

# Freedom

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## NOTES.

### The "Syndicalist" Prosecutions.

The *Syndicalist* prosecutions would be a disgrace to any Government, and it is not surprising that a growing feeling of indignation is being manifested against it when it is remembered that a Liberal Attorney-General had to go back more than a hundred years to exhume the musty parchment law that has darkened with its shadow the liberty of the Press. Even the Judge seemed half-ashamed to inflict a penalty under it. The Attorney-General should remember this: that had he lived in the days when this law was passed (1797) he would not only not have been allowed to sit in Parliament, but he would not even have been permitted the liberty of following the profession of a barrister. (The liberty of a Jew to follow the profession of a barrister was only won in 1833; the right to a seat in the House of Commons in 1858.) So we see that since those comparatively dark days great liberties have been won for his creed and for his race. Turning his back on the spirit of liberty, he now imprisons those who still see there is something to be done for the progress of mankind. Meanwhile, the reactionaries who would keep their heels on the neck of a nation to maintain their power and privileges can threaten and organise civil war and go unscathed, even while calling for the imprisonment of those who are struggling for the freedom of the masses. Oh, Justice! Justice! what a mockery do the great ones make of thee!

### An Appeal to Prejudice.

When the Attorney-General, answering Mr. Lansbury in the House on March 25 said, in the case of a riot, if the military refused to fire we should have "anarchy," he was making an appeal to the fears and the prejudices of the propertied classes. If Sir Rufus Isaacs had said that when the mineowners and the capitalist Press try to seduce the men from their allegiance to their Unions, or try to persuade non-Unionists to turn blacklegs, they are endangering the peace of the community for their own base ends, he would have been right. For these are the things that create riots, and then the governmental forces are called in to protect—the miners and their starving families? No; but the mineowner and his property. Governments cause bloodshed by supporting the *legalised disorder of capitalism*. And to whitewash their own black deeds it pleases them to call this Anarchy! History, as we have said above, seems to be a weak point with the Attorney-General, so he will pardon us, we hope, for recalling to him an incident which happened long ago, but which carries with it a most significant moral. It occurred in Rome—of all places in the world!—in the year A.D. 275, immediately after the death of Aurelian. The greatest of all historians, Gibbon, describes it as "one of the best attested, but most improbable, events in the history of mankind." And it was this. An interregnum of eight months elapsed before the election of the new Emperor, Tacitus, when Rome for once enjoyed, as Gibbon tells us, "an amazing period of *tranquil anarchy*, during which the Roman world remained without a sovereign, without an usurper, and without a sedition." (The italics are ours.) Alas! that it could not have lasted through the ages! But at least we can say that it is ambition and the lust for wealth and power that creates the "disorder." Anarchy, when it comes, will bring peace—national and international—freedom, and well-being for all; not riot and bloodshed, as Sir Rufus would have us believe.

### The Miners' Splendid Stand.

We offer our sincere congratulations to the coal-miners, both for the wonderful example of solidarity which they have set before the workers of the world, and the determination they

have shown in insisting upon the concession of the substance of their demands before consenting to resume work. In spite of the abuse which the capitalist Press has levelled at them, the sympathy of the vast majority of the working class outside the mining industry has been on their side. This would have been proved in a very striking manner—early in March at least—had the Government attempted to use the army against the miners as they did against the railwaymen last year, when the military forces—supplied with ball-cartridges—were placed all over the country. Another great general strike would have made such a disposition of troops inadvisable, if not impracticable. The proud and grasping coalowners must be made to yield to what are, after all, very moderate demands indeed.

### Sinister Scientists.

There is not a more cold-blooded set of men than those scientists who are the pets of the ruling classes. Sir William Ramsey, for instance, has the cool impudence to warn the miners that they are going too far in striking for a minimum wage, and if they are not careful science will devise the means of doing without their services. As Sir William does not condescend to promise them any other means of gaining a livelihood, it would seem in that case that some 5,000,000 of our population would be doomed to starve and rot. This possibility apparently gives no trouble to the conscience of this titled scientist, so it is presumable that "progress" for him does not include any improvement in the life-conditions of the wealth producers. After this terrible warning, one feels there is nothing more to be said, except perhaps this: supposing those 5,000,000 human souls refuse to starve and rot—what then?

### When Judges Disagree—

We are all to obey the law, we are told, no matter when it was made, who made it, or whether changed conditions have rendered its operation a danger to the community. That is monstrous enough to begin with. But when we read such a glaring instance of absurd contradiction as that reported in an appeal case concerning the claim for damages arising out of the death of a young dressmaker killed in a railway accident, the question must arise in many minds,—Are laws of any use at all? Here is the result of the interpretation of the law by the highest legal wisdom in the land:—

"Lord Justice Vaughan Williams, the President, decided that the judgment was sound in law; Lord Justice Farwell that it was wrong, and should be reversed; and Lord Justice Kennedy that it was sound in law, but that there should be a new trial on the ground of excessive damages. Eventually the appeal was dismissed, Lord Justice Vaughan Williams remarking that Lord Justice Farwell had given the appellants too much, Lord Justice Kennedy too little, and that he himself had given them nothing."

Yet unlimited time and money were spent by Parliament in passing a law to meet such cases, and with this result! It is the same the world over. While Sir Forrest Fulton can deliver an outrageous attack on Labour Syndicalism in his charge to a grand jury, Capitalist Syndicalism, as represented by the "Beef Barons" of the United States, can be condoned by a judge who said: "Defendants were not to be convicted merely because the country thought the cost of living too high." So the millionaire Syndicalists were acquitted. And the rulers seem to think the people too stupid to understand the reason for these crying injustices. They *have* been, it is true; but will they long remain so? It seems to us that the administrators of the law are doing far more than the Anarchists to bring it into contempt.

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## RECOLLECTIONS AND REFLECTIONS.

By FRANK KITZ.

(Continuation.)

If it had been the purpose of the Government and their Russian allies to spread the doctrines of Socialism, they could not have chosen a better course than the prosecution. Brassey, a member of the Government—I forget in what capacity, but as he was a road contractor, doubtless it was at the Admiralty—had subscribed to Most's election expenses when he stood for the Reichstag, and this fact I was commissioned to communicate to the late Lord Randolph Churchill, and he used the information to annoy the Government and not from any other motive. On that visit to the "Gasworks" I interviewed that sturdy old Radical, Joseph Cowen, M.P. for Newcastle, who promised to contribute a large share of our legal expenses. Catching sight of A. M. Sullivan in the Lobby, he asked him if he would undertake the defence of Most, and after a few moments' hesitation, for Most's opinions were opposed to his own, he said, "This man is being persecuted, and I will do what I can for him." I also interviewed Biggar, who contributed a small sum, for doing which he got into trouble with his Catholic confrères.

Before passing on to other matters, I wish to refer again to J. Cowen. Although a manufacturer upon a large scale, he had assisted every movement at home and abroad which had for its object the overthrow of tyranny. He recruited a legion here and fitted out a vessel at his own expense to assist Garibaldi. Remembering the refusal of the Turks to deliver up Behm and Kossuth to the Austrian Government, he was a bitter antagonist of Gladstone's pro-Russian policy in relation to the Eastern Question. And he assisted us from a feeling of hostility to the Power whose ruthless methods are a menace to mankind.

