

Freedom

JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM

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MONTHLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

Strikes Made Criminal.

Another forcible illustration of the utter futility of Parliamentary methods where the interests of the working classes are concerned is furnished by Mr. W. Crooks's "Labour Disputes Bill," which was recently issued as a Parliamentary paper, and which is "backed" by Labour, Liberal, and Tory Members of the House of Commons. This Bill proposes to make it "unlawful . . . for any employé to go on strike on account of any dispute," and imposes "a fine of not less than two pounds . . . for each day or part of a day that such employé is on strike." Thus Labour representation coolly proposes to snatch from the workers their most useful and powerful weapon in their struggle against the exploiting class. Of course, penalties are imposed for "locking out" employees; but—ask the railwaymen—what need has the employer to "lock out" his workpeople on account of a dispute when the Conciliation Board provides him with every facility he requires for the maintenance of those conditions which suit his convenience? It must be noted that not only is it to become a serious crime to go "on strike," but also that "any person who incites, encourages, or aids in any manner . . . any employé to go or continue on strike . . . shall be guilty of an offence and liable to a fine of not less than ten pounds nor more than two hundred pounds."

Going Backward.

Thus at one plunge all the vaunted "charters of Trade Unionism" are to be made obsolete (not even "peaceful picketing" could be legal if this Bill passes into law), and we are to return to the evil practices of the first half of the nineteenth century and later, when the jail was the sure reward of men and women to whose eyes and hearts the misery of the poor was an abomination. All the sacrifices which were made for "the right to combine" and to force employers of labour to take into account the necessities and the manhood of their workpeople are to go for naught in the future, and the yoke of the Conciliation Boards, which have justly excited the disgust and resentment of the great majority of Trade Unionists in this country, is to be fastened upon the necks of all working men and working women. What will organised Labour say to this proposal to hand them over bound hand and foot to their enemies? We well know that the "leaders" (?) do not like strikes. But strikes are indispensable until the time comes when the producers of wealth awake to the fact that they should own and control the distribution of the wealth their labour produces.

The Law versus Public Rights.

Truth will out. The *Star* (London, August 28) has been moved to the following admissions:—"The combined result of the interpretation of the law by modern judges is to decide that the public has no right to fish in non-tidal rivers, to walk on the foreshore, to bathe either off the seashore or in a river, to go to the top of a mountain or to a waterfall (unless on the road to a publichouse or some similar place), to take a boat into a backwater, or to anchor or tie it up on any river, or to loiter on the highway." In practice, the writer says, these decisions are generally "disregarded, or only very partially enforced against very poor and helpless persons." "But there they stand, and their number is being constantly added to." He adds: "At present the bias of the law is entirely against the public." The occasion of these and other similar comments is the case of Joss Bay, near Broadstairs, where the Marquess Conyngham can, as owner, prevent the public from bathing from that foreshore. He mentions also the case of Lough Neagh, where the local fishermen have had their right of "user" set aside by the production of a paper title given by the Crown to Lord Donegall in the reign of Charles II. The House of Lords has also given a

similar decision in the case of the fishermen on the river Wye, "who have followed their calling there for centuries." Pious hopes for the "early attention of the Legislature" to this impudent legal robbery are of little use, if any. What is more necessary is a general feeling of contempt and defiance of these monstrous legal decisions, and a determination on the part, not only of those people most deeply affected, but of the "public" generally, to set them aside in practice.

A New Labour Policy.

The month of August, 1911, will assuredly stand out prominently in the industrial history of Great Britain. Amongst the achievements of the month has been the death-blow given to the politician's argument that a choice can be made only between the ballot-box and the bomb, between the floor of the House of Commons and the barricade. It has been demonstrated beyond cavil that Labour as one great solid force has the power, if it will but use it, to directly and immediately compel attention to its grievances, and to obtain concessions or dictate terms to the classes which have fastened themselves upon its back. And what is more significant of the future is that the nature of the methods adopted, if intelligently conducted, makes the employment of armed forces an absurdity. But what use should be made of this power? Well, if self-preservation is the first law of nature, obviously the first step is to befriend the great army of unemployed workers who are suffering from hunger and privation daily; and whose existence is a menace to the unity and power of Labour as a class. One really effective step would be a *general strike against rent*. A million or so of workers in this country could easily bring the lazy landlords and their grasping agents to their knees, and without losing a single day's work (save the mark!). Every opportunity of appropriating an extra portion of the wages which the benevolent employer of labour allows his employé to take home is seized upon by these sharks. No matter how old or dilapidated or insanitary the "property," no matter how much men, women, and children may go short of the necessaries and common decencies of life, the maximum sum possible must be obtained in the shape of rent. In law the rent-payer is helpless and hopeless, but by direct action the poorest and weakest would receive a helping hand against the slum-lord.

What is Government?

By this time it must be very clear to the mass of workers that Government, when stripped of all its ceremony and formalities, is nothing less than brute force, naked and unashamed. The usual hypocrisy which covers this fact—viz., "the preservation of law and order"—could not deceive the strikers, who have seen how deliberately their masters have been aided and abetted by those who control the police and the military. This gross partizanship, as well as the lie of "law and order," being too glaring to escape the notice of the most guileless, another lie had to be invented. This took the form of a sudden solicitude for the welfare of the people, especially the poor, who must have their food and necessaries assured to them. The exploiters, who were beginning to tremble for their stomachs if not for their lives, fervently echoed this cry. But, again; the workers were not to be deluded. They knew from hard experience that, strikes or no strikes, want and semi-starvation were too familiar in their homes to cause unusual anxiety. They knew also, when unemployment throws them on the street, how deaf are the ears of the bullies and cowards, who again bring forth their brute force, not this time to "assure the food of the people," but to prevent them taking it for their starving wives and children. For more than a hundred years Labour combinations have been struggling for an effective existence. Much has been gained. But each time that the men by their power and solidarity have threatened the "interests" of the governing classes they have been met with batons, bullets, and bayonets.

ALL SORTS OF SOCIALISM.

At the present moment nothing can be of greater importance than clear ideas as to what Socialism really means. The necessity for a return to first principles becomes more and more frequent as the confusion of mind grows worse confounded by the parading of political reform as of the essence of Socialism. The question is of the first importance also for the reason that when the basis of Socialism is clearly grasped it is comparatively easy to understand how the ideal of Anarchist Communism has evolved naturally from it.

The term "Socialism" was, it is generally admitted, first used by the Owenites who founded the Association of All Classes of All Nations. This was on May 1, 1835. Now, the avowed aims of this Association, as can be read in the pages of Owen's "New Moral World," were not only a complete reconstruction of society on a basis of human equality in an economic sense, but the insistence, above all, on that respect for human liberty, dignity, and independence which, in a moral sense, needs as great a revolution in our social relationships as in our dealings with the question of property. To attain this, Owen relied primarily on *education*. He believed first and last in a *revolution of ideas*, and for this reason, as well as for others, has been called Utopian. Owen saw clearly that political action would not only not help him, but would even positively hinder him; and he energetically combatted all interference by the politicians.

