

Freedom

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NOTES.

The Seamen's Strike.

That which is called the seamen's strike is really a great deal more than that. It is the greatest example of the sympathetic general strike we have yet seen. Its unexampled and unexpected success has taught us many things. The fact that the leaders are ignored and vigorous action taken in defiance of their orders is becoming quite ancient history, although the example in this direction was only given a year ago by the boilermakers. Now the miners, the railwaymen, the seamen, and the dockers have learned that this is a necessity where spontaneous direct action is required. But the splendid solidarity of non-Union with Union men, as well as the fine spirit of "sticking together" shown between the allied trades, has been no doubt the greatest force that has helped to defeat the Federation. Against this no capitalist organisation in the world can stand. And for that very reason the capitalist will move heaven and earth to destroy or to undermine this spirit amongst the men. Leaders and officials will be tempted and "bought." The bolder spirits in the rank-and-file will be marked for victimisation, and a whole series of legal and illegal methods will be used to outwit the men. At such a time it surely behoves all sincere friends of the workers to redouble their activities in the spreading and maintaining of the spirit of solidarity amongst all workers. Let us all ask ourselves what can be done, and when we find some work to do let us put our hands to it without loss of time.

Socialist Suicides.

The Bethnal Green election is one more nail in the coffin of the S.D.P. Like the Bourbons, the would-be M.P.'s of this body learn nothing and forget nothing. The history of their electoral adventures during the last quarter of a century is a subject that could only have been adequately treated by Mark Twain. But there is another side to this business which is not quite so humorous. On nearly every occasion that a Social Democratic candidate has stood for election, the electors in particular, and the public in general, have been hopelessly confused or misled as to what Socialism is, and as to how it can be attained. So far from being a means of educating the people, a Parliamentary election is, as every intelligent person knows, a special occasion for confusing real issues and falsifying facts with the sole aim of winning a degrading fight. All this has happened at Bethnal Green as elsewhere, the result being, as anyone might have foreseen, the return of the Liberal time-server, Masterman. And because the doughty champion of the S.D.P. could muster no more than 134 votes, people are left to suppose that these figures stand for the Socialist strength in Bethnal Green. The whole miserable fiasco gives a false impression and creates a false relation. In Bethnal Green there are many hundreds of Socialists who if they had had a vote would not have crossed the road to vote for Scurr. The "Socialists" in the Labour Party are proving many things that anti-Parliamentarians have prophesied.

Parental Discipline.

Writing on this subject on July 15, the *Daily News* says that working-class parents, being to some extent dependent on their children's earnings, cannot control them for fear that punishment might drive them away. It then goes on to state that "a disease which is the product of economic conditions should be attacked through the economic conditions which generate it." (The italics are our own.) This is the admission of a truth which if followed up would put the *Daily News* in some very awkward corners. For instance, unemployment is a direct outcome of capitalist production for profit. Therefore to cure that disease the capitalist system must be attacked at its economic foundation. The sweating system, infant mortality, all the "diseases of poverty," as Huxley called them—including consumption, which

the great John Burns is going to have stopped by Act of Parliament—these terrible evils are not at all incurable, but are the effects of our present economic system. This being undeniable, one may ask why all this pernicious foolishness contained in the Insurance Bill. Why does not Mr. Lloyd George and all those who agree with him admit the root-cause of the evil—for they know it well enough—and attack it at its foundation? Because they lack the necessary courage to adopt the only solution,—a complete reorganisation of society on the basis of communist economics. And, above all, they have their own self-interests centred in the capitalist system. So they try to cover the "economic lie" with the hypocrisy and demoralisation of State aid.

Justice and the Judges.

In the *New Age* of July 6, Mr. C. H. Norman prints a very remarkable letter he had written to the Lord Chief Justice dealing in a courageous and spirited way with the administration of justice in England, and of the judicial bias that has scandalised so many recent trials. To the disgrace of the Radical Press, be it said, no protest worthy the name has been made against these abuses, even though, as in the case of libel, they have themselves had to suffer from them. Mr. Norman's letter would make an excellent educational leaflet which might surely be reprinted by the Humanitarian League or the Prison Reform Society. We only regret we cannot give it in full. Here are two passages, however, which indicate the intelligent humanitarianism of the letter:—

"The connection of poverty and ignorance with crime is rarely recognised by the judges. Punishments for thefts, embezzlement and larceny are often a kind of insurance by means of which bad employers may cast upon society the burdens which flow from an underpayment of the employed. That the courts of justice should be a means by which bad employers may insure their avarice at other people's expense does strike one as inequitable. An amendment of the law is urgently needed by which prisoners charged with these offences would be enabled to raise the plea of underpayment as a defence; the onus being upon them to satisfy the jury of its truth."

"The mere retributive treatment of prisoners is doing very little towards the reduction of crime in England. The imposition of heavy sentences merely embitters the criminal, and transforms him from an erring citizen merely (at least we hope so) into an habitual criminal. The habitual criminal is not a natural phenomenon (the most expert criminological and scientific opinion is now agreed upon this), but a manufactured article, the ingredients in the manufacture generally being a savage sentence imposed by an irritable judge, flogging and a stupid prison system. Mr. Galsworthy's play, 'Justice,' is in my experience an exact representation of how the vested interests in crime obtain a perpetuity of material for their sustenance."

A Warning to the Warmongers.

Our comrade Yvetot, of the French C.G.T., spoke as follows before the German Trade Unionists in Berlin on July 24. For this he was expelled from Prussia:—

"If Governments should try to excite the peoples against each other, and compel one nation to fight another, we will show that the peoples have a fairer task before them. Just try it on, you block-heads, to incite one people against another, to arm one nation against another, and you shall see whether the peoples will not make a quite different use of the weapons which you thrust into their hands. (Several minutes of stormy German applause.) Wait and see whether the peoples will not fight quite another enemy than you expect. (Renewed applause.) We all return home inspired by the feeling of the solidarity of all peoples, for whom only one struggle exists, the fight against oppression, exploitation, and the wage system." (Storm of applause, long and continued.)

MORE HERETICAL VIEWS.*

To my mind, at least, the more modern Socialism and Syndicalism spread, the more one ideal of many years is left behind, and real Socialism seems more remote than ever. We all feel, I think, that if intensity of feeling and energy for action were in any way corresponding to numerical strength, we should not see, side by side with immense Socialist and Labour Parties, Capitalism more flourishing than ever, monarchism and militarism triumphant, parsons and priests unabashed and prospering. Socialism, degraded to "Labourism," now forms part and parcel of a system which it once meant to destroy root and branch.

Where is Anarchism to come from under such circumstances? Come it will, but it cannot jump into existence on the morrow of a revolution, like a world "created" by a fabulous "God." Like all living organisms, it must, in my opinion, grow out of slender beginnings to greater strength and perfection. These beginnings must take many forms, as only thus can nuclei of sufficient strength to grow further, and a sympathetic milieu for prosperous development, come into existence. Sapping the belief in authority and that brutal selfishness which the unceasing struggle for a bare living or the natural desire for greater comfort fosters in all of us; encouraging free initiative, mental and moral freedom (preparing economic and political freedom), are some means; others are organisms of proper vitality practising voluntary co-operation and unselfish methods of distribution. All such action brings strength and experience; and these examples of freedom, efficiency, and pleasure combined will attract those who are willing and able to bear and to overcome the initial hardships. In this way Anarchism would grow in proportion to its own real strength, being composed only of those who really feel attracted by it.