In closing this account of the *Freiheit* prosecution, I may summarise some of the points which occur in connection therewith. The whole legal machinery of the Liberal Government was put in motion to crush a political refugee at the instigation of Russia; but the Gladstone Government had also in view the suppression of the germs of Socialism in this country. The head and front of the offence of the party behind the *Freiheit* was their propagandist efforts to spread the principles of Socialism amongst the English working class. They paid out of their funds towards every attempt made in that direction. In 1879 Sketchley's "Principles of Social Democracy" was published and issued broadcast by the German section. They also helped to start an International Federation of Trade Unions, in opposition to an attempt by Bradlaugh and others to set up a caricature of the old International. Their opposition to the coercion of Ireland, and the comments of the *Freiheit* upon the Phoenix Park affair, brought upon them a second prosecution, when Schwelm and Mertens, two compositors, were sentenced to six and three months' imprisonment respectively. Schwelm, upon receiving his sentence, pointing to the sword of justice suspended over the head of the judge, said, "That sword ought to fall upon you." A few months later the emblem did fall upon the chief sheriff.

As I have shown, the prosecution had the result of awakening public interest in the question of Socialism, and the English section had now a wider field of operations before it. Our record for a small band of men working under difficulties was no mean one. From Marylebone in the West to Stratford in the East we had pushed our propaganda. We had published pamphlets and issued addresses—one to the amnestied Communists of Paris circulated through Europe.

But the pace was not quick enough for an ambitious young member named E. Dunn; there was no limelight upon our obscure and ill-requited efforts; and therefore he convened meetings of all sorts and conditions of men, from which gatherings there evolved the Democratic Federation, the forerunner of the Social Democratic Federation; and thus, if we leave out of sight the other workers of the preceding years, Dunn was the real "father of Social Democracy."

Some Tories of the Neo-Tory school attended the preliminary meetings, including H. M. Hyndman, with the blushing honours of his recent candidature still fresh upon him. That gentleman, whom Frank Harris in his book "The Bomb" describes as a prosperous-looking Jewish gentleman, soon engaged in a conflict with Dunn for the leadership, and evicted him, and has reigned with the aid of permanent officials ever since. There have been revolts within and secessions from the "only" Socialist organisation, for it was not to be expected that patriotism could be substituted for internationalism, and palliatives take the place of principles, without some exposure of the cloven hoof, and consequent protests; but rigorous discipline, coupled with slander spread by faithful henchmen, has hitherto sufficed to preserve this ancient institution.

But to return to the work of the English section. With the view of starting a no-rent agitation and an onslaught upon landlordism, our activity took another form and we became for a time the Local Rights Association for Rental and Sanitary Reform. The *Daily Chronicle*, amongst other papers, reported our earlier meetings, although they said there were some suspicious Irish and German names in our membership. We explored the slums and published our reports of the homes of the workers, giving the names of the titled and lesser

landlord and owners, thus causing some commotion in dark places. The Press quickly discerned our real object and dropped us. Now at this time in that terrestrial inferno, St. Luke's, a retired policeman laboured to save his fellow creatures from perdition and earn a living for himself. We beguiled him into letting us have his mission hall for our meetings. There we conducted a vigorous no-rent and anti-landlord campaign. The missionary soon took alarm and stopped our meetings. "Why," said he, "all my rich subscribers will leave me if they know of it!" We on our side, to prove our fidelity to principle, refused to pay. A rival labourer in the vineyard of the Lord, to wit General Booth, has entered into the sphere of the ex-policeman's domain, and with the lucre bestowed upon him by the British public for the Darkest England scheme has bought up some of the slums, also a fully licensed house. All are in going order at increased rentals and are a veritable godsend to the modern "profit," Booth.

Whilst conducting our agitation an anonymous subscriber helped us to publish a pamphlet on the land laws, dealing chiefly with the Metropolitan properties of the Bedford, Salisbury, Portman, Grafton, Portland, and other descendants of the pimps, procurers, courtesans, and informers of the past, who now have London in their grip.

It should be remembered that the English section and the comrades of the Labour Emancipation League worked with only one aim, and that was to permeate the mass of the people with a spirit of revolt against their oppressors and against the squalid misery which result from their monopoly of the means of life. No thought of kudos or personal aggrandisement had entered into their efforts to spread the light, and therefore the squabbles between would-be leaders had no interest for them. We determined to devote ourselves exclusively to circulating leaflets amongst the people, to do which we raised money by means of concerts and lotteries, and purchased some printing materials, the deficiencies of which were supplied by involuntary contributions from printing firms where some of our members were employed. In this way a well-known firm of Government printers furnished us with some excellent ink, paper, and other requisites for printing our revolutionary manifestoes and addresses, for which I now tender them my belated thanks.

The methods of the Liberal Government of the day in regard to the *Freiheit* and in Ireland made us cautious, and to give no points we met secretly. Our first meetings were held in a street near King's Cross, but the neighbours and police becoming inquisitive, we shifted into Boundary Street, Shoreditch, then a notorious slum. We occupied a floor there as a co-operative printery, our next neighbours being two deaf-mute beggars. The denizens of the street looked askance at our intrusion into their region, regarding us as police "narks" (spies). One of our members who had the misfortune to live in their midst reassured them, and their suspicion changed into contempt for lunatics who could open a printery in "our street." The furnishing of the "printery" was a model of economy and simplicity. Our seating accommodation was made of packing cases provided upon the involuntary plan. A paving stone was our making-up stone, and ink-slab combined. Candles stuck in the composing cases was our lighting installation; and a roller hand-press our machinery.

From this primitive establishment we issued the leaflets "Fight or Starve," an appeal to the unemployed; "Are We Over-populated?" an answer to the Malthusians; the "Revenge" leaflet, which caused a question to be put in the House of Commons in regard to its origin; and many others, notably the "Appeal to the Army, Navy, and Police," the terms of which appeared to be so strong to the comrade who was setting it up that at midnight he suddenly threw down his composing stick and declared that he would not go on with it. His place was immediately taken by another compositor in the room. That leaflet found its way into several garrison towns. We sallied out on nocturnal bill-sticking expeditions, and despite the destruction by the police of some of our handiwork, we managed to placard the East End with incendiary manifestoes. By our persistent distribution of literature and championing of Socialism in lecture halls and schoolrooms—in fact, wherever Socialism was being discussed we were present as upholders of the cause—we could fairly claim a large share in bringing about the awakened interest and enthusiasm for Socialism which prevailed at this time, especially in East London.

Some of our members were also members of the Social Democratic Federation and the Labour Emancipation League. Those in the former were wasting their time in the futile task of combatting the opportunism and Jingoism of their shifty leader. These causes were the factors in the split which took place in 1885 and resulted in the formation of the Socialist League by the seceding members. The purely propagandist and non-Parliamentary objects of the League appealed to our members, and we joined it at once. We found, however, that the demands upon our scanty leisure were too great to allow us to attend to both the printing group and the League, and we finally decide to merge our work into the League's, with its possibilities of a wider field of propaganda.

True to our anti-rent campaign, we owed some rent to the landlord of our "printery." At the final meeting of our group a heated debate took place as to the best method of settling this liability, some arguing in favour of cash payment and others for payment in kind. Finally, it was decided to liquidate our indebtedness to the slum landlord by leaving him our ink-slab (the previously mentioned paving-stone) as being akin to his own heart.

(To be continued.)