So we see that the early conception of Socialism in this country was, on the question of property, toward Communism; politically, it was anti-Parliamentary; ethically, it was non-compulsory and non-judicial, in the sense of declaring against all forms of punishment; and opposed to all religious dogma, putting in place of these science and education and a rational use of the influence of environment.

If we think over the great and revolutionary teachings of the pioneers of Socialism, and then turn to the wretched schemes of politicians and social reformers that are paraded to-day as "Socialistic," we can judge very clearly how the ideal has been sacrificed to the basest expediency. In fact, every political and journalistic cheap-jack has nowadays his own particular brand of Socialism, which, resembling the advertised virtues of Quaker cocoa, is put forward as the only article containing genuine quality and flavour. The pretty quarrel between Snowden and Macdonald as to what Socialism really means is, of course, quite ridiculous, since neither of them cares a straw about the grand conceptions of a truly free and well-organised community, such as Owen foresaw. Personal ambition has long ago overshadowed all else. Hence these quarrels.

Then, again, we have Mr. Chiozza Money, who, in spite of the good things he had to say in "Poverty and Riches," has such a bias in favour of State-aid that he writes to the *New Age* in praise of "our social (and Socialist) Insurance Bill," which insures the worker for 4d. per week, leaving him just the hopeless, rack-rented wage-slave he was before. Any schoolboy who had read of Robert Owen could have foretold that State Insurance would prove a hindrance, not a help to Socialism.

But even Mr. Chiozza Money's aberrations are exceeded by William Archer, who writes in the *Morning Leader* on "Mr. Carnegie's Socialism"!!! And he has been led to write thus because Carnegie would limit the power of the Trust, which might have the result of raising wages! Could anything more convincing be shown as to the fatal ignorance of the meaning of true Socialism, when we find the butcher of Homestead placed in the same category as the enlightened humanitarian of New Lanark? It has come to this, that the present preaching of Socialism by the Parliamentary Labour men and the Fabian State Socialists is not only a delusion so far as the workers are concerned, it is a farce for all those who know that you cannot even begin a Socialist community until *all* the means of production are in the hands of the producers, working in the interests of, all, and when the wage system has been totally and unequivocally abolished.

When this great revolution has been achieved, we can at last begin to talk about national health, scientific hygiene, and the artistic and intellectual development of those millions who to-day only *suffer* life in the factory, in the mine, and in the innumerable hells, great and small, that exist to bring profit to the capitalist class. These will continue to exist in spite of the Insurance Bill, and to all appearances in spite of the "Socialism" of the Hardies and the Macdonalds.

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REVEILLE.

Like the thunder of guns, oh! it rolls and it runs
O'er the world's wide seas, the world's wide seas;
And louder it grows as onward it goes
From the Golden Horn to the Pyrenees.
'Tis Freedom's reveille that sounds o'er the waves,
And it's calling to you and it's calling to me.
Oh! comrades, awake, for our part we must take
In the fight that shall make us free.

Like war's rolling drums, full of menace it comes
From each mill and mine, from each mill and mine,
Where the slaves bleed and sweat for the pittance they get,
From the golden Rand to the Argentine;
Broken Hill and Spokane, over prairie and plain,
O'er the leagues of grey and the leagues of blue,
Their fierce message fling on the storm's wild wing:
"We are fighting like men; are you?"

Oh! the crash of the tread 'neath the banner of red;
And our masters hear, yes, our masters hear,
As slave calls to slave o'er the width of the wave,
And they know that the day is near.
Reveille! Reveille! and Freedom cries loud,
As from shore unto shore rolls the swift, might roar:
"They are waking at last, and the day's coming fast
When men shall be slaves no more."

HENRY MILLER.

THE USE AND ABUSE OF GOVERNMENT.

In the *Free Comrade* for June, J. William Lloyd writes on Anarchism and Government in such a way as not only to confuse the principles which antagonise the two, but to assume a "use" for Government control of organisation which is everywhere contradicted by daily experience. He says: "Government is a tool which men cannot do without, because co-operative work must be done, and only by this tool can it be done." But this is not so. Far from being a "tool" in the hands of the people, Government is that organisation of brute force which *controls* the masses in the interests of a dominant class. To those who will trouble to look behind appearances, this is as obvious in America as it is in Russia. But the statement that only by this "tool" can co-operative work be done is, if possible, still more flagrant. Co-operation, now a world-wide and powerful movement, has, with all its failings, taught us a great lesson. It has shown us, in a way that has even astonished its enemies, how men can freely organise for mutual help and advancement, not only *without* the help of Government, but actually *in spite of it*. More than that, the Rochdale pioneers have become historical as that handful of men who, possessing only enthusiasm and energy, initiated an organisation which in England alone numbers two million adherents, and which continues to grow. Mr. Lloyd should reconsider his statement.

He tells us we must not abolish Government, since, he says, we can eliminate its perils and make sure that only "sincere men use it as our servants for our good." But sincere men do not, as a rule, like the dirty business of politics, and so the field is generally left to the unscrupulous timeserver or political adventurer. But even if you take a Gladstone—the only man who was ever called "a statesman with a conscience"—even he achieved nothing by constructive legislation, but gained his popularity by the abolition of oppressive laws and by his resistance to the reactionary legislation of the Tories. Which confirms the dictum of Buckle, that only those laws which have abolished other laws have been of use to mankind. So if the State could annihilate itself, mankind would be at last politically free.

But the root cause of Mr. Lloyd's confusion of mind as regards Anarchism is that he has entirely misconceived the aims and objects of that theory of social organisation. To us it seems incredible that any one who understood the meaning of words could write as follows: "But when the Anarchist runs the Government we shall have all practicable liberty and safe, serviceable administration." This utterly absurd and illogical contradiction could only have been penned by one who had never attempted to grasp first principles. An Anarchist "running a Government" might make fun for a plot of Gilbertian topsy-turvydom; but to be put forward as a serious statement—well, it exceeds the limit. However, Mr. Lloyd contradicts the statement when he says that Anarchists could never bring about postal reform, adding: "And this uncovers Anarchism's great and central weakness as a working principle." How then could they "run a Government" to ensure a "safe, serviceable administration"? We must leave the solution of this to the admirers of red-tape and legal jugglery.

It is only necessary to say that millions and millions of simple, earnest folk go quietly to their work every day, knowing nothing of Anarchism and even less of the red-tape of Government, but whose steady labour, in all varieties of strength and skill, produces and distributes the things needed—mostly appropriated by the rich—and who keep this busy world agoing. True, these good people, besides being robbed, are taxed by their rulers, and on every side are harassed by absurd rules and regulations, which people of Mr. Lloyd's bent of

mind regard as vital to the stability of society. But the simple-minded toiler in field or factory, on railway or in mine, knows better. He good-humouredly leaves the rules and regulations as much as possible to take care of themselves, and goes practically to work in the way he knows is best. Should it happen that his master or the State dare to crush him too heavily, he revolts, he strikes. And then to bring them to their senses he observes their rules and regulations to the very letter—with disastrous results to their mighty authoritarian organisation. A terrible revenge, indeed!