This seems to me the only possible realisation of Anarchism for some time to come. Can we expect to convince scores of millions of people by mere propaganda, with all the capitalist and Socialist parties doing the same around us on their own behalf? Perhaps our safest hope is the coming decay and discredit of all other parties; and the despairing multitude, aided by Anarchist initiative, might crush organised State power, and efface at last that *resignation to work for others* which is the real foundation of capitalist exploitation. But in this case also Anarchists would find themselves side by side with millions of people who ignore Anarchism and simply are not capable of it or do not want it. What better help against Parliamentary or personal dictatorship, the usual outcome of "anarchy" without Anarchists, could be found than precisely the nuclei and the milieu of Anarchist action and of sympathy for Anarchism, centres of attraction, for which I plead and which to so many who firmly believe in the far greater thing, a social revolution for Anarchism, appear so utterly impossible. To me, their optimism concerning a far-away possibility of gigantic dimensions, and their pessimism towards a relatively small matter which we all could settle before our eyes if we only began, is a strange spectacle.

I am not saying, of course, that they remain idle, fascinated by the expectation of a far-off social revolution. They drifted into a third way or impasse, which made them simply the left wing of the Labour movement, the advanced fraction of Syndicalism. This gives an illusion of power and apparently scope for vigorous action. But they have simply become the free lances, the *enfants perdus*, of the great Trade Union movement, which is identical with the daily struggle of Labour to advance in order not to be driven back. This unceasing war of two immense armies, capitalists and workers, spread and ambushed over an endless variety of positions in all industrial countries, is evidently a matter by itself, having its own inherent laws, and cannot be compressed into the sphere either of politicians, Socialists, or Anarchists. So-called direct or violent methods—direct action, sabotage, etc.—used in this daily international Labour war do not change its essence in the direction of Anarchism, just as violence employed by soldiers, by *camelots du roi* (French monarchist agents), etc., does not give their cause a revolutionary character.

I conclude that Anarchism has been extremely useful to Syndicalism, but it has received nothing in return but neglect and scorn. Syndicalism goes its own way, and rightly so; if only Anarchists were following this obvious example! Some will say: Are not both going the same way for a long time to come? Both desire the emancipation of Labour, it is true; but freedom is the vital point upon which they differ. To a Syndicalist, e.g., a well-paid municipal worker is an object of satisfaction; to an Anarchist he is but a tool of a new form of general enslavement. Their roads differ and have been differing for years already. For unquestionably Syndicalism enlists the aid of all public powers wherever it can, and Anarchism hopes to see the earth cleared from these powers.

It is a great mistake to confound "direct action" as it is practised in France with Anarchist action. Anarchists would take no notice whatever of Government and Parliament; Syndicalists by direct action bring pressure upon them, and make them sanction and uphold by force what Syndicalists think right. When it suits them, industries are to be nationalised like the railways in France, because they find pressure on a Government is easier than pressure on companies. Everything is sacrificed to the immediate interest of Labour; I venture to think that there is a higher interest, namely, that of not strengthening the State,

which is a burden and a curse to all. For the State, in its turn, supports private industry, the source of taxation, and everything remains as it is, only the screws have been tightened once more.

Add to this that the primitive natural resources of the earth are being exhausted with alarming quickness (coal, forests, land for agriculture, etc.); that the population is constantly growing and with equal constancy physically degenerating, and vulgarised by the monotonous style of modern life—all this brings about a situation where for some time to come greedy and strong speculators seize, squeeze, and exhaust everything, until what is left or can be rescued from them falls to the State, which will be considered by the masses a public benefactor, a saviour from ruin, and will thus acquire power and prestige. Later on, when life upon this overcrowded and exhausted earth becomes more toilsome, the last capitalists and the State, the latter supported by Socialists and Syndicalists, will fight their final battles, and capitalist oligarchy or State omnipotence may follow.

Where will Anarchists be then? If *already at present*, after barely twenty-five years' agitation, moved by a temporary repression (France, 1894), they gave up their independence and for the greater part merged into Syndicalism, nothing will be left of *these* a few years hence, and everything will have to start afresh, as it already does here and there. Political action (Parliament) was the grave of Socialism, Syndicalism is that of the greater part of Anarchism, an inevitable evolution for those in whom the immediate humanitarian desire to do something "useful" or the thirst for the semblance of power was stronger than their love for freedom.

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My opinions as here stated were strengthened when I was thinking of the problem of *the right proportion* which is essential to the vitality and efficiency of every organism. A human body cannot live, or becomes diseased and crippled, if the different organs are not all of proportionate, more or less normal, size, etc., and the extent to which these proportions may be overstepped, by training, etc., is limited. In social matters it cannot well be different; we are, however, mostly believing in almost unlimited extension, that what is good for some may be good for everybody, that by agitation and persuasion almost everything can spread, etc. I consider this a very great mistake which the destructive, degenerating growth of some unhealthy organisms around us led us to conceive. Religious superstition, obedience to authority, submission to work for others were weighing down such masses and ages of mankind that the generous belief and hope arose that the ideas of freethought, freedom, and wellbeing for all could be equally generalised by propaganda and a common revolutionary effort. We forget that many people, most men, are hopelessly crushed and stunned, and but a limited number have a sufficient reserve of strength and energy to regain their lost freedom to any extent. This is an individual matter, and no wave of enthusiasm can sensibly alter the fact that everyone can act only within the limits of his faculties, which are so vastly different.

Socialism has already tried this unlimited mechanical expansion, and failed. To-day, by its catering for the million, it is reduced to an ordinary political party, with voting machinery and politicians ready to become Ministers, the party of taxation and State encroachment *par excellence*. The voice of real Socialism is only heard occasionally in vain protest against this inevitable development.

As to *Syndicalism*, our comrade L. Bertoni, of Geneva, in his address before the Paris Syndicalists (1910), remarked that small revolutionary Syndicates become reformist when they increase in membership. For in a small Union the members are in touch with one another and with the secretary, who is still one of them; in a large Union personal contact is less direct, the secretary is a paid official whose chief aim very soon becomes to make the best of his routine job, to make the Union prosper financially by a safe and moderate policy, so that his position should be permanent. He will favour dilatory, opportunist politics; and the members, deprived of their initiative by a gradually more complicated and authoritarian organisation, will lose their personal interest in the Union—and another trade will have been brought under the thumb of dull, slow, and selfish officialdom.

To revolutionise these overgrown Unions is a hopeless task and an endless source of quarrels; just as an insect passes through several forms which cannot be jumped, changed in order, or suppressed, what is right for a small Union must become wrong for a large one, and the sooner this is seen the better.

