faulty reasoning to the readers, but would urge that the results of free association in the religious world entirely refute you. Your arguments as to the State are exactly those that were used by the Church. Here, certainly, "experience" is the best and most crushing answer.

Your next paragraph gives hope. But allow me to suggest that you seem to confuse the "State" with "society." Even Tom Paine in his "Rights of Man" and the old-time Radicals clearly recognised the difference.

As for the inactivity of your Anarchist friends, I don't know them. All my Anarchist friends are intensely active in every phase of social life. Having freed themselves from the fetich of Parliamentary politics, they do not wait for elections before doing something, but are busy all the time.

I am afraid you show the cloven hoof of authority—the very basic principle of all government and law—when you say "the rebellious few must bow to it." The Anarchist, on the other hand, would wish the rebellious few—or many—to experiment at their own risk, gladly receiving them back if they failed, and thanking them and adopting the improvements if they succeeded. There, again, lies the kernel of the whole thing. It is this deep difference of conception as to the best mode of human progress that marks the cleavage between Anarchists and all Governmentalists.

"Man is interdependent," say you. Agreed. But is that interdependence to be exercised by a free individual, in free association, or by a subject under authority, whatever its form? The former implies liberty, the latter slavery. You say: "True individualism is found in the recognition that *certain natural laws* must be obeyed, true freedom in obedience to them." If you will put "all" in place of "certain," I

agree, and add—that is Anarchy. But it is such awful stupidity to say "that human laws must be found to enforce the natural laws." Natural laws are such *because* they always enforce themselves. Human or statute laws are only of service to tyrants for unnatural and unjust purposes, and to "perpetuate the present parasitic growths."

For purposes of enlightenment upon natural history and the wonderful sub-division of labour among *all* gregarious animals, let me refer you to, among others, Kropotkin's "Mutual Aid."

Already the many international associations among the workers in different industries have prepared the organisations, ready to perform all the functions of production and distribution of wealth without national Governments. In fact, these have come into existence just because Governments failed to express the growth of international solidarity among the workers. There are growing up spontaneously among the workers just those free institutions—Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, Friendly Societies—necessary for the Anarchist (free) organisation of international industry. It is in the development of these purely working-class institutions that the increasing activities of Anarchists will be expended, till they shall be strong enough to shed governmental and legal machinery, with its ideas of authority and tyranny, and replace it by free institutions based on equality.

Yes, it is just possible you are wrong in your social conceptions, as you were as to law and experience. Let us strive to get right in our ideas by an honest attempt to arrive at the truth in social science. If we do this, I rejoice to think of the theoretical and practical advantages we shall have in the present struggle of the workers against the parasites.—Yours fraternally,
THE WRITER OF THE ARTICLE.

A REFORMER'S VERSE BOOK.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR SIR,—We want a Reformer's Verse Book: a book which shall be at once a treasure-house of beauty and an armoury of spiritual weapons; a book to which any one who seeks to quicken the feeling for universal brotherhood, to help the humanitarian movement, or simply to advocate a specific reform, may turn, assured of finding those poems which may most effectively be quoted to serve his purpose. I have already begun this work, but if our Art is really to unify the life of the Community, then the book must be the work, not of one man nor of one class, but of the people. To your readers of every class, therefore, I appeal for titles or copies of any poems, old or new, which they think suitable for such a collection. Those who wish unsuitable contributions returned should enclose stamped addressed envelope.—Yours, etc.,

ARNOLD EILOART.

"Walden," Ditton Hill, Surbiton, Surrey.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

LIVERPOOL INTERNATIONAL MODERN SCHOOL.

We are in an unsettled state at school. Our landlord does not relish our instruction. Finances are low, in fact we can hardly see them, for our expenditure has been heavy for the past two months, and has swallowed up our resources. There may be removals which will prove a severe blow to the school, and all is not well with us. However, this must not deter us in the struggle, it will only serve to give us more zest to carry on our propaganda, and if not in the present method, well, there are other ways and means which are open to us if we but look for them.

We desire to organise an outing for the children in the summer which is likely to involve a further liability. Will you help?

On the First of May we intend distributing the leaflets on "Boys' Brigades," published by FREEDOM. Propaganda, rent, etc., must be paid for, and look at the list:—School 2s. (March 25—April 25).

Students of Spanish are particularly invited to attend the discussions at the International Club, 22 Canning Place, at 8.30 p.m. On April 9 Comrade Bartet read a few pages of Sebastian Faure's "El Dolor Universal," after which an animated discussion followed. Occasionally we have with us sailors of the Spanish vessels, for our comrades go into the highways and byways, and compel them to come in, as J. O. would say. Meetings of this description tend to subdue those national prejudices which the average patriot hugs with the tenacity of the proverbial bulldog. I shall be glad to supply information re the Spanish group.

DICK JAMES.

International Club, 22 Canning Place, Liverpool.

DEATH OF WILLIAM JONES.

With deep regret I have to write of the death of our good Liverpool comrade, who passed away in the Southern Hospital on April 24, aged 46. He was a man whose heart was in the movement, one whose plodding work brought no publicity. The limelight was never thrown on him, but it is such as he that make revolutions. He knew Spanish, and one of his plans was to visit the various Spanish vessels, distribute pamphlets, leaflets, and hold discussions with the sailors. The International Modern School will feel his death keenly, for he loved children, and children loved him. He leaves a widow and five children to struggle on. They need help.

DICK JAMES.

LABOUR DAY.

HYDE PARK,

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, MAY 1, AT 4 O'CLOCK.

Procession starts from the Thames Embankment at 3 prompt.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

L'Internationale: Documents et Souvenirs (1864-1878). Par James Guillaume. Tome Quatrieme. 5 francs. Paris: P. V. Stock, 155 Rue Saint-Honoré.

Generalstreik und Direkte Aktion im Proletarischen Klassenkampfe. Von Pierre Ramus. 30 pfg. Berlin: Fritz Kater, Alte Schonhauserstr. 20 I, C. 54.

Anarchism and Malthus. By C. L. James. 5 cents. New York: Mother Earth, 210 E. 13 Street.

The White Slave Traffic. By Emma Goldman. 5 cents. Same publishers.

WALTHAMSTOW AND EDMONTON ANARCHIST GROUP.

Meeting are held every Sunday at Edmonton Green at 12 o'clock, and opposite Hoe Street Station, Walthamstow, every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock.

NEWCASTLE ANARCHIST CLUB.

Meetings are held every Saturday evening at 7.30, in Hall's Café, 37 Pilgrim Street. Correspondence should be sent to Secretary, care of D. C. Thompson, 160 Conyers Road, Byker, Newcastle.

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(April 8—April 28.)

FREEDOM *Guarantee Fund*.—H. Lipman 1s, R. Clarke 6d.

FREEDOM *Subscriptions*.—R. Moore 2s, P. Natzmer 1s 6d, C. Langston 1s 6d, J. Pinot 1s 6d, W. Clare 2s, W. P. Smith 2s 6d.

WANTED.—Second-hand copy of "The Ego and Its Own," by Max Stirner.—Offers to be sent to F. C., care of T. Keell, 127 Ossulston Street, London, N.W.

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ANARCHISM: ITS PHILOSOPHY AND IDEAL. By P. KROPOTKIN. 1d.

ANARCHIST MORALITY. By PETER KROPOTKIN. 1d.

ANARCHY. By E. MALATESTA. 1d.

THE WAGE SYSTEM. By P. KROPOTKIN. 1d.

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