Mr. Lloyd should think many things over if he would clear himself from the hopeless confusion of mind which now possesses him in regard to Anarchism. He might begin by trying to answer the question that Benjamin Tucker has put so pertinently: What has Government ever done for man that man, if free, could not have done much better for himself?

BLOODSHED IN LIVERPOOL

No doubt comrades have heard divers accounts of the great struggle in Liverpool to obtain a paltry increase of 2s. per week and a fifty-four hour week for one particular section of the workers. You have heard how the principle of the General Strike grew so infectious that even the authorities had to humiliate themselves by asking permission of the Strike Committee to allow them to carry mails, etc., etc.

The solidarity of Labour has been astonishing, even to the most optimistic of us: it is an object-lesson that one is not liable to forget. During the whole of the struggle the newspapers played a disgusting and dirty game, lying in a most disgraceful manner. We have always said they would, and on this occasion we can emphasise our position.

The action of the authorities, through police, Press, and military, during the strike makes one use that irritating phrase, "I told you so!" Some workers learn by reasoning and simple logic that these things will happen once the workers trespass upon privilege; others learn by a simple crack on the skull with a policeman's baton.

The account of Liverpool's "Bloody Sunday" (August 13) has been practically "flogged to death" by the Press. They persist in calling it a "riot"; but from what I saw of the affair I know it was a deliberate attack of the police and military to break up a peaceful meeting of men, women, and children anxious to better their conditions by peaceful means. Had the workers been armed, I feel certain there would not have been one hired assassin left to tell the tale. According to the Press, there were 80,000 people present: I do not think this is overestimated. The meeting was advertised to start at 3.30. Processions of various trades and transport workers came pouring on to the plateau in a most orderly fashion, taking their places around the various platforms. All went well until about 4.30. A slight disturbance took place in a side street adjoining the L. & N.-W. Hotel, which overlooks the plateau. In a twinkling of an eye the mounted police cleared Lime Street, knocking down all and sundry with their batons. The attention of the police was then attracted to the plateau. Not contented with endeavouring to clear the plateau, they barred the ways of escape and retreat. The police and military were out to flog the naughty people, and they did it without mercy—blood was flowing about everywhere. The cries of the women and children and the moans of the wounded will for the rest of their lives ring in the ears of those who were present.

The police did not come off scot-free. Many stalwart workers used their belts and fists and attacked one section of the police, making them retreat, but the overwhelming armed police were too much for our heroes, and eventually the workers had to capitulate. Many dastardly actions were done by the police within that memorable hour. Those who tended the wounded were struck; those who were already wounded were struck; and the children were not forgotten in the mad charge.

Every worker is now talking of revolution and redress; they will never be contented until things are substantially altered. The time is now ripe for active work. We in Liverpool are endeavouring to get as much literature as possible into the hands of the workers; they are simply thirsting for literature. The time is now ripe for the Anarchists to push forward their ideas in a clear and decisive manner. Our work in the past has not been in vain. Let us once more get our heads down into the struggle. We have had 20,000 leaflets, and all will be distributed amongst the workers.

"The world must have light, failing that—lightning."

DICK JAMES.

FINED FOR DISTRIBUTING "FREEDOM" LEAFLETS.

At Liverpool on Sunday, August 20, our comrade William Smith, while distributing the leaflet, "Our Great Empire," was arrested by the police. Next day he was charged with being drunk and disorderly and remanded in custody for a week, bail being refused.

When the case came before the Court on the 28th, the charge had been altered to one of refusing to move on when requested by the police and of inciting the crowd to disorder. A constable stated that Smith was distributing bills and refused to move on. Questioned by Quilliam, the defendant's counsel, as to what incitement to disorder had been offered, the "copper" replied that had it not been for his

intervention those supporting the distribution of the bills and those against it might have come into conflict.

For the defence Quilliam called the magistrate's attention to the lines at the end of the leaflet—

"When man to man the world o'er
Shall brothers be for a' that"—

remarking that such phrases could scarcely be expected to incite to riot and conflict. He also stated that as it was the usual custom of Socialists to hold meetings and distribute literature at that place, it was not surprising that Smith should have shown some resentment at being interfered with.

Sentence: 10s. and costs, or 14 days. We paid the 13s. 6d. and Smith was released.

S. H. MUSTON.

P.S.—We are making a special effort in distributing leaflets, as now is the opportunity to drive home the lessons of the recent struggles. Last Sunday I took a number of "Our Great Empire" leaflets to a local military encampment, and after putting our view of the case to a crowd of soldiers, I was pleased to find they mostly agreed with us, and six of them took bundles of leaflets, promising to distribute them in the camp. There were many instances of disaffection among the troops during the strike. Most of them were hushed up by the authorities and the Press, but we are investigating them, and hope to be able to furnish a set of authenticated cases.

"JUSTICE" AND EMMA GOLDMAN.

More Protests from America.

The following protests were sent to H. Quelch, but not the slightest acknowledgment of them appeared in *Justice*:—

Editor, *Justice*, Social Democratic Paper, London, England.

DEAR COMRADE:—As a member of the Socialist Party, permit me to say a few words in regard to an article about Emma Goldman which appeared May 13, 1911, and has been reiterated several times since, as you charged in the columns of *Justice* that Emma Goldman is a police spy, which is, indeed, a very serious charge.

I have been in the Socialist movement for 25 years, and have taken an active part in the building up of the Chicago movement. I have contributed to nearly every Socialist periodical and Socialist cause that has been brought to my attention. Since the *Chicago Daily Socialist* started I have given it 1,000 dollars. I say this in order that you may see that I am not only a member of the party, but I am vitally interested in its welfare; and to my mind it is against the welfare of the Socialist Party to call a public character a police spy unless it is true. I am sure *Justice* would not make such a charge unless there was some good reason, and, as far as I have been able to learn, *Justice* has given no absolute proof that Emma Goldman is a police spy.

I happen to know Emma Goldman, and have contributed towards her heroic struggle for free speech that she has been making in America for nearly 20 years. I can hardly believe that such a thing is true; but as I know something about the history of spies in the Russian and European Revolution movements and American Labour movement, I feel that all things can be possible.

Emma Goldman has the confidence of many of the Socialists, Anarchists, Radicals, and Labour leaders in America, and if it is true that she is a police spy, she is in a position to do a great deal of harm—much more harm than Azeff could possibly have done. And if *Justice* has any positive information, I am sure it owes it to the American movement to give all this full and complete information at once.

I can readily see why you are desirous of withholding the name of your informer; but if you have looked into the matter carefully, and are absolutely positive that Emma Goldman is a police spy, or has ever betrayed any one in the European or American movement, will you let me have such information at once? I will then see that it is published in all of the radical papers, even if I have to put in a paid advertisement for it.

I hope you will see the urgency of my request, and if you do not see your way clear to answer me through the columns of *Justice*, write me a personal letter at once.

Yours for a good world in which to live.

Chicago, July 26, 1911.

J. H. GREER, M.D.

Editor, *Justice*.