Again, let us consider the problems of *municipalisation and nationalisation*. We have all heard with admiration of out-of-the-way Swiss villages where forests and pastures are common property, and the inhabitants arrange their public affairs at general meetings, as of old. Here communal property is seen from the attractive side. But look at it in modern big towns: here the inhabitants, save at elections, often fought on side issues, have nothing whatever to say; they must but pay and obey, whilst a rapidly increasing new municipal bureaucracy re-establishes Bumbledom, always quick to refill the exhausted exchequer by increased rates or loans. What was alienated from the people by capitalist usurpation remains equally strange and inaccessible now that it is nominally owned by the people. Everybody's business is nobody's business is the good saying of somebody who had the right proportion of things at heart.

Or look at the *land monopoly*; the land for the people—what movement roused greater sympathies in its beginning! And now it is

* See *Freedom*, January and March, 1910; *Temps Nouveaux*, May, 1909; *Mother Earth*, December, 1907; etc.

almost reduced to a dull fiscal problem of taxation which annoys everybody, as, of course, the State, for condescending to realise the taxation of land values, takes the money and uses it for its own purposes: ships, officials, etc.

Whenever a clever, generous idea is taken from its proper sphere of realisation within right proportions and becomes a "movement," it is safe to say that it will degenerate, that the real initiators will fall away, and another routine organism be created, to the satisfaction of a secretary and a few busybodies, but not to much other good. On the contrary, the limited room is taken up by all these stereotyped organisations, and fresh and free initiative is much more hampered than helped by them. Socialism put in practice in this wholesale, indiscriminate way would be an equal disappointment; it is already proclaimed by Fabians to be a mere matter of certain legislative measures, and no doubt within "Socialism" of this kind room would be found for kings and priests, army and bureaucracy for ever.

* * * * *

Must we not, as Anarchists, be extremely sceptical of general solutions, just as we reject laws because they are general solutions misapplied to individual cases? Why should we ourselves wish to generalise what reasoning and experience may have shown us to be the best for us and our friends? Do we not in our turn decline to be taught by others who offer advice which our ideas make us reject? Just what I most fondly believe in is not likely to attract others who are different from me.

I conclude that every idea, each social, political, and other system, can only be in full agreement with the feelings of a *limited* number of people who accept them more or less spontaneously, roused and instructed by propaganda, example, and experience. There is no rule to show which *are* the proper limits except unfettered spontaneity and the self-restraint of propagandists. Take it or leave it would be, in my opinion, much better guiding lines for the propagandist than the possession of the most persuasive oratory. Of course, everybody may be considered to possess possibilities for development in all directions—towards selfishness or the reverse, towards authority or freedom, etc.; but he alone by his general disposition is able to decide what work or sacrifice development in one of these directions is worth to him, and that settles his attitude towards ideas and systems.

Is my way of looking at things that of despair or resignation? Not to my belief. I want to see things as they are, and not as optimism or persuasion make them look. Anarchism is equally deaf to me whether held by five thousand people or by five hundred millions or by a few individuals. Is a scarce flower inferior to a common one? It is wonderful, perhaps, that after so many dark centuries so many rebellious spirits should exist already; and it is no wonder at all that the dumb, exploited masses, those victims of all ages, should better care for a little immediate amelioration, which State Socialism *promises* to them by an elaborate system of demagoguery, than for unfettered personal freedom, which to Anarchists is an essential condition of all personal wellbeing. They go their way and we go ours.

But they will and do hinder us from living in our own way. Yes, they, the State, the capitalists, fight us *as we fight them*. This struggle to take each other's place will go on to all eternity, unless somebody says at last, "There is room for all; let us only agree not to interfere with each other." Who but three centuries ago, when Bruno and Vanini were burned, expected that Freethinkers would live, as they do to-day, side by side with religious sects of all descriptions? However strong monarchism was, republics arose by its side; neither could crush the other. Even in economic matters, whilst expropriation of the capitalists is not yet possible by direct means, many thousands found outside of capitalism economic freedom in Co-operation, although this wonderful system has also been spoiled by unlimited extension, which reintroduced some of the evils of capitalism. State interference has become so disgusting to many that our cry for *total personal separation of Anarchists from the State* will appear less eccentric as time goes by. Once free from the idea, which falls little short of megalomania, that each idea which we happen to hold must needs be generalised by unceasing propaganda, which takes up all our time; free also from the sentimental belief that all our efforts must be concentrated on the Labour movement (which is worth our personal support, but not the merging of our ideas into it); free also, I admit, from such personal indignation and horror of the present system, which prefers coming to blows with it rather than going away from it (I respect *both* methods),—those who feel like this and are Anarchists would find in what I propose or discuss no occasion for quietness and lazy retirement, but, on the contrary, for work which some might prefer to the many opportunities for talk, the few for action, which the usual movement offers to them.

It is not I who seeks to lessen the dimensions of the Anarchist movement; I see only that it is based on such a high conception of freedom that few can come up to it. Better recognise this fact, which takes nothing away from the value and importance of our ideas, than run after the vain illusion that all others must feel as we do. *If land and the supply of necessaries were unlimited*, we might expect that freedom would finally predominate in economic and political matters, as it does or is about to do in science, morals, etc. But overpopulation and scarcity of necessaries may bring about a rally of the great majority round the State and authoritarian organisations; therefore it becomes our task to cease to dream of becoming the saviours of all and everybody, and to realise here and now, out of the smallest beginnings, what freedom and unselfishness can do, beside and in spite

of all others. A sympathetic *milieu* for the free development of organisms of right proportions, which would not interfere with others and claim the same freedom for themselves—to bring this about, not in one or two isolated places, but everywhere, in the midst of ordinary life, this seems to me a task for Anarchists at least as worth trying as anything that is being done now.

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The question of *proportion*, only slightly touched upon in the previous remarks, is, in my opinion, of the greatest importance for any future realisation of Socialism and Anarchism. The dimensions and the composition of co-operative groups will depend upon it, for a construction on too large or too small a scale would mean waste of energy, failure. Questions of federation and centralisation will be automatically decided by the same criterion as experience may teach in each case. Fourier had all this in his mind when he carefully calculated the exact composition of a working unit, a phalanstery. State Socialism looks quite absurd when viewed under this aspect; it is conceivable only as the continuation of present-day wasteful and incompetent State monopoly, which is supported by arbitrary prices and deficits paid out of taxation; when these extraordinary sources of income fail, the impracticability of working on an overlarge scale will become patent. A business man calculates the workable dimensions of an enterprise, as an architect bases his plans on the size and quality of building materials, etc. Socialism, to replace these methods of working, will have to do better, and this can never be done when production is regulated from above by official decrees. Any practical man might further work out what I intend to say; he would arrive at an exact proof, comprehensible to practical people, that Socialism and Anarchism *must* begin by small workable groups, which must first, by experience, acquire stability and vitality; then they may enter into relations of various kinds with other groups as the position of affairs may require. I think that the questions of Communism, Collectivism, and Mutualism will also be decided on this practical basis in each case, never by theory—except by amateurs who mean to be such and prefer working harder to a more practical solution, which is their own matter. I should like to see somebody of practical experience examine all Socialist problems in the light of the necessity of right proportion. Dr. M. Pierrot, of Paris, in the *Temps Nouveau* during the summer of 1909, in reply to my letter on proportion (*ib.*, May, 1909), has already approached the subject in a most interesting way.