## SYNDICALISM.

Trade Unionism, within the limits of its objects, methods, and opportunities, has rendered valuable service to the toiling masses both in Great Britain and other parts of the world. Whatever its defects may have been, it has been, in this country especially, a great weapon and means of defence for the workers in their dealings with the employing class.

The rise of the factory system in the early part of the nineteenth century, and the whole development of capitalist industrial methods, depended upon the miserable condition of the poor, who had already been despoiled by the State and cut adrift from the land upon which their class had laboured for generations. The new methods of industry made social combinations of workers necessary and practicable. Capitalism was built upon the most terrible poverty of working people and the fiendish treatment of women and little children. The workers were the hapless victims of their employers, compelled to sell their labour-power wholly without regard to its value. They laboured in the deepest misery, piling up vast riches for their masters and giving them additional power to appropriate more and more of the wealth produced in this country. The bulk of the working class also were ignorant, illiterate, and disunited.

In these circumstances the bolder spirits turned to trade organisation (largely inspired, without question, by Owenite Socialism): That being illegal, involved imprisonment, transportation, and other persecution. But they fought heroically for the right to combine, and broke and defied the laws against combination. In the teeth of law and authority, they won. Law and government were then, as they are still, the active and violent foes of working-class union for economic redress. These facts should not be forgotten when the crafty politician tries still to cajole the people with his plausible promises. The sugary phrases of "political reform" and "capturing the State" suggest what appears on the surface to be the easiest and simplest method of securing emancipation; but though the true road to freedom and social betterment may be a rough one, direct action is the only effective way and is miles nearer than the zigzag of political opportunism.

But, whether the workers' right to combine was or was not legally admitted, the employing class have always used the weapon of starvation against their workmen and their wives and children in order to compel submission to their terms and conditions. But the workers found that a general refusal to work, besides taking steps by picketing to minimise treachery amongst themselves, was advantageous. Sometimes they succeeded, sometimes they failed; but though "collective bargaining," as the method has been called, is far from perfection, it has been a "tower of strength" to myriads of workers. It enabled them to obtain and maintain the most favourable terms possible (for their class and at the time) under the capitalist system. It checked oppression and fostered their true manhood. The workers' Unions, be it remembered, in the main, kept the Labour movement in existence, if not fully *alive*, during a long period when the politicians were doping the people with their futile reforms.

The time arrived when it became clear that Trade Unionism on the old lines failed to cope adequately with the power of the capitalist; indeed, it often served his purpose as much as, if not more than, that of the working man. And it was plain that some more drastic action than small trade disputes in the old style was necessary. For a time many earnest working men believed that by Parliamentary action, and by that method alone, could the social and economic evils of the time be removed. The Anarchist, who taught the workers to think, speak, and act for themselves, wandered apparently in the wilderness. Experience, both economic and political, has changed the situation once more, let us hope for good.

It has been realised that by the use of the general strike on a large scale and by the sympathetic union and action of workers in various trades and occupations, the power and social value of the productive and useful class is demonstrated beyond the shadow of a doubt. It has been shown that the general strike alone, if used on a sufficiently large scale, is able to paralyse the huge organisation of violence which is usually brought to bear against the workers. Better still, it has suggested the greater and grander possibility of international working-class solidarity and the achievement of the social revolution.

During recent years there have been many indications of the change in the minds of organised workers respecting the aims and methods of labour organisation, and there has been growing up a definite recognition of the necessity for the complete abolition of capitalism. We earnestly hope that the root evil, viz., the monopoly of the land, will not be forgotten.

A similar development occurred in France, and some years back our comrades in that country inspired and actively worked in the propagation of a revolutionary conception of the aims and methods of organised Labour.

Though Syndicalism—which simply means the direct action of the workers by the aid of their Syndicates or Unions by the most effective means which they are able to adopt when dealing with the evils of capitalism—as a term originated abroad, it is none the less a natural growth in this country. Syndicalism urges the necessity for reducing the number of separate, and often warring, bodies of workers in trades

and allied industries, and advocates amalgamation and federation of Unions, thereby putting an end to the friction which at times occurs, and seeks to destroy the opportunities of the employers to play one section off against another section. It repudiates Parliamentary agitation, and besides advocating direct action and the general strike, insists upon the fundamental necessity of the workers becoming the personal and corporate owners of the tools they use, the controllers of the industries in which they are engaged, and also of the exchange and distribution of the wealth their labour produces.

It is quite possible that as the movement grows in strength the many minor struggles in which the workers must engage may considerably limit their conception and efforts in those respects. But the educational effect upon the minds of the working class is beyond question. And the determination of the toilers to effect a remedy for social and economic injustice on their own behalf must grow into such a menace to the rich classes and to the political powers, that it is more likely to obtain concessions and "palliatives" from them than all the election campaigns which can be imagined.

However earnestly or heartily we may work with Syndicalists or other Trade Unionists, we are forced to remember that a vast number of working people are outside the organised Labour movement. They exist, and are an important fact. It must not be assumed that they are generally in antagonism to their organised fellows. Quite the reverse is the truth; and therefore, from our point of view, the solution of the social problem involves the acquisition of the right of free access to the means of life for all the people.

One of the best features of Syndicalism is its educational propaganda. The Social Revolution must not be a blind or unintelligent process. Hatred of oppression and injustice in all their forms; the assertion by all people, however poor or degraded, of the right to live a really civilised life upon the earth, must be prompted by knowledge. The older form and method of Trade Unionism have been sadly deficient in educational work, and it has often been positively painful to listen to the dull harangues and the stupid shibboleths of many Trade Union advocates. Practically all—or nearly all—the educational work carried on in recent years amongst the working classes connected with social and economic questions has been done by working men and women—assisted, it is true, by some members of the middle class—independently of Trade Union support or encouragement. We know, of course, there is a change for the better now, but we should like to see a greater improvement still. There is no reason, for example, why the Trade Unions should not perform a similar service in matters of land and labour to that performed by the Rationalist Press Association in theological and scientific questions. Knowledge is power. It is a positive scandal that the expense of educational work should fall entirely upon a few zealous workers, while the Unions which have benefitted so largely from their labours and sacrifice (even owing their very existence often to those people) do nothing to help in the work.

We do not pretend to do more in this article than to take a brief glance at our subject, and in closing will only refer to the attitude of Syndicalism towards militarism, against which it carries on unceasing propaganda. We confess here our entire sympathy. Syndicalism is brought face to face with the fact that the social injustice which it seeks to abolish is maintained by organised violence.

The army is composed of men drawn (in the main by compulsion of some kind) from the ranks of the workers, who are trained and used against their fellows when they revolt. Taught to imagine that they are going to defend their country—which is not their property, nor in which have they any permanent right—and deceived with the tale of "patriotism," they are ready to fight when ordered, and kill their comrades in other lands, who are played off against them in similar style. The necessity of the Labour struggle requires that the true character of this silly tragedy should be exposed, and the working class of every trade and section in every land shall be linked together in one common effort for emancipation and freedom. G.

## TO ALL IN PRISON FOR A GREAT CAUSE.

### AN OPEN LETTER.

DEAR COMRADES,—It has been in my mind for some days that I would like to send you a word of good cheer. For, like many another, I think of you often and what it means to dare all in a great Cause.

I have a summons to go to a mass meeting to protest against the treatment of Russian political prisoners. There is still a wide gulf between the methods of the Government of the Tsar and our English ways.