DEAR COMRADE:—A copy of *Justice* of May 13, 1911, has just come to hand. As a Socialist who knows Emma Goldman well, and who is proud to call her "friend," I am writing to protest against the attack on her, published and reiterated in the columns of *Justice*. I can only typify these charges against Emma Goldman as being absolutely untrue, ridiculous, and contemptible. Either you are very ignorant of Emma Goldman or are dreadfully misinformed, or are both.

Yours for the Revolution,

Glen Ellen, Sonoma Co., California.

JACK LONDON.

July 9, 1911.

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*.

Freedom

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The Beginning of the End.

At last the great army of Labour is beginning to realise its strength. At last the "Weary Titan," turning his back on the mediators, the conciliators, the arbitrators, and the legislators, meets his enemy face to face; and in spite of the batons and bayonets of the ruling classes, he is firm and undismayed, giving to the world perhaps the grandest example of solidarity that has yet been seen. These are the plain truths of the historic struggle which for the past few weeks has astonished friend and foe alike.

The consequences of these tremendous events will mean that Direct Action and the General Strike take their place in the world of Labour as the two great arms both of attack and defence. It is worth while, therefore, considering for a moment even at this early stage what developments are likely to take place in the immediate future, and in what direction this new spirit of collective revolt will ultimately lead.

To begin with, the old pernicious authority of the "leaders" over the men is gone—gone, as we firmly believe, never to return as it was in the past. Discipline and obedience, the canting cries of authority, have received their death-blow, whatever feeble flickering of life may be seen for a time. As is ever the case, the politician—Labour, Liberal, or Radical—will begin to respond in his tortuous, sluggish way to the terrifying stimulus the strike has given, and democratic legislation will be forthcoming side by side with reactionary attempts to stem the tide. An attempt in the latter direction can be seen in the Labour Disputes Bill of that empty head, Will Crooks. The Labour Party will make strenuous efforts to regain its lost prestige, and as the action of the Imperialist section in the Cabinet in their use of the military will mean the weakening of the Asquith influence, the near future will probably give us the formation of the long-expected Radical-Democratic Party. We shall then see how far the influence of Parliamentarians will go towards neutralising the power of the strike.

For the Anarchist all this has but a secondary interest, and it is only referred to here to point out the need for a continued and incessant propaganda of Direct Action in the face of the new political tactics that will assuredly be employed. Coming back to the strike itself, what is of paramount interest and importance to us is to understand the vital issues involved in such a crisis as that which even now is scarcely ended. Without exaggeration, it can be said that the great mass of working men and women—for the women have been splendid in this struggle—have shown that they really possess the capacity, the power, and, above all, that great and indispensable solidarity necessary to reorganise a new society built on economic equality and free association. The events of the strike are too numerous to be mentioned in detail; but those who were active in it know how sympathy and mutual aid developed to an extent never dreamed of in the minds of those who can see nothing but hooliganism in the strife of popular movements. Comrades who were in the fight in Liverpool on Red Sunday have described how a meeting which was really too peaceful for the authorities was deliberately attacked by organised gangs of police, while high officials of the law had taken up the best positions to view the onslaught. Hooliganism was rife in Liverpool, but it was the hooliganism of "law and order."

But let us turn from the brutality of our rulers to the humanity of the workers. Let us note the seven miles of

shipping held up in Liverpool for days after the settlement because 75,000 men who had won their fight would not see 250 of their comrades victimised. Let it be remembered how gladly women and children starved a few days longer rather than this glorious spirit of solidarity should be broken. Again, we see the same manifestation in the strike of the 15,000 women in Bermondsey. Sweated, brow-beaten, unorganised, these women revolted, and factory after factory was emptied of its victims by the spontaneous action of unknown women who have helped to win thousands of pounds increase in the collective wages of their unfortunate sisters. Threats and bribes of the employers could not break their solidarity. Finally, let us never forget the one great lesson which gives the key to the true communal organisation of the future. In such times, who could suffer more than infants and the sick? The problem of the first importance, therefore, was the ensuring of the milk supply. Every one realised it, and every one did the best that could be done. Humanity, goodwill, self-denial—these were the qualities the workers displayed. The Government sent troops; but the milk supply was assured by the people, and the people gained the day.

These are some of the things that have happened, and they are full of hope for the future. Yet we have only seen the first step in the direction of the General Strike.

THE WEEKLY PAPER.

The Weekly Paper project is rapidly materialising. Although the fund is scarcely opened, our income has been more than equal to the expenses of printing, etc., showing a balance in hand.

The arrangements for a smoking concert in aid of the funds are now practically completed. This "smoker," which looks like being a big success, has been organised by one of our comrades only. Other comrades please note.

The misgivings that some active workers in Glasgow entertained at first seem to be giving place to confidence, and while the usual percentage wisely foretells its failure, yet these are just those totally unqualified to judge of its chances of success, since they take no active part in the movement. They will some day read their paper and find that the Revolution has been accomplished. We shall succeed here if we get the necessary support. Our group meetings become more businesslike every week, which shows that the comrades begin to fully realise the gravity of the task they have undertaken.

All depends now on the great body of sympathisers. If they become subscribers along the lines indicated in the circular issued with FREEDOM for this month, or, better still, if they will become active workers—then we shall succeed.

THE CONFERENCE.

It is proposed that a Conference of Anarchists be held during the Christmas or New Year season to make the necessary arrangements for the starting of the paper, and to discuss the prospect of carrying on a more vigorous propaganda throughout England and Scotland. It is hoped that this Conference will become an annual event. The town where it will be held this year is not yet selected. It is hoped, however, that it will be possible to choose some place suitably situated between Glasgow and London, so that both these cities and the intermediate places may be well represented. Leeds would be such a town, but position, though an important consideration, is secondary. What is absolutely essential is that some comrade or group, reliable and with energy (experience is a detail), will come forward and undertake the responsibility of organising that Conference. There should be a big public evening meeting in connection with it, and this will need well advertising, and arrangements made for the hall, etc. Besides this, it would be necessary to find accommodation for several comrades coming from a distance. Will some one or some group undertake this? The final selection of the town will probably depend on the possibility of getting the business properly looked after. This is a fine opportunity for some one to come forward and give the coming Weekly a good help onward, and at the same time most thoroughly wake up their local movement.

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, St. Bride's House, Salishury Square,

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

E.C.

Anarchy and the Labour War.

Yes, the Labour War is prompted by the spirit of Anarchy. Not what the capitalists and politicians mean when they use the word. They say Anarchy means bloodshed and brute force, and at the same time they get ready their paid men armed with thick sticks and revolvers, swords and guns, with which to fight the workers.

Capitalism means bloodshed and brute force, or, as the only alternative, the absolute submission of the workers. The truth of this statement every one can see for himself, for this is the position:—The workers have created the factories, workshops, and all the means of producing food, clothing, etc., and it is they alone who can make these factories useful, for it is they who run them. In a word, *the workers have all the power of production and the capitalists entirely depend upon the workers continuing this production and handing over to them the wealth produced.* What, then, have the capitalists? Force! Brute force alone!