N.

U.S.A.'S SIBERIA.

One hundred and sixty State convicts were killed the other day in an explosion at the Banner coal mines, in Alabama, U.S.A. Doubtless their deaths came as a merciful release, for these poor fellows, all negroes, were practically slaves, doomed to toil all their lives underground.

"An American Siberia" it has been termed by the one man bold enough to write about it. The convicts are nearly all "lifers," and so, by the laws of the State of Alabama, they have ceased to have any civil rights whatever. Anybody can kill them with impunity, and as a matter of fact scores of them are flogged and tortured to death every year. Those that do not do a certain fixed quantity of work each day are not allowed to come to the surface at night. There are convicts in the Alabama coal mines who have not seen the light of day for years. They are, in fact, buried alive.

Others are chained to wheelbarrows. When, in 1891, the free white colliers of Tennessee rose against the employment of convicts in the coal mines there, they found underground, and brought to the surface, men who had gone stone blind through being shut up so long in darkness. One man had not seen the light of the sun for eleven years, and had been chained to a wheelbarrow for three years. Another convict was found who had toiled as a slave underground for forty years. His offence was the theft of a mule worth a few pounds.

FLANDERS ARRESTED.

Outside the Marble Arch on July 23 our comrade Flanders was arrested for selling literature, though, as usual, the police called it "obstruction." He appeared the next day before Mr. Paul Taylor at Marylebone, when the following little dialogue took place:—

Mr. Paul Taylor: You do not think yourself amenable to law?

Flanders: No, certainly not.

Mr. Paul Taylor observed that the classes who made the laws nowadays were the working classes. "Surely," he said, "you have the good sense to know that."

Flanders: No, I have the good sense to deny it.

Mr. Paul Taylor: Then you don't know the meaning of household suffrage, I am afraid.

Flanders: We are the victims of class law and class rule, and we don't fear punishment.

He was bound over. We congratulate Flanders on his plucky defence.

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MEXICAN REBELS AND U.S.A. FINANCIERS.

By HONORÉ J. JAXON.

On the stage of United States' history there is now being played a tragi-comedy peculiarly characteristic of the mental and moral bias of the powers that be in that alleged Republic.

The pith of the matter is that the United States Government—being, in accordance with our capitalist system, an aggregation of highly privileged human interests—has chosen the disturbances of Mexico as a field whereon to emphasise the fact that, unlike the Almighty, it is a very decided "respector of persons."

For, while on one hand that Government has violated the basic principles of neutrality by permitting the Maderist faction of Mexico to send troops across United States territory en route to attack the Lower California contingent of the Mexican Liberal Party—a concession calculated to highly inflame and exacerbate internecine strife in Mexico—this same Government has, on the other hand, caused the arrest on its own soil, at Los Angeles, California, of Ricardo Flores Magon and others prominent in the Mexican Liberal movement, on the ground that within the limits of United States territory they were publishing a newspaper friendly to the Mexican Liberal cause and suspected of giving "aid and comfort" to that cause, and therefore deemed guilty of violating those same neutrality laws for which so little respect had been shown by itself in the matter of transporting the Maderist factionists.

This flagrant interference with free discussion—thus wantonly and brazenly coupled with a perpetration by itself, in a highly criminal degree, of the very offence cited as the ground and explanation of the interference—is, of course, precisely the sort of inconsistency and partiality which would indicate to the experienced observer the presence of a capitalistic Senegambian in the Mexican wood-pile; and an examination of the facts proves that this particular episode is no exception to the general rule.

In other words, the same United States financial interests which were the inspirers and allies of the " Cientificos " group of Mexican adventurers who for years had made use of their influence with Diaz to perpetrate measures calculated to enrich themselves and these United States financiers, at the expense of limitless and inexpressible martyrdom inflicted upon the producing class of Mexico, are now making use of the United States Government—which has so long been the instrument of this "plunder-bund" in the despoiling of the producing classes of the United States—to perpetuate, through the hoped-for success of Madero, their malign influence in the affairs of the southern republic.

This outrage will, of course, act ultimately as a boomerang against the combined interests behind it, through its effect in convincing United States public opinion that the anaconda in whose toils the people of the United States find themselves enveloped has incidentally looped itself around the Mexicans also, and that both peoples should therefore act as brothers in the cause thus proven to be a common one. But this happy consummation will be greatly delayed unless those who are already awakened to its importance shall come to the rescue of Magon and his comrades and of *Regeneracion*, the newspaper published at Los Angeles as the organ of the Liberal movement of Mexico, the suppression of which is, of course, the end ultimately aimed at by the plunder-bund.

In other words, the duty immediately in front of us is, on the one hand, that all friends should join in concentrated effort to provide Magon with legal counsel of that unfortunately expensive degree of technical expertness requisite, under United States conditions, to save him from a conviction which will necessarily deprive the cause of the

greater part of the fruit of his ability and zeal; and on the other hand, that we should take advantage of the increased prominence which will be given to this case by a skilful defence, to extend in all Spanish and English countries the subscribers' list of *Regeneracion*, three-fourths of which is printed in the former language and one-fourth in the latter.

It may be added that the Spanish portion of the paper is written by Magon and his co-editors in a style which is notably brilliant in even that naturally eloquent and sonorous tongue, which has well been termed the Toledo-blade of human oratory; that the paper is circulated "by underground" in all parts of Mexico, and is doing an invaluable work among the formerly inert peon population; and that William C. Owen, the editor of the English section, is the master of a lucid and forceful mode of expression which renders the reading of his articles an intellectual treat. Incidentally it may be stated that for many years Owen has been the most prominent landmark in the field of economic thought in the south-western portion of the United States, and that his devotion and zeal have long been tested by that martyrdom which is the daily portion of nearly every man who refuses to compromise principle for the sake of immediate creature comforts for himself.

La Regeneracion can be reached by writing to the address, 519½ East Fourth Street, Los Angeles, California; but in view of the possibility of sudden interferences by the "minions of the law," and those co-incidentally sudden changes of address which are the proof of vitality and faithfulness in revolutionary sheets, it may be suggested to send contributions to the Defence Fund and subscriptions to the paper to FREEDOM Office, which being in constant touch with the Los Angeles comrades and the Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party will be able to promptly forward all monies to whatever address may from time to time be safe from violation.

"JUSTICE" AND EMMA GOLDMAN.

A Protest from America.

The dastardly conduct of *Justice* in publishing the infamous charge it did against Emma Goldman, without a shred of evidence to sustain it, has brought the following strong protest to that paper from public men and women in America, who have known her and worked with her in that country for years:—

EDITOR OF "JUSTICE," LONDON, ENGLAND,—

We note in your issue of May 13, in an article entitled "Anarchists' Agents," the statement:

"It is not generally known that Emma Goldman is in the pay of the police, though the fact has leaked out recently. At one time she was employed by Mr. A. E. Olarovsky, of the Russian Secret Police in San Francisco, as an agent and a spy."