Yet it is being driven home to us that in England, too, we are at the parting of the ways if we are to maintain our finest traditions and live out in our lives our love of liberty, of justice, and of right. It is to those who dare all that we must look to show the way.

On every great page of history this has been written. And we have learnt through history to acclaim as the greatest those whose courage has been the greatest, and who with the greatest courage have shown the utmost patience and restraint.

Our great need is for courage, and with courage for calm and growing unity.

There is spring sunshine as I write. I wish you spring sunshine in your heart within your prison walls.—Yours faithfully,

C. H. GRINLING.

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## The Strike and the Class War.

The present moment is fruitful with lessons to be learned, and although it may be useless to preach to the classes who live on rent, interest, and profit—all wrung from Labour—the consequences that may arise from the present crisis are so momentous, so "big with fate," that it is at least imperative that facts should be stated plainly, facts that will help them to understand the causes of the gathering storm.

It is not improbable they are in a more thoughtful mood to-day than ever before in their lives—that is to say, in so far as they can ever be said to have any thought for those who produce the wealth they use—their wealth. It is true some of them are terribly angered; and their press, as influential as it is corrupt, has shown towards the miners a brutal and lying spirit which hardly accords with their Christian profession, and certainly does not inculcate that law-abiding spirit which they preach to the poor.

It will be well to remind them of a very simple matter, known to all students of history, as well as to all professors of science, whom they pay so well to keep their mouths shut. It is this: That the social life of mankind—in which is included the political, the industrial, and the economic—is subject to "the law of change." It is very simple. It is also very true. Whether they are aware of it or not, it is this law that disturbs them, and it is this law they combat. From this antagonism of interests and forces arises the Class War. Let us consider for a moment what this really means.

Nearly six thousand years ago the labour of a hundred thousand men, toiling as slaves for thirty years, could be squandered in building a tomb for a king. That was in the days of absolute unbridled despotism. Chufu, the Egyptian tyrant, did not like "the law of change" as manifested in passing from life to death, and to preserve his useless dust how many lives were crushed, how many weary years of dark despair were endured by those wretched, hopeless victims—his slaves—who built his pyramid!

There are those amongst the ruling classes who would like to do to-day as Chufu did in the past; who would like to compel the million men called miners (according to their Christian faith they should be their *brothers*) to descend into the pits and risk life and limb at the point of the sword, to earn them profit and to ensure the uninterrupted flow of their wasteful and often useless lives. They seem to forget that the law of change has sapped the foundations of despotism since those dark days, and the never-ending struggle of mankind against its oppressors has loosened many links of those ancient chains.

Again, there was a period in our history on which many of them pride themselves without at the same time understanding its real significance. That was the period of the Reformation. From that time we date the beginning of the conquest of the right of private judgment. Freed from the fetters of the priests of Rome, the mind of man began to ask itself many questions. In little more than a century it had settled the problem of the divine right of kings. But it could not rest at that. Monarchy or Republic, it was soon found, left the dominant class still waging its pitiless war against Labour, and re-enslaving it by stealing from it its birthright—the land. They, or rather their progenitors, achieved this end by the most cowardly of all forms of robbery—robbery by Act of Parliament.

Beneath those broad acres (7,000,000 were stolen between 1760 and 1843) lay the rich treasures of coal. It was wealth that belonged to the people; all had a claim to its blessings. But it was monopolised by a section of the ruling class, and

none could be touched without their consent. It is easy to see from this the consequences that have led to the present crisis. The miner, for all his labour, for all his risks, has no rights, no claims, not even to a living wage. The mineowner is the dictator not only to that vast army of workers who earn him his profits, but also to the community, who are equally at his mercy. Suffering and thinking, thinking and suffering, the great mass of the toilers have slowly—how slowly!—begun again to question things. At last they are in revolt against the divine right of the capitalist—his right to monopolise, a crime against the community, and his right to exploit unchecked, a crime against the worker.

Now perhaps it can be seen at whose door lies the responsibility for the class war. The many millions who toil, who live in poverty and amidst all the uncertainties that surround the life of the worker, are asking for something more—very little, it is true, compared to what is being taken from the store of social wealth they create, but enough to be of importance to them. Are they not justified? May they not taste a little of the joy of life when their masters are surfeited with so much? This great question will have to be answered, for it is knocking very loudly at the door of privilege. You cannot go back to the days of Chufu. Humanity has to go forward, and the change will be wrought, if it takes a century to fight it out.

To say, as is being said by the capitalists and their press, that this class war is the work of Labour leaders, Socialists, and Anarchists, is a cheat and a lie. That war commenced when first one man began to enslave another, and the whole of history is written round the struggles, the feuds, the antagonisms through which that disastrous beginning has dragged mankind. The history of to-day will be one more chapter in that long-drawn-out tragedy, and the responsibility for the loss, the suffering, and the embittered spirit that now darkens our lives, must be laid at the doors of those who put above the sweat and the suffering of those millions whose labour is the life-blood of the nation, their greed, their selfishness, and their pride.

Just as we to-day read with horror and amazement of the tyranny of the Egyptian despot, so in the very near future will another generation read with astonishment and disgust of what is happening to-day—that a handful of men calling themselves "owners" should stand between the nation and its rightful inheritance, the mineral wealth of this land, spreading devastation in hundreds of thousands of homes, and arresting the labour of a million men who are asking for another crust to eke out their lives of hardship and danger which a cruel and unjust system forces upon them.

## PREPARE FOR "THE ANARCHIST."

One more month and *The Anarchist* will actually appear. An immense amount of work must be got through between now and that time. Local preparation for distribution and advertisement must be entered into with all the energy and enthusiasm that such an important venture demands. Work wisely, long, and hard, and a triumphant success is assured!

By the splendid change that they have made in the whole of the Labour movement, the workers have made it inevitable that *The Anarchist* shall appear. When our paper was first suggested, it was thought that we should have to force our way into the conflict; to-day the workers have made such remarkable progress that they are waiting to receive us. The situation demands *The Anarchist*.

All the circumstances of the conflict between Capital and Labour have conspired to celebrate the birth of *The Anarchist* with a veritable carnival of strife. The atmosphere of rebellion which it seems destined to breathe on first stepping into existence will ensure its development into a true child of revolt. It is impossible to imagine a more opportune time for the launching of our great enterprise than the early days of May bid fair to be.

But there are many difficulties yet to be defeated before our first number will appear, and although these obstacles are being surmounted day by day, yet the road in front is by no means clear.

We shall be sending out from Glasgow a letter to comrades in various parts, making suggestions as to local arrangements, distribution, contributions, advertisements, etc. In the high pressure at which we work some whom we ought to write will probably be forgotten. To all such we say: "Don't be offended, but write us." On the response to this appeal the success of *The Anarchist* largely depends. Let us have the actual cash as soon as possible now for the promised 10s. subscriptions.

Our financial position is not so good as it might be. We rely on

a big increase during the next month. Some who ought to have helped have not done so. Send along your cash; it means success to us.

Now, as to copy. We want contributions from all quarters. If you do not trust your literary style, but have any facts of local interest, send them along and we will write them up. Above all things, don't be offended if your contributions are not used.

Comrades, the time is very short between now and May 1. See to it that your locality shows unprecedented activity during this period. Our success is beyond all doubt if you will but work with enthusiasm.