Imagine yourself for a moment in the position of the capitalist. What would you do if your workers struck? First, you would talk to them about arbitration—by the Government, if possible (the same Government which had prepared those thick sticks and guns). You would talk about this impartial (!) arbitration, conciliation boards, and agreements to give 14 days' notice before striking so that you might recruit blacklegs and scabs from the starving families you had reduced to treachery by your brutality. And if your workers were not fools enough for this, if they said to you, "We have been fooled too often by your arbitrations and agreements; we are going to tell you what we want, and if you don't give it us we shall not keep you any longer,"—what now could you do? Nothing, absolutely nothing but call out the police and military and get them to fight.

Capitalism, which means the taking away from the workers the wealth which they have created, must in common with all other robberies mean the use of force. It is mere folly, therefore, to protest against the Government or the police for their brutality, disgusting as this is. Capitalism depends on force, and the best thing to be done is to find a good method of meeting that force.

Such, briefly, is the position in which we stand to-day; but the important question in every mind is, to where will all this turmoil lead us? To some it will seem that a mere matter of a rise in wages, shorter hours, or Trade Union recognition is scarcely worth so much distress and trouble. If it were merely such matters, this would be true; but far more than this is at stake. No fight put up by the capitalists of one country against the capitalists of another has ever been half so important as the fight which is being carried on in the streets of our great cities to-day. It is a part of that great war by which the workers of all nations shall rid themselves of the powerful class which lives at their expense, shall for the first time enjoy the full fruits of their labour, and finally throwing off the power of their rulers, shall come out of the last form of slavery into Freedom.

Let us examine this upheaval which to some must seem merely chaos, and see if there really is any meaning or direction in it. It is probable that comparatively few of the strikers and rioters have any definite ideas of reorganising society. Consciously or unconsciously, however, their actions tend toward this reorganisation or Social Revolution. Indefinite or definite as the ideas of those individuals may be, consciously or unconsciously as they act, we may see in the sum of their actions certain definite principles. First, it is obvious that having kept their politicians at Westminster for some few years, they are beginning to recognise that these gentlemen must at best be looked upon as ornaments to their Unions, and that when they want reforms there is only one party of the people who can get them. So thoroughly have they recognised that their only hope lies with themselves that in the South Wales Miners' and the Boilermakers' strikes they again and again defied even their Union leaders, and insisted on fighting the capitalist class when their so-called leaders would have bound them by agreements to submit. This means that the workers recognise in themselves the creators of all wealth and of all the powers of oppression that the capitalist possesses, and they recognise that they, the actual producers, are therefore the only people who can take this wealth to themselves and who can overthrow this oppression.

This is the great truth of *Direct Action* consistently taught by the Anarchists.

But *Direct Action*, though the truth, is not the whole truth. There are two distinct purposes to which *Direct Action* may be put. The first leads to Freedom, the second simply to various forms of oppression. The first leads to Anarchy, and the second to a reorganisation of the capitalist system.

If you are slaves and combine among yourselves and ask your owner for better conditions, more clothes, better houses, a supply of books to read, etc., then if you are sufficiently united by your *Direct Action* you may force your owner to give you these things. But nevertheless at each step he becomes more and more entirely your keeper and owner, and you, so long as you recognise that it is his duty to keep you, become abjectly his dependent. How much better if you had gripped the simple truth, that all the clothes, houses, and books that he gave you, you first of all had given him; and that therefore much the simplest and the only direct way to get these things would be to use your powers of *Direct Action* to refuse to give them up when they were created. In fact, instead of demanding that your owner should govern you more perfectly, begin to demand that your owner slackens his hold on you and gives you more freedom, so that you can produce those things that you need and enjoy them freely among yourselves.

Now, the relation of the workers to the capitalist is just like the relation of the slaves to the slave-owner. *Direct Action* may be used to force from the master class Labour legislation, which generally means that the Government promises to help your starving old mother and father to live, pays for your sickness, and helps you when unemployed—in fact, more completely regulates and controls you. (We will neglect the fact that while it puts a florin in your hand, it takes half-a-crown from your pocket.) To carry this argument to the extreme, *Direct Action* may be used as some advanced politicians are recommending to-day, namely, to force the Government to control the industries around which the disputes are raging. What profound folly!

The Government is sending gangs of men about our streets armed with bludgeons and firearms with which to fight the workers, and yet we are told these same workers should demand, as the outcome of this struggle, that this same Government shall control the very industry about which the war is waged.

Workers and fighters, you have shown your power, the power of the producers against the impotent capitalist class, which can only oppose you with its brutal force. Use that power wisely and well. It is not your business to see that you are properly legislated for; that is the business of the exploiter. It is for you to free yourselves. Everything that the Government gives you—the "free" schools, pensions, or insurance—you first of all give the Government. Demand and take your freedom, so that these things will never be given over to the governing class.

Fight for higher wages and shorter hours, because it is well to dictate to your impudent dependents (the capitalists) and demonstrate your strength; but remember that you are out for something far greater than this.

You have shown yourselves to be disgusted with arbitration and conciliation boards, seven-year agreements, notices of strikes, etc., too often entered into by your leaders. But you have yet got to proclaim that there can be no arbitration between the capitalist and the worker, no conciliation between the robber and his victim. You have declared that the capitalist shall not take so much of the fruit of your daily labour. You have yet to declare that he shall take none of the fruit of your labour—a step that will finally mean the abolition of the wage system. Greatest of all, you have yet to demand that the fruit of your past labour—the factories, the mines, and the means of transport—shall be restored to you.

To-day you bravely refuse to enter the workshop of the capitalist, and dictate to him what goods shall pass through the street. To-morrow you will enter those workshops, no longer bent on paralysing industry, no longer to destroy, but to stand in your true position as the creators of wealth; but then the workshops shall be yours, and the wealth that springs into existence, moulded by free hands, shall be in direct response to all the needs and desires of the workers.

"A long, long way off, this to-morrow," say the hopeless ones.

But a few weeks ago and who would have dared to prophesy that the Lord Mayor of Manchester would be obtaining passports from the strikers for necessities to pass through the streets? Who would have suggested that the London provision traffic would have been maintained by permission of the strikers only, or that the men of Liverpool would forbid the Post Office to unload the mail vans? The men who did this are the unknown, unrecognised, "ignorant" crowd; and these same unknown men will establish the Social Revolution while their "superiors" discuss its impossibilities.

Workers! Friends! Comrades! Your power is unlimited. You are the creative force behind all history. Down with your slums and open wide your castle gates. The wealth of the

world is yours. You are the inheritors of the invention and genius of the past.

Fight on! Powerless, muddleheaded politicians alone stand in your way. This fight for freedom is the only meaning of our existence. Come up to the front rank of human progress, and even now breathe the life-giving air of the Social Revolution.

Shoulder to shoulder we're marching on,
Rebels and men are we;
A taste of life in our death we find,
Fearless and reckless and free.

Revolt! Revolt! Your slavery's past.
Arise! To arms and fight!
The blood of the martyrs flows in your veins.
To the War! To the War in your might!

G. B.

[This article has been reprinted as a 4pp. leaflet. Copies can be obtained from FREEDOM Office; price 4s. post free.]