We write to protest in the most emphatic manner against this outrageous slander. It passes our comprehension why you should soil your columns by printing such an absolutely unsupported charge against one of the most devoted and beloved representatives of the radical movement in America. Emma Goldman has given the best years of her life to the Anarchist cause. Her integrity is above suspicion. There is not an iota of truth in the charge.

(Signed)

LEONARD D. ABBOTT, Associate Editor, *Current Literature*,
New York.

EL. KELLY, Organiser, Francisco Ferrer Association, New York.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN, Editor, *Mother Earth*, New York.

WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING, Author, New York.

HUTCHINS HAPGOOD, Journalist and Author, Spring Lake, N.J.

J. G. PHELPS STOKES, Stamford, Conn.

WILLIAM MARION REEDY, Editor, *Mirror*, St. Louis, Mo.

ALDEN FREEMAN, East Orange, N.J.

BOLTON HALL, Lawyer and Author, New York.

GILBERT E. ROE, Lawyer, New York.

PAUL S. KAPLAN, M.D., Treas., Russian Socialists-Revolutionists,
New York.

SIMON O. POLLOCK, Attorney, " " "

ROSE PASTOR STOKES, Author, Stamford, Conn. " "

THEODORE SCHROEDER, Attorney, Free Speech League, New York.

VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE, Author and Lecturer, Chicago, Ill.

JAMES F. MORTON, Jr., Editorial Staff, *Truth Seeker*, New York.

EDWEN C. WALKER, Publicist, New York.

DANIEL KIEFER, Cincinnati, Ohio.

ROSE STRUNSKY, Journalist, New York.

I. C. BARROWS, Boston, Mass.

WINIFRED HEATH, Journalist, New York.

J. H. GREER, M.D., Author, Chicago, Ill.

H. SOLOTAROFF, M.D., Journalist and Lecturer, New York.

HULDAH L. POTTER LOOMIS, Author, Chicago, Ill.

E. B. MORTON, Editor, *Freedom*, San Francisco, Cal.

On July 8th *Justice* printed this protest, giving only four names out of the signatories. Then followed an editorial footnote which only this Social Democratic Bayard could have penned. Note the "sweetness and light" of this dispenser of Justice (?)—

"We publish this protest out of regard for some of the signatories.."

But it certainly does more credit to their hearts than their heads. All the protests in the world, however, will not alter the truth of our statement. They say 'there is not an iota of truth in the charge.' How do they know? To say that 'Emma Goldman has given the best years of her life to the Anarchist cause' proves nothing. That might be said of almost every Anarchist agent who has been of value to the police. We have simply stated what we have no doubt is true. If Anarchists prefer not to believe it, that is their affair. It doesn't hurt us.—Ed. 'J.'

If anything, the editor has outdone himself on this occasion. This man, who knows nothing of Emma Goldman, who has not attempted to bring forward a scrap of evidence to prove the shameful charge made, who apparently dare not even give the name of his alleged informant, so that those who have known and worked with Emma Goldman for years may judge of the character and standing of her accuser—this man, upon whom rests the responsibility and obligation of proving the charge he published, has the impudence, when these public men and women protest against this infamy and state "there is not an iota of truth in the charge," to turn and ask, "How do they know?"

In matters of evidence, character and standing count. Those of Emma Goldman are known. Those in the Russian revolutionary movement know what she has done for it. Had she been what these contemptible cowards suggest, scores of comrades, who not only talked and wrote but, also acted, would have paid the penalty with their lives. All the evidence on this score, and it is overwhelming, clearly proves her absolute and complete trustworthiness. All this is known, and much more, as to her honesty by the men and women who protest against this calumny in *Justice*.

But who is her accuser? Is his or her career known? If it is an honest one, why not come into the open, instead of cowering behind the pitiable shield of the editor of a paper? It is not a bit of use ringing the changes on "We have simply stated what we have no doubt is true." Honest folk want to know upon what grounds this editor was convinced that the statement was true. But he brings no proof, because he has no proof. It was sufficient to calumniate an Anarchist: that end served, nothing else mattered—for him. For honest people, however, some things are essential which for the Quelch type of mind do not exist. As he does not understand honour, he probably does not realise how his baseness has recoiled upon himself. If proof had been needed of Emma Goldman's splendid record, this venomous attack would have emphasised it. She stands where she has always stood—in the forefront of the revolutionary movement. Harry Quelch returns to that obscurity from which he ought never to have emerged, unless, as may happen, he should finally be "scrapped" on the rubbish-heap of the House of Commons. *Fiat justitia ruat Quelch.*
J. TURNER.

MORE PROTESTS FROM AMERICA.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—All of us who are well acquainted with the earnestness and devotion of our comrade Emma Goldman through all the years of her public life and activity as an Anarchist were deeply outraged by, and feel called upon to register our most heartfelt indignation and protest against, the monstrous aspersion cast upon her name by the article entitled "Anarchists' Agents," which was published in the issue of May 13 of *Justice*, a periodical known as the organ of the Social Democracy in England.

Failing to either substantiate, before a properly constituted comradely court of honour, the infamously printed anonymous accusation against Emma Goldman, or to make due retraction of and apology for the calumnious statement, that periodical and the political party whose organ it claims to be should be condemned and contemned by all right-thinking people.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
FEDERATED ANARCHISTIC GROUPS OF AMERICA.
JOS. J. COHEN, Sec.

424 Pine Street, Philadelphia, Pa., June 30.

(To the Editor of FREEDOM.)

DEAR COMRADE,—On behalf of the "Wecker" Group, I ask you to kindly print in your paper the following resolution:—

"The Wecker Group, having read the accusations against Emma Goldman, printed in *Justice* without a particle of proof, send to you our strongest protest against that paper's attempt to calumniate our comrade."
G. DICSTEIN, Secretary.

E. 97th Street, New York.

NOTICE TO LECTURE SECRETARIES.

Since the last issue of FREEDOM there has arrived in London a credentialed champion of the Mexican people in the person of Honoré J. Jaxon, who for many years has been active in America as an exponent of economic co-operation between the native and European nationalities. Societies desirous of having Jaxon to deliver an address on the Mexican situation will be put in touch with him by FREEDOM Office.

THE FIRST ESSENTIAL—A WEEKLY PAPER.

A common cause of disappointment to the enthusiastic convert to Anarchism is the apparently slow headway made by Anarchist propaganda. Taking a general survey of our propaganda in Britain, one feature stands out prominently, viz., the intermittent, isolated nature of our efforts. Here and there, from time to time, little groups spring up, have a period of strenuous activity, die, and are forgotten. No effective propaganda movement exists. To be effective, it must be sustained and carried out over an ever-increasing area.

One great reason for the lack of any sustained general effort is our justifiable dread of the reactionary centralised organisation. An Anarchist movement can never be built up on the lines of a big party. A centralised movement would cease to be an Anarchist movement. But *decentralisation* does not spell *disorganisation*.

The undercurrent of Anarchist activity, which periodically betrays its presence over a wide area by quite unconnected and ineffectual efforts, can be made effective only by a linking-up of the various local activities into one cohesive whole, by the application of the principles of mutual aid and mutual encouragement to our Anarchist propaganda.