A large room for our printing and publishing office has been secured at 74 Buchanan Street, Glasgow. All communications and cash should be sent to the Manager, *The Anarchist*, at that address.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### Italy.

Though the bourgeois Press would like to make the public believe that the war fever in Italy is still high, there are many signs which indicate a turn of the tide. It is true that in the Italian Parliament the decree of the annexation of Tripoli was accepted, with only three Republicans and eight Socialists courageous and sane enough to vote against it; but the real state of popular opposition is better judged by the long list of convictions of those who fail to see the glory of this brigand enterprise and say so openly.

A mass meeting at Milan, at which twenty thousand persons assisted, condemned the war abroad and the governmental oppression at home.

At Siena forty peasants who had tried to prevent the departure of a train with soldiers for the war were brought before the tribunal, and the majority condemned to terms of imprisonment varying from twenty to seven months. The editors of *Scintilla*, a Syndicalist paper, and of the *Agitatore* were each sentenced to four years, besides heavy fines. Our old comrade, Amilcare Cipriani, received two years for his article in the Milanese paper, *Fronda*. It is a pleasure to know that he is in Paris. Several Socialists, for having demonstrated against the war, got four years each.

It would take too much space to give a full list of sentences imposed on comrades who have exposed the shame of this war and its disastrous results for the Italian people. The *Internazionale* shows by statistics the repression accompanying the war policy of the Government. From the beginning of the war till March, 1912, the Italian tribunals imposed on political offenders (anti-war propagandists) a total of 107 years' imprisonment and fines amounting to 31,866 lire. This does not include the thirty years' imprisonment imposed on the participants in the disorders of Poggibonni, or the forty years for the comrades of the Trani troubles, besides 140 workers active in recent strikes still under arrest and untried. With a little goodwill the reactionary régime will soon be able to boast of a total of 500 years' imprisonment inflicted on the rebels against the Government, and capitalist exploitation.

On this background of oppression at home, of squandering of lives and money in the Tripolitan deserts to rob Arabs of their freedom, it is hardly surprising to hear that a young mason, Dalva, has lifted his avenging hand against the man who is at the head of this reactionary policy at home and the brigandage abroad. The King has escaped, and Dalva will be given over to a slow death by a revengeful "justice."

### Portugal.

When at the time of the general strike in Lisbon the Trade Union offices were stormed by the police and troops, and over a thousand workers were arrested and imprisoned under terrible conditions, the Portuguese Government justified its brutality before Parliament by assuring it that a great conspiracy between the Labour Unions and the Royalists had been discovered. During the last few weeks hundreds of prisoners have been liberated, and the conspiracy bubble has burst. The *Sindicalista*, temporarily suppressed, but now reappearing, ironically calls upon the Government to bring forward the promised proofs of the conspiracy, otherwise the people will understand that the President and the Minister of Labour told lies when they declared to Parliament that they possessed proofs of the plot.

About twenty persons have been kept under arrest. They are mostly militants in the Labour movement, as Continho, secretary of the Trades Council of Lisbon. The workers have to take care that these men are not made to bear the revenge of the Government.

### Germany.

Our comrades of *Der Sozialist* have come in collision with the police. They had in preparation an anti-war pamphlet. Before the whole edition was finished the police appeared and confiscated it. The comrades proved that not a single copy had been sent out, and it was found out that a "comrade" and spy had brought a copy to his superiors. The police were baffled for a moment. But where there's a will there's a way. Though Germany cannot boast such a treasure as the hundred-years-old law by which the Syndicalists in England are being prosecuted, the authorities soon found a suitable article in the law armoury which enabled them to prosecute the *Sozialist* for inciting

to disobedience and breaking of contracts. So the police will have the satisfaction of bringing the comrades before the tribunal for the contents of a pamphlet not yet published, but known, thanks to a copy stolen by their spy! The case will be tried at the end of March.

Attempts at censoring the spoken and written word everywhere—in conservative Germany as well as in liberal England.

### Brazil.

The good work of a few devoted comrades in Rio de Janeiro is now bearing fruit. It really requires much energy and goodwill to bring about a general strike in that city, where the masters have for many years congratulated themselves on the fact that their workers were too uneducated to think of bettering their lot. Revolutionary ideas have taken a long time in penetrating into the minds of the Brazilian workers, and it was only owing to the untiring efforts of half-a-dozen comrades that they have ultimately done so—with splendid results. The initiative was taken by the employees of hotels, restaurants, and cafés, who went out on strike on January 7 last, and were immediately followed by the bakers, marble masons, coal porters, barbers, compositors, bookbinders—in fact, practically by every trade. Most of them have been victorious, but the marble masons have had to hold out the longest on account of the pigheadedness of the masters in refusing to grant their men an extra twenty minutes' rest, which action has already cost them thousands of pounds.

The Workers' Federation of Rio de Janeiro is growing stronger every day, and is beginning to make the masters feel uncomfortable and change the opinion they have hitherto had that the Brazilian agitators were quite harmless, their Utopian ideas being as likely to affect them as they would the moon. The Workers' Federation seems to have a very promising career in front of it.

Another satisfactory feature of the movement in Brazil is that the only Anarchist paper in Rio, which was started but six months ago as a fortnightly, will now appear every week. This proves that Anarchism is making headway in Brazil, and that the workers are at last waking up from their long sleep and beginning to do something for their own welfare.

## THE GROWTH OF ANTIMILITARISM.

The prosecution of the printers and publisher of the *Syndicalist*, and also of the publishers of the *Ilkeston Dawn*, has forced an issue into the working-class movement in England which cannot be shirked. Sooner or later those people who think that vote-catching is the one thing necessary to achieve working-class freedom will be compelled to acknowledge other elements by the logic of the situation.

It was Gustave Hervé in France who probably was the first protagonist of anti-militarism and anti-patriotism. Owing largely to his efforts, a federation of Socialist groups or branches in the Department de l'Yonne published an anti-patriotic newspaper in April, 1900, called the *Travailleur Socialiste*. An article in this paper called "Drapeau de Wagram" enabled the Press to fan up prejudice by appealing to the patriotism of the ignorant, and as a result Hervé was committed to be tried at the assizes of the district for inciting soldiers against serving in strikes and calling on them to revolt in time of war. Hervé was acquitted, and it is interesting to note that the barrister who successfully defended him was Aristide Briand, now a renegade.

In 1901 the Fédération de l'Yonne published a paper, the *Pioupiau de l'Yonne*, specially aimed at the army. This paper was prosecuted by the Government four times within three years. The assize court at Auxerre was the scene of four vigorous debates on anti-militarism carried on by the defendants against the public prosecutor. On each occasion they were charged with insulting the army and provoking disobedience amongst the soldiers. Every time the cases were dismissed. On the first prosecution only four jurymen out of twelve were willing to convict; on the second occasion only two; on the third and fourth times not a single jurymen could be found to condemn the accused, while at each prosecution the circulation of *Pioupiau* ("Tommy Atkins") increased by leaps and bounds.

Although the Government failed to convict Hervé at his first trial, he was dismissed by the Minister of Education from his post of Professor of History at Lens, in Burgundy, and in consequence he devoted from that time the whole of his energy for the next four years to spreading anti-militarism and denouncing that electoral opportunism which regards Socialist principles as superfluous ballast to be thrown overboard at the first squall in contemporary politics.

In 1905 Hervé founded *La Guerre Sociale*. Anti-militarist placards posted on the walls of Paris on the eve of the conscripts' departure for barracks led to Hervé's prosecution, and he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, but was released after serving six months, to be again sentenced to one year's imprisonment for insulting the army and the Government in his paper, *La Guerre Sociale*. At the present moment he is in prison serving another sentence.

There is no doubt that in a few years this agitation has succeeded in turning the peasants of the Department de l'Yonne from patriotic nationalists, worshippers of the tricolour ikon, into anti-military internationalists, despising the emblems of militarism; besides which, the movement is spreading all over the world, and has already become a permanent influence for general welfare and progress.

HARRY SMITH.

## JUSTIFIABLE HOMICIDE: THEN AND NOW.

CALTHORPE STREET, LONDON, 1833.

That both police and military systems are brutal in their nature and a constant menace to real freedom is patent to all thoughtful individuals. Of course we are constantly told that "We have always had them" and "could not get along without them," both of which statements are totally untrue. The present police system is not eighty years old. It was one of the first acts of the Whigs when they came into power. It met with the most strenuous opposition by the working class. Subsequent events proved that the people were justified in their opposition.

On Monday, May 13, 1833, an open air meeting was attempted to be held in Coldbath Fields by a number of the working classes, to discuss their grievances. The Government were determined to put down the meeting, and by aid of organised bodies of the then new police, a fearful onslaught was made upon the populace, men, women, and children being knocked down, and maltreated by the police bludgeons. In the *melee*, one of the aggressors, Robert Culley, a policeman, was killed by a stab; and the man supposed to have inflicted the wound, being taken into custody on a charge of murder, every attempt was made by the Government to induce the Coroner's jury, ever after known as the "Memorable Calthorpe Street Jury," of which Mr. S. Stockton was foreman, to return a verdict, convicting the accused of that crime, but which, after hearing the evidence, they refused to do; on the contrary, returning a unanimous verdict of "JUSTIFIABLE HOMICIDE"—a result which was hailed with delight throughout the country, as well as the Metropolis, as the public Press and workmen's meetings of that day testified. The inquest occupied four days, during which time also magisterial proceedings relating to the same took place at Bow Street. After reading the account of the inquest, the Bow Street proceedings remind one strongly of Nupkins. All the witnesses were policemen, with the exception of the police surgeon. Unfortunately for the police, they had not properly learned their lesson. One could not remember where he had taken his prisoner after capture! Nothing in the nature of defence was heard, and the one charged with murder was sent down to the cells, and so were the others, for the magistrate demanded such excessive bail that it was impossible for poor working men to obtain it. However, at the inquest, proceedings did not go so smoothly (for the Government) since both sides were heard. It appears the meeting had been proclaimed by the Government. No name was on the bill, it was merely signed "By order of the Secretary of State." These bills were not posted up until the day after the meeting. The meeting was attended by about 300 people. No sooner had the meeting commenced than about 300 police came on the scene, closing up every avenue of escape, and commenced an indiscriminate attack upon the crowd, which continued for an hour. A reporter who was present, stated in evidence that the ground was covered with men, women and children, lying in all directions. Two girls who were standing on a doorstep were both struck down. He goes on to state:—"I saw a policeman beating an elderly woman, who was screaming loudly for mercy. A gentleman with me said to me, 'Courtney, we can't stand this.' We went to the police calling 'Shame, shame,' when he called out, 'You b——y b——r, you shall catch it too,' and he raised his truncheon to strike me, but my friend caught his arm." Throughout the whole of the proceedings at the inquest, the members of the jury took the keenest interest and questioned the witnesses considerably, to the annoyance of the Coroner, who finally directed the jury to return a verdict of wilful murder. The whole of the police evidence was utterly discredited. On the fourth day, the jury begged for a further adjournment, which the Coroner refused. When they returned a verdict of "Justifiable Homicide," the Coroner was dismayed and tried his best to browbeat them into recalling it, but to no effect. The following is part of the dialogue which took place:—

CORONER.—I shall strike it out.

FOREMAN.—I cannot agree to that.

ALL THE JURY.—Nor any of us.

A JUROR.—If you record any other verdict it will be a false and untrue verdict.

ANOTHER JUROR.—It will be his verdict and not ours.

SEVERAL.—You had better dismiss us if you won't take our verdict.

CORONER.—It is not a good verdict.

A JUROR.—Well, if you will not take it you had better dismiss us and call another jury.

FOREMAN.—We have read over all our notes, and we can come to no other verdict.

A JUROR.—So help me God, I am ready to faint—I have fasted from 10 o'clock this morning [it was then nearly 11 at night]. I have had nothing but a glass of water. If you will not have our verdict, dismiss us, for if you keep me here for a year, I will not alter my verdict.

THE OTHER JURORS.—Nor I, nor I, nor I.

And so for two hours this went on, the Coroner alternately cajoling, browbeating, bullying, but the jury remained firm. Finally, after a consultation with the officials in Court, the Coroner, impudent to the last, recorded the verdict and dismissed the jury, with "Gentlemen, I consider your verdict disgraceful to you." It was

close upon midnight when the proceedings terminated, and the jurymen met with a most deservedly cordial reception from the vast crowd that remained to the end.

The Press appeared unanimous in its laudations of the jury, and it was proposed that "some public mark of respect should be paid to a jury which had so nobly interposed its shield between the people on the one hand and a would-be police tyranny on the other."

In the following July a monster procession and demonstration took place in London, marching through the proclaimed district to London Bridge, where a chartered steamer conveyed the jury and 600 supporters on a marine excursion down the Thames to the Medway.

On May 21, the following year, a banquet took place in honour of the jury, when about 500 sat down to the tables. The seventeen jurymen were each presented with a handsome silver cup, with an inscription which bore testimony to the "glorious verdict of 'justifiable homicide' on the body of Robert Culley, a policeman, who was slain while brutally attacking the people when peaceably assembled in Calthorpe Street." Nor did it end here. Medals were struck in honour of the verdict and frequent meetings were held in commemoration of it. As late as 1861, fifty persons dined together with the foreman, and as many of the jury as could be found; when a clock was presented to Mr. Stockton, the foreman, as a recognition of his services on behalf of the poor.

LLANELLY, 1911.

Both the Riot Act and the standing Army were introduced, advocated, and allowed to come into force on the plea of being simply temporary measures. As far back as 1742, a writer, in referring to such measures, says: "But it is not to be imagined that those who meditate the subversion of liberty are such awkward politicians as not to know that many designs which would be impracticable in the beginning become very easy in progress of time. The people must be accustomed to the burthen for some years, and then it will become familiar to them."

James Burgh in 1775 wrote: "Soldiers armed with firelocks are particularly improper for quelling riots. The people naturally conclude, that whenever they are employed, tyranny is going forward. Firearms are not certain to hit the *guilty* person in a riot, but may destroy the *innocent* in their own houses, or carrying on their own business." In another passage, the same writer tells us: "The intention of the Riot Act being to seize and bring to regular trial by jury (see the 'Act'), nothing can be more absurd, besides the cruelty of it, than the application of firearms for quelling riots; because firearms do not *seize* people but *murder* them."

The above extracts of 130 years ago are as apposite as if written respecting the disturbances at Llanelly. There no citizen was struck, no property damaged, but two persons were shot dead by the troops, neither of whom was in the crowd, one standing in his garden and the other sitting on his garden-wall. To the eternal infamy of the jury who sat at the inquest, a verdict was returned, at the suggestion of the coroner, of "Justifiable Homicide." Surely the people must be hypnotised or mentally paralysed. When will they wake up and shake off the chains of slavery?

A. G. B.

## The Influence of the English Coal Strike Abroad.

**BELGIUM.**—The Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation held an extraordinary congress on March 24 in Brussels to discuss the following proposals to be laid before the employers: minimum wage, 15 per cent. increase of wages, official recognition of the Miners' Federation. The miners' Unions of the Borinage district decided on March 17 to claim a 15 per cent. increase of wages. Several answers of the companies have been received granting a 10 per cent. increase. This partial success may change the decisions of the Belgian miners on the strike.

**BOHEMIA.**—The Socialist-Nationalist miners and the Anarchist miners, who form the majority in the Brux and Dux districts, began a strike on March 18 instead of waiting till March 31, as the minority of Social Democratic miners wanted. Four-fifths of the workers are on strike.

**RUSSIA.**—From St. Petersburg comes the news that a meeting of mineowners took place at Kharkoff in order to discuss the question of an increase of miners' wages. At Dombrovo the miners have begun to strike.

**FRANCE.**—The new Federation of Miners tried its strength for the first time on March 11, when it ordered a general strike of twenty-four hours as a demonstration to the Government to give an eight-hour day and improve the old-age pensions Bill for miners. March 11 will be remembered by owners and men, as it was a complete success. For ten years the French miners had not been able to work together in solidarity, to the infinite harm of their cause. Now confidence has been restored in themselves and each other, and the twenty-four hours' general strike is the topic of everybody's conversation.

**GERMANY.**—The coal strike in England has brought agitation among the German miners. The miners of the Ruhr district had struck, but were forced to resume work owing to the Government's interference, and especially through the lack of solidarity of the

Christian Miners' Unions, which refused to join. In the Saar and Moselle districts the miners gained a small increase of wages; but in Saxony, Upper Silesia, and Hanover the strikes continue, though the failure of the Ruhr miners may bring those partial strikes to an early end.

## BOOK NOTES.

*The Anarchists: their Faith and their Record.* By E. A. VIZETELLY. 10s. 6d. net. London: John Lane.

We regret that we are unable to say much, if anything, in commendation of this book. Mr. Vizetelly has failed to gain sufficient information free from prejudice on a subject he finds important enough to write a book on. He is especially ignorant of the history of Anarchism in England and the United States. According to Mr. Vizetelly's book, the Anarchist movement is mainly, if not entirely, devoted to assassination. He should have known this stupid lie is played out. He is in a state of the most complete ignorance respecting the many educational activities in which Anarchists engage, and which—this will be news to him—they regard as of the first importance.

The book is overloaded with partial and false assertions and a large quantity of irrelevant padding. His view of the movement in this country is fatal to his claim to speak with authority on the subject. He says: "We believe that very few natives of Great Britain profess Anarchist opinions. . . . Here, however, as in Switzerland, there has long been a certain number of foreign Anarchist refugees." The Tottenham, Houndsditch, and Sidney Street affairs comprise the active record of Anarchists in England. And yet, though these incidents are used to create a bias in the mind of the reader, he is compelled to admit, "briefly, in connection with the Tottenham, the Houndsditch, and the Sidney Street affairs, it is fit to dismiss the question of Anarchism from our minds." And then follow several pages of journalese on the Aliens Act.

It is even worse so far as America is concerned. His misrepresentation of the facts concerning the Chicago Martyrs is dastardly. There is no excuse for this. The record of the whole affair has been easily and constantly obtainable. He declares that at the meeting in the Haymarket on May 4, 1886, "an oration delivered by another Anarchist, whose lurid, threatening utterances were greeted with great applause by the excited crowd, provoked the intervention of the authorities. A force of 125 police, which had been previously assembled, was marched to the spot, and the meeting was ordered to disperse. An Anarchist named Fielden answered that injunction by shouting: 'To arms!' and, when it was repeated, somebody else in the throng replied: 'Kill the——!'" The portions we have given in italics at least are absolutely false, according to the record of the trial. Mr. Vizetelly does not appear to know that Governor John G. Altgeld, in liberating Schwab, Fielden, and Neebe, boldly declared the innocence of all of the men who had been condemned to death.

Of course "the authorities" are always right, and the sentences of imprisonment on John Most for articles which appeared in the *Freiheit* meet with Mr. Vizetelly's approbation.

His remarks on the trial of Kotoku and other comrades in Japan for conspiracy against the Emperor touch the limit. After stating the circumstances of the trial and the fact that it was conducted *in camera*, he says:—"The Kotoku case differs, indeed, from the Ferrer case, respecting which the Spanish authorities at least published various reports and other documents which enable one to see how flimsy was the evidence for the prosecution. We think, however, that if the Kotoku trial had been a miscarriage of justice, some indications to that effect would have emanated, indirectly, of course, from one or another of the diplomatic representatives who attended it."—What delightful logic and innocence!—"Not a word of protest arose, save from sundry European newspapers of advanced views, such as the *Berlin Vorwärts*, the *Paris Humanité*, the *Madrid Pais*, and the *London Daily News*, none of which, we take it, knew anything of the evidence for the prosecution." An ordinary person, one would think, would require some justification for taking the lives of twelve men and women, besides lifelong imprisonment for as many others; but Mr. Vizetelly, apparently, is not an ordinary man. To him the lives of exalted persons in the State alone are of much account. There is only a pretence of fairness in the remark in reference to Kotoku, that "in consequence of the silence and secrecy which have been observed, some doubt must remain as to whether he really plotted the death of the Mikado."

He is obliged to be more careful in the case of the Spanish martyr Ferrer, as the facts are so much more generally known. There seems to be a note of regret that there is nothing upon which, however unsubstantial, a case for the Spanish Government may be built up.

The book is partial, inaccurate, superficial. Like many another volume of this kind, it was mere waste of time, labour, and material to have printed it.

### Other Publications Received.

*The Mexican Revolution: Its Progress, Causes, Purpose, and Probable Results.* By Wm. C. Owen. 5 cents. Los Angeles, Cal.: 914 Boston Street.  
*Revoluce v. Mexico.* By Josef Kucera. 5 cents. New York: Volne Listy, 217 E. 66th Street.  
*Open Letter to the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George on the Causes of Strikes and Bank Failures.* By Arthur Kitson. London: J. M. Dent and Sons. 6d.  
*Our National Food Supply.* By James Lumsden. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1s. net.

*The Autobiography of a Working Woman.* By Adelheid Popp. 3s. 6d. net. London: T. Fisher Unwin.  
*The Miners' Next Step.* Issued by the Unofficial Reform Committee. 1d. Tonypany: Robert Davies and Co.  
*The Case against Corporal Punishment.* By Henry S. Salt. 2d. London: Humanitarian League, 53 Chancery Lane, W.C.  
*Annual Report of the Anti-Vaccination League.* London: League Offices, 27 Southampton Street, W.C.  
*Sociologia Criminale.* Pietro Gori. Lire 1.50. Spezia: Cromo-Tipo "La Sociale."  
*Campo Neutral (?)* Por Intransigente (M.D.R.) Colon, Panama: Federacion Individualista Internacional.  
*En Exil: Chant du Cygne.* Par A. de Lazareff. 1fr. 25c. Paris: Mme. Mary Disière, 48 rue Descartes.

## PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

GLASGOW.—The report of the Conference given by our comrade Stewart was very interesting, and made us all wish we had been there.

The citizens of Glasgow have heard more of Anarchy lately than they have heard for a long time. The evening papers seem to think that we are worthy of comment, though they class Syndicalists and Anarchists together as agitators, and unconsciously do a good thing in quoting part of the leaflet, "Anarchy and the Labour War." As Madame Sorgue was unable to come on March 10, G. Barrett took her place and delivered a lantern lecture at the Pavilion Theatre, which was closely packed. He was in good form, and by illustrating from recent strikes the growing desire for direct action and disregard of legislation, he caused many to take an interest in Anarchy who had none before. To help to retain and further the interest thus aroused, we arranged two meetings for March 17 and 24 in a picture hall, the former in commemoration of the Commune of Paris. These meetings we advertised by distributing handbills through the town, accompanied by a trolley with a large poster painted by one of the group members. On the 17th, comrades Howitt, Max, and Barrett addressed a fairly large and attentive audience. Those in sympathy with our movement were asked to hand in their names on slips provided for that purpose, and several did so. The following resolution was passed: "That this public meeting of Glasgow citizens protests against and condemns the action of the authorities in imprisoning men for the publication and distribution of literature calling upon the soldiers, to refuse to fire on their fellow citizens. It calls for the immediate release of the men now in prison, and pledges itself to continue the work they have so well begun." Another interesting feature of this meeting was that we had several visits from the police, since the hall was a place of entertainment and the permission of the magistrates had not been obtained, so we had to find another hall for our next lecture.

Comrade Barrett's lecture on "Anarchy and Science" in the Union Hall on the 24th was advertised in the same way as the previous one, and the hall could not have accommodated many more. A collection was taken in aid of the victims of the authorities who profess to believe in free speech.

Some unattached comrades may be interested to know how we are going to act on May Day, since there was some friction last year. Well, this time the May Day Committee have asked us to join with them in arranging the position of platforms; and we also intend taking part in the procession, and look forward to having the *Anarchist* on sale then. A social in aid of the paper is to be held, on April 5, and we also hope to enlarge the outdoor propaganda that it may open up new channels for the weekly.

Group meetings at Clarion Rooms, 7 Holland Street, on Tuesdays, at 8 p.m. A. F.

MANCHESTER.—The group here has not been able to carry on much propaganda simply through lack of support. I appeal again to Manchester comrades to meet at the Forum on Sundays, April 8 and 15. Business: "Open-air propaganda in the coming season. What are we going to do?" I can assure comrades who are forced to hide their principles that there are sufficient comrades here willing to openly avow the principles of Anarchist Communism if they but get the support of all Anarchists here. The miners show the spirit of direct action, and it is our opportunity to show its great possibilities. J. BURROWS.

BELFAST.—Madame Sorgue was booked to speak for the I.L.P. on March 28, but as she failed to appear, owing to threats of arrest, Comrade Barrett came over from Glasgow and lectured on "Anarchism and Recent Strikes." Lecture was first class and very well received. Six dozen FREEDOMS and two dozen pamphlets sold. He is lecturing for the I.L.P. on Sunday on "Anarchism and Science." Full report next month. W. G. O.

BIRMINGHAM.—Comrades in this city willing to form a group are requested to communicate with R. V. Harvey, 60 Hartledon Road, Harborne.

### LONDON.

VICTORIA PARK.—Excellent meetings are being held here on Sunday mornings, in spite of the somewhat inclement weather. The topic of interest in the park is the principles of Anarchy. Other speakers here seem unable to avoid it, and attempt to attack it, sometimes with venom, sometimes from a lack of understanding.

On Sunday, March 10, a splendid meeting was held, in conjunction with Socialists, to express sympathy with the miners in their struggle for freedom, and to give vent to its detestation of the Government for arresting Guy Bowman and B. E. and C. E. Buck, also the Ilkeston Socialists. The B.S.P. speakers were Pamment and Stevenson, Cunningham and Hall spoke as members of the I.L.P., and Ponder and Baron as Anarchists. The attention of a large audience was given to the speakers for four hours, and no dissent was shown. Our Socialist friends deserve congratulation for the spirit of solidarity shown on this issue, in spite of some hard knocks received from us in the past; and I am sure that whenever we work together, a better understanding is the result. The more one sees of the men and women of the Socialist movement, the more one sees Anti-Statist ideas among them. The first meeting on this subject was a splendid success. After the first demonstration, the arrest of Tom Mann took place,

closely followed by sentences of nine months' hard labour on Guy Bowman, and six months' each on C. E. and B. E. Buck. The comrades then determined to have another demonstration. They also had a march round Bethnal Green, with placards which had on them "Don't Shoot!" and a large number of the proscribed leaflet, "An Open Letter to British Soldiers," reprinted from an Aldershot paper, were distributed. Many Socialists assisted at this demonstration, and enormous crowds saw the procession. This has been the meeting. We started at half-past eleven and, excepting half-an-hour for the march, carried it on until half-past five! At the close, those present were asked if they disagreed with the purport of the meeting, which condemned the Government, and no dissent was shown. The audience averaged quite a thousand.

Photo postcards of Michael Bakunin can be had from Barnsbury Hall, halfpenny each, fourpence per dozen. All money obtained from these postcards to be used to get out new pamphlets. Ready for publication: Anarchy, by André Girard; Bakunin biography to follow. D. W.

**MARYLBONE.**—A group has been formed here. Besides indoor discussions, meetings have been held nearly every Sunday at Regent's Park in the morning and Hyde Park in the evening. The most encouraging feature has been the regular sale of literature. Comrades Shugar, Tanner, Tohatti, Walsh, Greenbourn, and others have addressed good audiences. Despite the heavy rain, a meeting of several hundreds of people in commemoration of the Paris Commune was held in Hyde Park on Sunday, March 17. Gentlemen connected with the "law-and-order" profession—true to their business—endeavoured to create disorder, but when the attention of the crowd was directed to them they discreetly retired. We lent our platform to the railwaymen on March 10, when the police refused to allow an "unauthorised" meeting in Trafalgar Square. This was mutually satisfactory. We have been subject to police interference when selling literature at the gates of the Park. F. W.

**WOOLWICH.**—Open-air propaganda reopens at Beresford Square on Sunday, April 7, at 11.30, and will be continued every Sunday.

### Anarchist Communist Meetings in London.

Brixton—Rushcroft Road, Sundays, 7.30.  
 Fulham—Walham Green Church, Tuesdays, 8 p.m.  
 Hammersmith—The Grove, Sundays, 11.30 and 8.  
 Hyde Park—Sundays, 7.  
 Islington—Theberton Street, Upper Street, Sundays, 8 p.m.  
 Regent's Park—Sundays, 11.30.  
 Victoria Park—Sundays, 11.30.  
 Woolwich—Beresford Square, Sundays, 11.30.  
 Bethnal Green Road—"Salmon and Ball," 7.30 p.m.  
 Speakers wishing to book up vacant dates, or willing to exchange dates, should write J. F. Tanner, 29 Beryl Road, Hammersmith, W.

### MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(March 1—April 2.)

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