CAPITALISM IN MEXICO.

Of all the astounding positions taken by those astounding politicians who are making special pleas in behalf of the proposed Madero regime—as opposed to the ideals for which the real “insurrectos” of Mexico have fought and suffered through so many painful years—perhaps the most astounding is to be found in the argument or pretext that Mexico “has not yet passed through the capitalist stage of social development,” and that therefore (so far as these would-be doctrinaires and their followers are concerned) the insurrectos’ movement should be allowed to perish from lack of sympathy and support, and as a just punishment for their presumption in rebelling without having first consulted these modern augurs as to whether or no the signs are auspicious!

What a pitifully empty excuse for “passing by on the other side,” for neglecting and ignoring and even libelling the agony-struggle of brave men who in defence of the surplus value produced by their labour-power have rebelled against that confiscation of such surplus value which has already resulted from, or is threatened by, the private grabbing of natural resources and the private monopolising of railroads and other machinery of production and exchange.

And how doubly contemptible when such pleas are put forward by men who have never put their own lives in peril, and whose connection with the uplift movement has never cost them a physical pang or serious deprivation, but has, on the contrary, been a source of comfortable revenue and the occasion of exemption from manual toil.

It should be evident to the veriest tyro in economic thought that the advent of the first privately owned railroad in a country marks an indisputable passing of that country into the capitalistic phase of evolution, not only because the railroad is a machine, and a very complicated one at that, but also because it inevitably carries along with it a host of other forms of the modern machinery of production and exchange, and renders a continuance of primitive methods impossible.

As a matter of fact, Mexico has not only been penetrated and interlaced by railroads for many years, but has developed in their train a host of modern plantation, and ranching, and mining, and factory enterprises, which have inaugurated a reign of exploitation which has notoriously resulted in strikes and lock-outs and every conceivable accompaniment of the class struggle under the capitalist system.

All these plain facts, however, must be ignored when there arises a dictator whose continuance in power means a continuous holding of office by doctrinaires discreetly appointed to office or otherwise “taken care of.” “None are so blind as those who will not see,” and because these wilfully blind ones have control of a few newspaper columns in which to proclaim their alleged belief that “Capitalism has not yet arrived in Mexico,” therefore, forsooth, the wheels of time must be turned backward in order that these capitalistic performances must all be done over again to make up for their negligence in failing to observe what was taking place under their very noses!

Verily, these special pleaders for the continuance of tyranny remind one of the quack doctor who, on being called to attend a patient whose symptoms he found himself utterly unable to account for, exclaimed in comical exculpation: “If I could only throw him into fits, I could cure him; I am hell on fits.”

The world will not stand still to enable these quacks to throw

Mexico into their curious interpretation of capitalism. Mexico has been under real capitalism long enough, and for her no less than for the rest of the modern world the hour has struck for the “Great Change.” Far from being behind the times, these Mexican clamourers for land and liberty are in the very forefront of the battle. They should be loyally supported, not fired upon from the rear by persons who have decorated themselves with the uniform of progress and of alleged love for mankind.

H. J. JAXON.

At a meeting of the Mexican Revolution Conference of New York on July 25 further steps were taken to help the revolutionary cause.

A letter has been received from the headquarters of the Mexican Liberal Party appealing for funds to continue the propaganda and agitation. Owing to further interference on the part of the United States authorities in rearresting Magon, and because of the Mexican mails being practically closed to the organ of the Liberal Party by Madero—who, above all others, promised freedom of speech and Press—the continuance of *Regeneracion* is very doubtful, and unless the radicals of the world rally to its support, it may be forced into suspension. In view of the above, a motion was made and carried that an appeal for financial assistance be sent to subscribers of the radical Press and members of progressive organisations. It was voted to hold a monster mass meeting in Union Square the latter part of August, and a committee was elected to secure that object.

A special appeal for the paper, *Regeneracion* we give in full:—

DEAR FRIEND,—To you, as a radical, we make appeal on behalf of this paper and of the Mexican Liberal Party, which is in a life-and-death fight, not only with Madero and the world-wide forces of capital, but also with certain Socialist Party leaders.

The Mexican Revolution is in itself an event of incalculable importance, and the action taken by these Socialist Party leaders has made it infinitely more so. They have started an international quarrel that *must* be fought out. The Labour movement of the world, and the Socialists themselves, *must* learn exactly where they stand, *must* ascertain, once and for all, whether they are to be the playthings of personal ambitions or are to be given the opportunity of working unitedly for economic freedom.

In that fight you are interested most profoundly, and will wish to do your loyal share. The fight is vital and international, and we of Los Angeles should not be required to carry the whole burden.

Six of our most capable writers and speakers are now in jail in Los Angeles, and five are imprisoned in San Diego. They are charged with violating the neutrality laws, for apparently it is a crime not to remain neutral when 14,000,000 of the down-trodden are striking for liberty. Their imprisonment cripples us badly for the moment.

Twenty-one thousand copies of *Regeneracion* are issued weekly from this office, and go to all parts of the world, including—despite Madero's rigorous boycott—Mexico. We issue much other educational matter, and our work, especially at this crisis, is vital to the international movement of revolt. But this entails enormous expense, and financial assistance we *must* have.

We ask you to send the largest sum you possibly can *at once* to Manuel G. Garza, Treasurer, Mexican Liberal Party Junta, 519½ E. 4th St., Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.

SOUTH AFRICAN NOTES.

For the last eight years, to my personal knowledge, Socialism has been permeating South Africa as all other countries, and naturally all the phases of what is known as “the movement” are prevalent. We have expounders of all schools, from Lib-Labism to philosophical Anarchy, hence, like the more numerical phases of Christianity, they each declare “there is no creed like unto my own.” A perusal of their characteristics is evidence enough for us to decry the methods of those outside the Anarchist ranks, for with them sectionalism and abstract issues, such as segregation of the coloured community, political palliatives, labour colonies, etc., are prevalent.

A useful revolutionary paper, the *Voice of Labour*, is published weekly in Johannesburg, with valuable reading matter from many able contributors, though editorially they are somewhat “on the fence” regarding Anarchy and what is known as State Socialism. Through defeat and ridicule, some of the latter ilk were exposed at the last election in their endeavour to explain the possibility of that sublime consummation through a corrupt oligarchy of avaricious financiers and land monopolists. Their enthusiasm in that direction has been damped down somewhat and superseded by methods advocating the necessity of intelligent organisation and Industrial Unionism, with one objective clearly in view.

The substitution of a clause in the Constitution of the new Union Parliament, depriving the coloured community of representation there, augurs well, I think, for their affiliation to any industrial activity as above indicated if the hand of welcome is held out to them. Yet from my own observation I regret to relate that this is not always given by many of the so-called “Socialists.” Admitted, the consensus of opinion in South Africa is that they should be “hewers of wood and drawers of water.” In that capacity and other industrial sources they hold the power of supply, and it may in the near future dawn upon them to

utilise the industries in their own interests. Evidences of late have proved that the cessation of industrial activity immediately produced stagnation, while the prorogation of Parliament, I think, may go on indefinitely, without even an inquiry being made about its inmates.