The most immediately effective means by which this linking-up process can be carried out is by the establishment of a weekly propaganda paper—a paper which, although having for its primary object the propagation (in a plain and direct fashion) of militant Anarchist principles, will afford a medium for the interchange of suggestions and ideas, and will link up the different groups by bringing the comrades more directly into touch with one another.

This question of a weekly propaganda paper has been considered by the FREEDOM Group, who have come to the conclusion that the issuing of FREEDOM, together with the work entailed in the publication of pamphlets, etc., prevents them undertaking the further responsibility of a weekly. They have suggested that the paper be issued by the Glasgow comrades, who have seriously considered the suggestion, and are now working out a scheme to that end. It should be noted that the paper will not in any sense be a competitor of FREEDOM, which is a paper written for Anarchists, whereas the weekly will be a propaganda paper making a wide and general appeal. It is hoped that the first number will appear on May 1, 1912.

It is everywhere evident that the time is ripe for the launching of this venture. The workers, floundering helplessly from one morass to another, turn a receptive ear to the prophet of the new order. It remains for us to turn the opportunity to good account.

The complete failure of the Labour Party to bring to the toilers any relief from the burdens of capitalist exploitation, and the barefaced lust for personal aggrandisement shown by the majority of the Labour M.P.s, have compelled the workers not only to again resort to the strike to resist the capitalist, but to realise with more or less certainty the fact that other means than Parliamentary action are needed to help their cause.

These conditions mean a wide field for the spreading of our ideas; but are we able to make the most of them? A weekly paper ought to be invaluable. Whether or not it can appear will to a great extent depend on the activity shown in this direction by comrades who sympathise with the idea. Funds will be needed, but some things are of even more importance. A good editor, with some reliable comrades who will support him with well-written and well-thought-out copy; other comrades who will push the sale—no amount of funds will enable us to dispense with these essentials.

It is not enough that the comrades buy the paper when it is published; they must set to work *now* to build up an effective system for its distribution. Where a number of comrades meet together, one of them could take up the work of advance agent, to receive and forward sums contributed for the issue and upkeep of the paper, and to act generally as an advertising agent. Contributions can be more effectively collected and forwarded if comrades in a position to do so would guarantee a certain definite sum weekly or monthly until next May. Suggestions and new ideas will be welcomed.

All communications should be addressed to the Secretary, Anarchist Group, Clarion Scouts' Rooms, 7 Holland Street, Glasgow.
J. P.

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

AN ECHO OF THE PAST.

[The following Manifesto, which was issued by the seceders from the Social Democratic Federation who formed the Socialist League, is reprinted to show the remarkable significance it has at the present moment. It will be noted how prophetic were the words of Morris and his followers when the nullification and debasement of true Socialist aims are seen around us. The wreckage of the S.D.F. is deplorable, but inevitable, and the same may be said of the betrayals of the politicians. If, as some say, a new Socialist Party is needed, let it keep clear of politics if it would not share the same fate.]

TO SOCIALISTS.

We, the Members of the Council of the Social Democratic Federation, who, although a majority, resigned on December, 27th, wish to explain our reasons for that retirement, and for our forming a body independent of the Social Democratic Federation.

It is admitted by those who remain on the Council, as well as by ourselves, that there has been for some time past a want of harmony in the Council; we believe that this has been caused by a real difference in opinion as to what should be the aims and tactics of a Socialist propaganda.

Our view is that such a body in the present state of things has no function but to educate the people in the principles of Socialism, and to organize such as it can get hold of to take their due places, when the crisis shall come which will force action on us. We believe that to hold out as baits hopes of amelioration of the condition of the workers, to be wrung out of the necessities of the rival factions of our privileged rulers is delusive and mischievous. For carrying out our aims of education and organisation no over-shadowing and indispensable leader is required, but only a band of instructed men, each of whom can learn to fulfil, as occasion requires it, the simple functions of the leader of a party of principle.

We say, that on the other hand there has been in the ranks of the Social Democratic Federation a tendency to political opportunism, which if developed would have involved us in alliances, however temporary, with one or other of the political factions, and would have weakened our propagandist force by driving us into electioneering, and possibly would have deprived us of the due services of some of our most energetic men by sending them to our sham parliament, there to become either nonentities, or perhaps our masters, and it may be our betrayers. We say also that among those who favoured these views of political adventure there was a tendency towards national assertion, the persistent foe of Socialism: and it is easy to see how dangerous this might become in times like the present.

Furthermore, these views have led, as they were sure to lead, to attempts at arbitrary rule inside the Federation; for such a policy as the above demands a skilful and shifty leader, to whom all persons and opinions must be subordinated, and who must be supported (if necessary) at the expense of fairness and fraternal openness.

Accordingly, attempts have been made to crush out local freedom in affiliated bodies, and to expel or render unpopular those individual members who have asserted their independence. The organ of the party, also, has been in the hands of an irresponsible editor, who has declared himself determined to resign rather than allow the Federation to have any control over the conduct of the paper.

All this we have found intolerable. It may be asked of us why we did not remain in the body and try to enforce our views by steady opposition in it. We answer, as long as we thought reconciliation possible, we did do so; but the tendencies above mentioned were necessarily aggressive, and at last two distinct attacks on individuals showed us that the rent could not be mended.

We felt that thenceforth there must be two opposed parties in the Social Democratic Federation. We did not believe that a propagandist body could do useful work so divided, and we thought that it would not be in the interests of Socialism to carry on the contest further in the Federation; because, however it might end, it would leave a discontented minority, ruled by a majority, whose position would have been both precarious and tyrannical.

On the other hand, our view of our duty to the cause of Socialism forbids us to cease spreading its principles or to work as mere individuals. We have therefore set on foot an independent organisation, the Socialist League, with no intention of acting in hostility to the Social Democratic Federation, but determined to spread the principles of Socialism, by the only means we deem effectual.

13th January, 1885.

Notice.

Newsagents have frequently refused to supply FREEDOM owing to the difficulty of obtaining the paper. We have now made arrangements with the following agents to supply FREEDOM and also our books and pamphlets at wholesale rates. Readers are requested to notify their newsagents:—

London—HENDERSONS, 66 Charing Cross Road, W.C.

E. H. JOHNSON, 23 Bride Lane, Ludgate Circus, E.C.

Liverpool—E. G. SMITH, 126 Tunnel Road.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

France.

The general strike in the building trade in Paris and suburbs, which involved 30,000 men of different trades connected with the trade, after a week which showed their strength and solidarity, have hit on another way to obtain the nine-hour day which they fought for. They have started work, but after having completed nine hours, left without asking anybody's permission. They did not meet with any serious opposition, and henceforth every day they intend to take what till now they asked for. It remains to be seen what the employers will say to this new application of direct action.

It had been decided that the French Trade Union delegates were to visit their German comrades in Berlin on July 24-29, at which occasion a large meeting for the promotion of peace and internationalism was to be held. But shortly before the visit, the German committee requested the French delegates to drop that part of the programme. The French Metal-workers have now sent to their General Confederation of Labour a letter pointing out that it is just now necessary that the workers of Europe should demonstrate their peaceful feelings, and in view of the present international political position and talk of war they propose to invite also English Labour delegates and to hold the pre-arranged anti-war demonstration. The letter adds that unless the visit to Berlin assumes this international and anti-war character, the French Metal-workers cannot consent to send any delegates, however useful otherwise a journey to study German conditions may be.