The Trade Unions, as is usual, are adopting a fallacious and reactionary doctrine in their endeavours to exclude all coloured and native people from becoming artisans, and by such attitude I believe they are largely responsible for the clause in the new Government building contract, "That no coloured artisan shall be employed." These "far"-seeing people obviously have not grasped the idea that the existence of a subject class will jeopardise their own position; yet, paradoxical though it may seem, they prate continually on this same argument about non-unionists of their own colour. However, such vague conceptions of object and method are prevalent in all movements, and I am happy to say we have many sociological students and fearless exponents with a thorough knowledge of the basis of economics, even in capitalist-ridden South Africa, where both the Rand magnates and the Rand miners are equal in their greed for gold. W. H.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

Australia.

Compulsory military training has just commenced in Australia, but the cadets are not taking it so tamely as the tyrannical Federal rulers anticipated. In Sydney and Melbourne cases of mutiny have occurred, boys defying and stoning the officers and refusing to perform squad drills. The Labour Minister of Defence, Mr. McGregor, is just as brutal as the capitalist prototype. "Theirs not to reason why," he cries to these young rebels; "in militarism obedience is expected, and discipline will be enforced; all recalcitrants will be punished." Already we hear of boys who have fainted through the harsh treatment they have received, and it is clear that conscription is hated by the workers, who are beginning to see there is no remedy in changing one tyrant for another.

I would like to state once more that an emigration movement now active in England is resorting to all the old dastardly tricks to induce workers to come out here. I can only say that nearly every issue of the *Melbourne Age* and *Evening Herald* contain accounts of unemployment, and even cases of absolute starvation. In spite of our Labour Ministry, English workers should understand that Australia is no paradise. W. FLEMING.

The *Socialist* (Melbourne) gives an account of the conditions of labour in the sugar refineries of Queensland, where a big strike is now raging. Some of these are worth noting in view of the inducements now being held out in favour of emigration. In all mills work goes on continuously from Monday morning till Saturday night, the men working two twelve-hour shifts—actual work, eleven hours—field work, ten hours per day. Now for wages. For unskilled workers in the mills, from 22s. 6d. per week (of sixty-six hours) to 27s. 6d. per week and found; wages in the field range about the same money payment with keep. The conditions under which men work in the mills are described as of the hardest. The mills, built of iron, get burning hot in the tropical sun. The stench is more than that pervading a meat works. The whole place stews in the steam of the boiling juice, and most of the work is done "against time." As to the "keep," as it is called, and for which 12s. a week is reckoned, it amounts to the roughest fare: cured or cask beef, often bad or stinking; fresh beef occasionally, but of the poorest quality and the worst cuts; vegetables, mostly sweet potatoes; porridge, served very seldom, is either fusty or full of grubs. It has been calculated that the food costs the masters 4s. 6d. per week. In the first year the company has made a profit of £400,000. This is what things have come to in this colonial paradise, exploiting child of a capitalist parent. Truly one might as well be bled to death in one's native land as travel twelve thousand miles to endure the same torture.

United States.

The Francisco Ferrer Association, whose headquarters are at 6 St. Mark's Place, New York City, is showing great activity and doing some excellent work. Our old comrade, H. Kelly, is organiser, and is helping to make things move in the right direction. The latest development is a *Monthly News Letter*, "containing a brief summary of important matters affecting libertarian education, the Modern School, and the Francisco Ferrer Associations." The first copy of this to hand, containing eight pages of type-written matter, is really interesting, and is well worth the while of any comrade to have and read. It can be had post-free for 3d. by writing to H. Kelly, at the above address. Besides short articles by Leonard D. Abbott, Bayard Boyesen, and Rose Pastor Stokes, there is a specially interesting, though all too brief, note on "Ferrer's Method of Teaching," by Jaime Vidal. The organiser's report shows how the movement is developing in the United States as well as in other countries; and if, as is stated in the article on "Insurgents in our Public Schools," "there is a broad background now of deep insurgency, much deeper than our so-called political insurgency, among educators and in the community generally," the Modern School ought to prove the rallying point for a revolution in educational methods.

An echo of the great strike is already being heard here, as five

thousand engineers connected with the Harriman lines have threatened to come out. If this should happen, big developments are sure to follow.

Russia.

It has not taken long for the spirit of the English strikes to influence workers on the Continent. From Russia, where signs of recovery from the terrible reaction are beginning to be seen, comes the news of a strike in St. Petersburg of 2,500 engineers, who are showing a bold front and have an excellent chance of success. Again, in Odessa the stokers and engineers of the Russian Navigation Company struck, and were immediately followed by the sailors, the result being the holding up of twenty-seven steamers of this company. Steamers of seven other small companies are also held up, and although the police used every means to stop the strike, even arresting the leaders, the strikers remain firm, and it is even expected the dockers will join. All of which is a good step towards the General Strike.

Another item of news to hand is singularly comic in its gross stupidity. It would seem the Russian authorities view with alarm the gatherings of men and women for the study of Esperanto. The consequence is that the organisation of Esperantist societies is prohibited as being a menace and a danger to the State! The lives of these official lunatics must be a perpetual nightmare of dread—except when they are levying blackmail.

PROPAGANDA NOTES.

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

GLASGOW.

The movement here is making itself felt. Our meetings are getting larger and larger, and asking and answering questions is becoming quite an institution. The sale of literature is also increasing.

The Tramway Strike fiasco caused a commotion for three days. The cause of its failure was leadership. One who, with tall hat and frock coat, dined with the Duke of Connaught was not a fit and proper person to lead a strike of workers. After palavering for sixteen months for higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions, the men with over two years' service were granted an advance of 1s. per week. This so disappointed the men that they wanted to strike at once. This was about the time of the opening of the Exhibition. But the leader put it off to a more convenient day—for the tramway management. The men with less than two years' service and some of the more rebellious ones asked themselves: "What good is the Union to us? None." So a great many left the Union, and as the days went on it was getting smaller and smaller, so that something had to be done. They bluffed about the twenty-six municipal employees' associations throughout the city, cards up their sleeves, etc.; but when the time came for action it was admitted that these branches had never been approached. So between bluff, scabs, and racial feeling, the bubble burst. Meetings:—

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

Glasgow Green, every Sunday, 7.30 p.m.

Group meeting every Tuesday, 8 p.m., at 7 Holland Street. All sympathisers invited. A. MCKAY, Secretary.

PAISLEY.—Would any comrade take in hand the arrangement of meetings in Paisley? Communicate with Secretary, Glasgow Anarchist Group, 7 Holland Street.

GOVAN.

Since May a series of meetings have been held here on the Square, and although the literature sales did not attain expectations, the audiences were fairly good and showed activity during question time. The movement has been given an impetus here by our comrades Barrett and Max, who have been the speakers. Anarchy can now be heard being discussed, and although the presentation is often rough and crude, nevertheless it shows that our efforts are having an effect. Local comrades, please rally round; the fight has only begun, and there is much to be done before we realise our ideal. Outdoor meetings every Thursday, 7.30 p.m. A. F.