A nice little lesson in internationalism to the German Trade Unions!

Italy.

At the recent Congress of the Italian Confederation of Labour at Padua, the reformist and revolutionary elements, which for a long time had opposed each other in the Federation, came to an open struggle. The officials of the Federation, who are all reformists, were attacked by the revolutionaries for their lack of activity in the Ferrer and Durand affairs, on the occasion of the Tsar's visit to Italy, and in the railway-men's agitation. For two days the officials were criticised; but in the end the reformists managed to obtain a vote of confidence for the committee. "Nevertheless," says our comrade Alceste De Ambris, "all that passed gives us great hope for the future. It shows that in Italy the reformist illusions are losing ground. At the preceding Congress at Modena in 1908 the revolutionary Syndicalists had not even been able to obtain a hearing. At Padua they triumphed in the discussion by the clearness of their ideas and the seriousness of their criticism. When it came to voting they had a respectable minority, and would have had more had not some of the organisations been wrongly excluded at the examination of the mandates. But the revolutionary Syndicalists have asserted themselves, and the reformists have understood the position. Now a tenacious and fertile work of renovation will begin, ending in the liberation of the Italian proletariat—by nature revolutionary—from the reformist shepherds."

Great agitation reigns among the 40,000 agricultural labourers of the Ferrara province. An agrarian struggle is everywhere imminent, except in some regions such as those of Argenta, Portomaggiore, and Codigoro, where it has already broken out. In the Ferrara province, one of the largest of Italy, agriculture is carried on like an industry. The Labour organisation of Ferrara had entered into negotiations with the Landowners' Association, and put forward the following conditions:—The landowners, if in need of workers, shall address themselves to the central and the local Labour organisation, who promise to send capable men. Further, the landowners shall inform the Labour organisation of the extent of their lands to be cultivated, so that the work might be so distributed as to prevent unemployment, for which purpose they must promise to employ at the bad time of the year the casual labourers by turn, paying them according to the tariff.

The landowners rejected these proposals, qualifying them as attacks on the rights of property, and consequently negotiations were broken off. The Labour organisation thereupon assembled and decided to leave full liberty to the branches in the various localities to begin the fight when or how they thought fit. It is thought probable that the movement may break out at the harvest time.

Sweden and Norway.

The Labour movement in these countries has from its very beginning been under the sway of Social Democratic ideas and tactics. If any country can furnish proofs of the inefficiency of those reformist tactics, it is certainly Sweden. The great strike of 1909, owing to its complete passiveness and order, was a complete failure, exhausted the funds of the Unions, and delivered the workers unreservedly to the tender mercies of their masters. These have not been slow in making a full use of the situation; they are very strongly organised, and display a striking international solidarity.

In Norway the mineowners proposed a reduction in wages. The miners asked for a slight increase. The answer of the employers' Union was a lock-out of thousands of men, and the employers quite frankly declared that they were ready to open negotiations when the men's funds are exhausted. On July 15, another 15,000 workers in the iron industry were locked out. It is even expected that all organised workers will be locked out.

In Sweden, after long negotiations between the employers and the

men, the former's Federation has proclaimed a lock-out in all the branches of the building trade,—masons, bricklayers, plumbers, carpenters, &c. The lock-out is not, as in 1909, directed against the workers in all industries, but only that of the building trade in the whole country, involving 30,000 men, of whom 12,000 are organised. In opposition to the events of 1909, the present lock-out aims at the unorganised men as well as at the organised, because the former had declared themselves in solidarity with the latter. Official arbitration has failed, as the workers rejected the enormous decrease in wages proposed by the employers.

But it is not only in these two countries that the workers have to pass through hard times. In Denmark the employers threaten with a lock-out unless an important strike which is taking place is stopped. The employers in the three countries are strongly organised and in full international solidarity; and it is time that the workers profit by the hard lessons they have received, drop their peaceful Social Democratic tactics, and adopt the fighting attitude of direct action in their struggle with capitalism.

Bohemia.

At Prague, on June 8, the trial began of six Anarchists, young men who had refused to serve as soldiers. They were besides accused of instigation to insubordination. The public was not admitted to the trial, which lasted nine days. Borek, a student, was condemned to ten months' hard labour, with the addition of one day's fasting every month; Sojka, four months, with two days' fast a month; Herlas, six months, and Hoffmann, seven months, and each one day's fast a month. The other two, Kupr and Dvorak, were acquitted. These six rebels carried themselves very independently and proudly. The fact that the public was not admitted at the trial shows how afraid the authorities are that this splendid example might be infectious. The anti-militarist propaganda in Austria is sure to be stimulated by the inspiring attitude of these pioneers.

Austria.

The editor of *Wohlfahrt für Alle*, Pierre Ramus, has been recently condemned to a month's imprisonment and a fine of 300 kronen for having dared in a lecture on Ferrer to defend deeds qualified as crimes by the laws of the country. A committee has been formed which has charged itself with the publication of the incriminated lecture. A better answer to the authorities could hardly be devised.

Mexico.

Under the new régime, strikes are breaking out everywhere in industrial enterprises in Mexico. Under the old régime, strike leaders were treated with scant ceremony; they were soon put behind the prison bars, and could consider themselves lucky if they were not "suicided." At present a breath of liberty is going through the Republic, and the workers dare to bring forward their claims. It seems even that they do not meet with much opposition. For instance, the employees on the tramways of Mexico City and at the iron foundries of Guggenheim have gained real advantages without striking a blow. Often the strikes are directed against the Yankee workers and foremen, privileged workers imported from the United States, hated by the Mexicans for their pride and despotism.

THE MOVEMENT IN AUSTRALIA.

Melbourne.

We celebrated May Day on the 1st, and our meeting was attended by about 400. I spoke for about an hour and sold 4s. worth of pamphlets. The following Sunday the Trades Hall Labour politicians were to have held meetings to explain the benefits obtainable through a ballot-box revolution (?), notwithstanding the crushing defeat they have recently received through the taking of the Referendum. Their meeting was postponed owing to the inclemency of the weather, but I held my meeting and exposed the fallacy of political action, and maintained that the only possible chance of obtaining any advantage was through direct action followed by an active revolt.

One of the most outrageous acts has just been inflicted upon the members of the Agricultural Implement Makers' Union, during a strike, by a Labour Senator named Russel. After the strikers standing out for three months, this Parliamentary humbug has succeeded in getting the employers' terms adopted by the strikers, which means that the employers will refuse to recognise the Union, one of the deadliest blows Unionism has received in Australia. This treachery will continue while the workers trust to politicians. W. J. FLEMING.

Sydney.

You will be pleased to know that we have founded a Freedom Group of Anarchists in Sydney, and we are desirous of starting the people here to read our pamphlets and papers. We in Australia have a great field for propaganda, as the people are getting somewhat tired of the various parties. In Sydney we are holding good meetings, and our comrade Fleming in Melbourne is doing fine work.

When we first held our meetings in Sydney, we did not get more than twenty people to listen to us, and these few held away as far as possible; but we fought this down, and now we are holding meetings

of two or three hundred. On Sunday last our meeting lasted over two hours; questions came in for about an hour; so you will see we are making headway. Unfortunately, there is only another comrade and myself as speakers, but we have a few other comrades who render good service in other ways.

We have just got over a bit of trouble in Sydney, but not on the side of the worker. The members of the Wharf Labourers' Union refused to handle cement. They contended that the cement came through the bags, to the detriment of their health, and from this two members had died. Therefore they refused to handle it any longer. But our Labour politician stepped in, and the result was the further handling of cement. I was told by one of the officials of the Union that there was a commission to investigate the question of some bag which the company put forward as one through which the cement did not penetrate. During the trial of the bag they had a fine day without wind; everything was favourable for the test, with the result that the bag was found suitable; but this can be understood when I say that it took over three hours to put in the holds (during the test) what the men did in about an hour on ordinary occasions. So once more our politician has played his game successfully.

June 2.

ARTHUR HOTCHKISS.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

GLASGOW.

We are in the midst of the "Fair Holidays" and are having a ten days rest, after having held four large meetings at Govan, two at Paisley, and two on Glasgow Green, where good discussions took place on Anarchism generally, the seamen's strike, and direct action. In future, meetings will be held at—

Govan, Helen Street, every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Glasgow Green, every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.

Group meeting, 7 Holland Street, every Tuesday at 8 p.m. All in sympathy specially invited to attend.

The preliminary work for the proposed new weekly paper is taking up most of our time. At present we are considering the best means of raising funds—no easy matter at the start. We hope, however, to raise sufficient to carry it on until it is self-supporting. Any suggestions from comrades on this point, or on the advertising and distribution of the paper when published, will be welcomed. A. MCKAY, Secretary.

John McAra, who speaks every Sunday at the Green of Gaol Square at 3 p.m., has been holding very successful meetings. After a trip to Dundee, he returned to Glasgow and spoke on Sunday afternoon, June 23, and had a good sale of FREEDOM and literature, in spite of it being the last day of the holidays, when there is usually a scarcity of cash.

LIVERPOOL.

On behalf of the youngsters, I thank the various comrades for their donations toward the outing on August 12. In response to many inquiries about the continuation of the school, I may say that owing to our inability to find suitable rooms, we are obliged to suspend our gatherings.

I have been commissioned by the S.S.S. Union of Liverpool and District to visit the various schools and report to a Conference on July 30. No doubt the subjects taken by the various schools are excellent food for the youngsters of the future generation, but I should like to hear the children told more of the present-day struggles of the workers, such as strikes, etc. These little people only too soon will rub shoulders with the workers of the world. The absurdities of superstitions should be mercilessly exposed by simple lessons in reason and logic. The superstitions that Governments are essential, that patriotism is noble, that religion is a holy thing, could be demolished by elementary reasoning.

One thing that seems to mar the S.S. Schools is the repetition of ten silly platitudes and a declaration, known as the "Socialist Ten Commandments." Who had the audacity to draw up such a series of impositions, and dare to cram them down the child's throat, I do not know. The repetition of these moral musings does not tend to develop the mind, but rather to hinder the natural development of the child. It is a religious practice, born of priestcraft and cajolery, which will only result in developing a subservient, humble, meek, and lowly spirit in the heart of a child. We have seen enough of the orthodox Sunday School morality. It is a "virtue" that makes one vomit. Let us have done with this ceremonial business. Stereotyped characters are not for the new era. We want to make men and women, not "virtuous" automatons.

Children's Picnic Fund—Previously acknowledged £1 12s. 8d., (G. D. £2, W. H. 1s., W. Hart 2s. 6d., "God" 1s.

NOTICE.—Owing to some misunderstanding with the caterers re date of picnic to Halewood, we have decided to go to WOOLTON HALL HYDRO instead. Train leaves Central at 1.30 p.m., AUGUST 12. Adults, 2s.

International Club, Spekeland Buildings,
Canning Place.

DICK JAMES.

VICTORIA PARK.

On Sunday, July 16, a meeting was held in connection with the case of Justice and Emma Goldman. Comrade Bilmér opened the meeting, and then Ponder led off the attack. He dealt exhaustively with Liebnicht's charge against Stepniak of being a police spy, which clearly showed how good comrades can be stabbed in the back. Bakunin was also denounced as a spy, yet Liebnicht gave him great praise for his goodness. Again, our comrade Malatesta did not escape this flood of lies. Elizabeth Flynn, who championed Industrial Unionism, sent a letter on that subject to Justice, but Quelch would not insert it. But when she stood up for free speech, then he inserted a long article praising her and claiming her as a good comrade. Quelch is ever ready to make false charges against Anarchists, which he knows he cannot prove. Hyndman, another of their ilk, said in

1908 that the Paris postmen's strike did more good than a hundred years of Parliamentary action. Yet another time he denounced the general strike as nonsense. Then our comrade Ray opened fire on the craft of demagogues, hitting them so hard that some of them began to cry out. One of them took the platform and said that Anarchism was "Individualism gone mad." Ray is a splendid fighter and he drew an immense crowd. Ponder went over to Quelch's meeting and openly challenged him to debate, but the heroic editor of *Justice* refused.

F. GOULDING.

CLERKENWELL.

On the historic spot of Clerkenwell Green, as some old comrades will remember, much revolutionary propaganda was done in the days before Socialism became respectable. How different things are to-day. Many times I have listened here to the politicians, wondering how the people could be influenced by their cant and humbug. Now it is a pleasure to be able to report that after a long absence we have returned to the fight in this neighbourhood, and are holding good meetings at Garnault Place, where we are up against the politicians. An interesting occasion was that of the King's visit to Islington. To the surprise of them all we turned out in full force to protest against the gang of loafers parading their luxury in face of our poverty. We determined to hold a meeting to expose this insult, and in spite of opposition we succeeded, and finished with hearty cheers for the Revolution. Now we hold meetings every Thursday, and are making great progress. Excellent sale of literature. On Monday, July 24, we had a fine meeting at which Kavanagh spoke, assisted by Walsh and Flanders, and we intend in future to hold Monday night meetings. Will comrades rally up to this spot and lend some help? It is one of the very best in London.

H. B. F.

On Sunday afternoon, July 16, some comrades attended the meeting in Trafalgar Square which was called to demand the release of Miss Malecka, who is in the grip of the Russian Government. The meeting was very poorly attended, and literature sales were small.

The same evening a good meeting was held at West Green Corner, Tottenham. Comrades Ponder and Kavanagh had good audiences, questions being plentiful. This is a promising ground for propaganda, and meetings are held every Sunday evening at 7.30.

F. L.

Notice.

A meeting will be held at 139 Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, on Wednesday, August 16, at 8 p.m. sharp, to discuss the best plan of propaganda and exchange of speakers. All interested invited.

LONDON MEETINGS.

Rushcroft Road, Brixton.—Sundays at 7.30.
St. George's Circus (corner of Lambeth Road).—Thursdays at 8.
Regent's Park.—Sundays at 12.0.
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