LIVERPOOL.

The School had its annual picnic on August 12. We were somewhat upset over the strike of railway servants, and were compelled to go by waggonettes. Of course, we took our disappointment in a lighthearted manner, for the railway workers were fighting their battle for better conditions. The children enjoyed themselves immensely, and thanks are due to the various comrades for their donations. Thanks are also due to lively little George Kent, who kept the party alive by singing songs in a most admirable manner.

Picnic Fund—Previously acknowledged, £3 17s. 2d., F. Goulding 6d., J. C. Q. 1s. Leaflet Fund—L. P. £2, G. D. £3.

Please note that the International Club being closed temporarily, correspondents should address letters to 15 Boswell Street.

DICK JAMES.

LONDON.

WOOLWICH.—Very successful meetings have been held during the past month at Beresford Square, by our comrades Carter, Bilmer, and Ray, who have been able to hold large and enthusiastic audiences, the plain speaking being well received. Any comrades wishing to give a hand will be welcome. We meet every Sunday at 11.30.

BRIXTON.—Highly satisfactory meetings have been held at Rushcroft Road, where our comrades Tochatti and the "man from nowhere," with Ray, have been holding the fort for the principles of Freedom. Comrades are earnestly requested to turn up at the meetings every Sunday at 7.30 p.m.

SOUTHWARK.—Large meetings have been held at St. George's Circus

every Thursday evening at 8 o'clock. Comrade Ray always has a really enthusiastic audience. Literature sales increasing. W. F.

VICTORIA PARK.—On Sunday morning, August 20, a splendid meeting was held, speakers responding well to our appeal for help. Comrades Sugar and Max Seltzer held the attention of a large audience. Comrade Walsh followed with an excellent address from the workman's point of view. Things are moving in this district.

EAST HAM.—Meetings are held every Thursday night outside the Cock Hotel, High Street North, at 7.30. Speakers: Bilmer, Baily, and Hall. F. GOULDING.

Anarchist Communist Meetings in London.

Brixton—Rushcroft Road, Sundays, 7.30.
 Clerkenwell—Garnault Place, Mondays and Thursdays, 8.
 Edmonton—Silver Street, Thursdays, 8.
 Fulham—Walham Green Church, Sundays, 11.30; Tuesdays, 8.
 Hyde Park—Sundays, 7.
 Mile End Waste—Saturdays, 8.
 Regent's Park—Sundays, 11.30.
 Southwark—St. George's Circus, Thursdays, 8.
 Tottenham—West Green Corner, Sundays, 7.30.
 Victoria Park—Sundays, 11.30.
 Walthamstow—Church Hill, Wednesdays, 8.
 Woolwich—Beresford Square, Sundays, 11.30.

Speakers wishing to book up vacant dates, or willing to exchange dates, should write J. F. Tanner, 29 Beryl Road, Hammersmith, W.

Collected at Fulham for Weekly Paper, 2s. 4d.

To W. F.—Why hast thou forsaken us? "T's." Is it a case of suspended animation?

MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(August 3—August 31.)

FREEDOM Guarantee Fund.—Anon. £1.

FREEDOM Subscriptions.—L. Robertson 1s 6d, A. H. Holt 1s 6d, J. Paton 1s 6d, J. Dick 1s 6d.

Mexican Revolution Fund—S. Saroky 5s, P. Vallina 1s, Collected by Robert 6s. Leaflet Fund—D. C. Thompson 2s, G. C. 1s.

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 A. TOLEMAN, 54 Battersea Rise, S.W.
 Liverpool.—E. G. SMITH, 126 Tunnel Road (Wholesale).
 CHAS. J. GRANT AND SON, 8 and 9 Lord Street Arcade.
 STANLEY'S, 30 Lime Street.
 WM. MALCOLM, 70 Penton Street, Farnsworth Street.
 Leeds.—E. Goldberg, 14 Millwright Street.
 Manchester.—BRADY AND Co., 15 Peter Street.
 W. WARBURTON, 1 Victoria Arch, Great Ducie Street.
 Oldham.—HYDE BROTHERS, Victoria Market.
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A WEEKLY ANARCHIST PAPER.

DEAR COMRADE,

It has most likely already reached your notice that it is intended to start a weekly Anarchist paper, probably to be published in Glasgow. It is proposed to issue the first number of this paper next May. The details of its management, title, etc., will be settled at a conference to be held probably at Christmas. It will be essentially a propagandist paper.

Considerable interest has already been aroused in the scheme; and it is now most earnestly hoped that a great effort will be made by all comrades interested in Anarchist propaganda in our language to establish firmly the new weekly; while it is further hoped that this effort will result in a great extension of our movement.

There can be little doubt but that the present is a suitable time for such an effort. The absolute futility of "revolutionary" politics has been effectively demonstrated by the Labour men in Parliament; and the increasing tendency of "Socialist" leaders themselves to advocate "direct action" is a clear indication that the old trick of substituting electioneering for the revolutionary struggle is played out. Recent strikes in defence against Capitalism, and often in defiance too of the would-be leaders of the workers, make it plain that the spirit of revolt is not dead but has merely been misdirected. All these things tell us that only energy is needed to establish thoroughly a good Anarchist weekly, a valuable stimulus to the real live revolutionary movement that would spring into existence around it. If every Anarchist will become an active worker, we will transform these reactionary political squabbles into a fine onward march to liberty.

We want £250 to launch our paper successfully. This we can easily get if all comrades and sympathisers will help.

Firstly, we invite you to subscribe 10s. to be paid up before the first issue of the paper. In return you will receive the paper for the first year free of charge. You will be given the chance of obtaining it the second year for 5s. This reduces your actual out-of-pocket expense to about 2s.

Secondly, we want you to form a hardworking group in your district. Do not expect many to help at first. One or two working hard can do much. There are many things to be done. (1) Getting in subscriptions towards the £250. (2) Preparing for the distribution of the paper and the sale of FREEDOM and pamphlets and of all useful literature and journals. (3) Arrangement of lectures and interchange of lecturers. (4) Formation of literary circles, etc., for the study of Anarchist literature. (5) Organisation of socials, concerts, etc., for raising funds. (6) Participation in the annual conference. (7) Carrying on correspondence and preparing subject matter for the future weekly. It is proposed that a prominent feature of the paper should be to assist and keep in close touch with the "direct action" element of the present workers' movement. The correspondence, therefore, from local centres, giving accurate information, should be looked upon as an important part of the future work of each group.

These features are submitted as suggestions; the main point is to do *something* quickly, and experience will dictate the best developments and the exact course of action.

Thirdly, we want you, above all things, to get into touch with us. Write to the address given below, make suggestions, and tell us what you are prepared to do; and co-operate with your local comrades.

Don't forget to tell us if you will become a 10s. subscriber on the terms mentioned above. When we hold the conference, we shall need to have before us as definite an idea as possible of what assistance we can rely upon.

Books containing 60 penny coupons may be obtained from the Secretary at the address given below. Subscription lists will be printed shortly.

7 Holland Street, Glasgow.

August, 1911.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP.