

# Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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## UNEMPLOYMENT.

### A Few Practical Suggestions.

It is reported on all sides that the winter will mean terrible misery for the working classes all over the country. Aged people say that they never have seen such a want of employment at the beginning of the autumn as is seen now. Skilled workers are as badly affected as the unskilled ones. Nothing similar has been seen in this country since the terrible years of 1884 to 1886, when from one-fifth to nearly one-fourth of the Trade Unionists in the shipbuilding trade were unemployed, when nearly the same proportion of unemployment prevailed in all the leading trades, and when groups of unemployed men were walking all the day long in the streets of London and all the great cities, singing their heart-rending misery songs.

It is no use hiding our heads in the sand, as do the ostriches. The bare truth must be told.—It is a national calamity, and as a national calamity it must be faced by extraordinary measures.

Now we all know—the last fifty years' experience has proved it—that nothing will be done unless the working men of the United Kingdom show their teeth to the richer classes. Talk, talk, and again talk—and nothing else will be done unless the rich feel menaced in their fortunes and their senseless, lazy existence. Talk in the churches, talk in Parliament, talk in the drawing rooms amidst small "Society talk," talk in the Boards of Guardians, and—damnably true it is!—as much talk and no action in the Socialist and Labour meetings.

"You are idealists!" they tell us on all sides. "You talk of ideals, of principles, while force alone rules the world!" Very well, then, let it be force that rules the world; but—let the working men show that they also have force, besides their ideas; and only when they will have shown that they are ready to resort to force will they be listened to by those who are the admirers and advocates of force.

But suppose this is done, and people realise the gravity of the moment—what next? What will they propose should be done in order to come immediately to the aid of the present unemployment? For our part, we make the following suggestions:—

1. To begin with: to realise that the present want of employment is not a mere accident. That it has its deep causes in the entire present organisation of production and consumption. That it concerns, therefore, the working man who is employed at this moment (but may be thrown out to-morrow) as much as it concerns the man or woman who is at present in the ranks of the unemployed. And that it is a problem in the speedy and prompt solution of which all society is interested.

In short, *the present crisis of unemployment and misery is a fact in which all the nation is interested.* IT IS A NATIONAL CALAMITY.

2. Whatever may be found necessary to be done will require money. And the crisis is so intense that private charity is unable to cope with it. Consequently, a cumulative levy must be put upon the richer classes of the community. It must fall on all those who pay the income tax, and the rate of imposition must grow proportionately, so as to fall heaviest upon all the incomes that exceed a certain limit, and to amount to one-fourth, or more, of the extravagant incomes of the millionaires.

We say, then, that *an enforced levy be imposed upon the rich, the amount of which is to be determined by a National Convention convoked for the purpose of discussing the unemployment problem.* This money to be used for immediate relief and for the organisation of useful work needed by the community.

3. Special Conventions on unemployment ought to be convoked immediately; local Conventions first, and a National

Convention next, inviting to them *ALL interested*, and taking the necessary steps to prevent their becoming Party Congresses. Every political party in Great Britain being necessarily dependent in Parliamentary elections upon the goodwill of the middle classes, none of them is sufficiently independent of middle class influences to be able to claim that it represents the poorest classes of this country.

The calamity being a national calamity, all the nation can claim to have a voice in the decisions that may be taken.

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4. It is absolutely certain that, whatever the decisions of the Conventions may be, it will be found necessary to give a wide opening for all those who will desire to cultivate the land and to increase its productivity. And it is most probable that true representatives of the willing-to-labour portion of the British nation would also find it necessary that the culture of the land, on the principles of intensive culture, should be organised under the guidance of experienced people, for those town workers who would be willing to perform the less heavy kind of horticultural work.

For all these organisations *free access to the land will be of first necessity*, and the Conventions will surely discover that one of the causes why unemployment in this country so rapidly takes the form of a national misfortune is the *uncultivated condition* in which immense portions of the land in this country are kept, and the consequently too small amount of food that is grown on such tracts of land as are available for culture.

The return of the land from the hands of the present landlords into the hands of those who are willing to cultivate it—in other words, some sort of *Socialisation of the land*—would certainly be one of the conclusions of the National Unemployment Convention.

5. As a preliminary step towards the Socialisation of the land, the following may be recommended:—

The return to the town and village communities of all those lands which the urban and country townships have been robbed of by the so-called lords of the manor, under the protection of the abominable Acts passed by Parliament from the year 1702 down to the present time, under the name of Enclosure Acts. By these Acts more than 7,000,000 acres of common lands have been stolen from the people.

The British nation has been robbed by Parliaments of land-grabbers of a considerable portion of its property, and now is the time to restore it to its rightful owners. *All the land which passed into private property under the Enclosure Acts must be returned to the urban and village communities.*

These few proposals would already give a concrete and practical foundation for opening discussion in the Local and National Unemployment Conventions. The further development of these proposals would depend upon the amount of practical common sense and revolutionary inspiration displayed by those who will join these Conventions.

Of course, it will be asked, How are these proposals to be carried out, and what right have we Anarchists to bring forward propositions which we expect others to put into practical working?

The answer is plain. We appeal, not to the State, with its stupid and impossible machinery and its everlasting red-tape, but to the public spirit of the nation, which, if aroused into taking action, will accomplish in a week what Government could not do in a year.

As to ways and means, they can always be discovered when the people are in earnest, and such will suggest themselves when the first steps are taken in organising relief.

Let it be remembered that the country is in a state of siege: it is besieged by a great crisis of unemployment, which is threatening destruction to hundreds and thousands of our population. We do not speak of a revolution, though a revolutionary spirit is required in dealing with this national crisis. Nor are we for the moment concerned with the theories of

Anarchist Communism. We simply suggest means that would be recognised as just and necessary in the case of a beleaguered city—the mutual sharing of the burden of the fight.

Let the workers, and especially their "leaders," insist that the rich shall bear their share in alleviating the overwhelming starvation and distress that have overtaken the innocent producers of the wealth they enjoy. It is nothing less than human that this should be done, and it must be done by the direct action of the workers.

## SCIENSOCRACY: A NEW SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY.

By C. H. SPENCER.

(Continued from last month.)

An illustration of this interplay is now taking place in Russia. It is a superstition in this country that the Constitution was the work of the people, and that they have the power to change it. This is an error of the most malignant type. The people have no more right in England to alter the Constitution than they have in Russia. The Government exists now as it existed in the olden times, and for the same reason. It is, therefore, not the instrument by which a nation can be restored to freedom or prosperity. It is the instrument by which they are kept in their misery. The futility, therefore, of attempting to reform the nation by Act of Parliament, is manifest. Just as one would not think of writing with a pickaxe, so we need not attempt to use the Government to give freedom to the people. It exists to enable one class to live upon the other, the class that toil not, upon the class that work. The modern name for this method is "exploitation." All laws made in the Lords or Commons are regulations of the method by which exploitation shall be allowed. So it follows that the entire people, from prince to peasant, are inspired with the ideal of getting rich by the acquisition of money. The common people aspire to get into society, so they strive to get on the backs of the others, to increase the burden at the base. This escaping from toil is sanctioned by Government; nay, it is the action of Government that renders it possible. It is to this cause, therefore, that we must look if we are to find the "social sin made manifest," for every idler lounging about creation contributes to the national quagmire.

It would be useless for us to make these charges if we had no method of improving matters.

Looking round us, we see that it was mechanical science that brought about the Industrial Revolution. The sciences of engineering and locomotion gave us our railways and shipping. The science of electricity, our telegraphs, telephones, and Marconigraphs. To biology we owe our theory of evolution and the transformation of our concepts of the cosmic order. As science entered the various fields of human activity, the old order immediately began to change, giving place to the new. Evolution in the various departments received a tremendous impetus; a period of acceleration was entered upon, which quickened as the sciences grew: the stage coach gave way before the coming of the railway and motor-car; the schooner was superseded by the ocean greyhound. It has been the same in all directions, the old order being superseded by the new.

It is to science, then, that we must look for a similar acceleration of social evolution in the economic relationship of men. Hitherto there has been no climaxial science to marshal the forces of mankind for its own supreme benefit. Sciensocracy will be that science. It will be the super-science wherein all lesser ones meet, centralise, and radiate, showing how all the world's wealth may be administered for the world's highest welfare, directing the operation, arranging, correcting, supervising the various fields of science, that the benefits arising from them may be administered by scientific methods for the whole of humanity.

The Governments of the world are not scientific; they are anything but this; they stand to civilisation as the stage coach stands to railways; as the schooner to the modern "Cunarder."

As the stage coach has been superseded by railways; as the schooner has been replaced by the steamship, so the institution of Government must be superseded by a scientific institution that shall be as much more excellent as the railways are to the stage coach.

Sciensocracy will demonstrate that society is an organism, answering in every way to the lesser organism, the social unit, man. It has a life of its own. It is subject to infancy, youth, and age, disease, sickness, and death. It has its paroxysms of pain, its ecstasies of joy. That the life of the social unit, man,

is bound up in the vaster life of the social body, just as the cells of the blood are bound up in, and depend on, the life of the human body.

The health of the unit, therefore, is necessary for the well-being of the whole. If one tenth of the cells of the human body were in a state of corruption, the entire body would be in a fair way to decompose. A tenth of the social body impoverished by want of nourishment, another tenth vitiated by stimulants and over indulgence, must therefore, exercise a similar effect upon the social organism, and the nation be in danger of dissolution.

We discover, then, as a result of our inquiry, that the health of the social body depends upon the health of its units. Here we find a first principle of Sciensocracy, a principle that may be used by the brain of the nation when it is organised, as it will be, to carry into effect the laws of health and wealth. Here we see a distinct branch of social science with a distinct and definite principle.

The next fundamental principle is the foundation of all equity, justice, and morality. It is that of "Bread-Labour." We have said that the ideal of the nations under Governments was to escape labour; that, then, was the national sin. It is plain to the most superficial that if a man does not earn his bread, some other must do it for him. It will not matter much by what sophistry he covers his conduct, the fact will remain. No man can escape labour without making others labour for him; to whatever extent he does this, he is enslaving some other; to enslave another means to commit against that other an injustice; an unjust man cannot be a moral man; therefore any one who escapes labour is leading an immoral life. It is of little concern what men say, it is what they do, that is important. No religion, no sophistry, can conceal their immorality. To be just, they must participate in the production of those things of which they enjoy the fruit. They must contribute to the nation's wealth. This is our second principle.

Here we shall be ungrateful if we do not pause for one moment to pay homage to Timothy Bondaref, who has laid bare the principle that should underlie any true system of morality or religion.

Tolstoy says: "All discoveries of truth, whether in science, philosophy, morality, or economics, are reached by people going round the new truths in ever narrowing circles until some bold, free, and gifted man seizes the very centre of the new truth, and places it on a height where it is visible to all." This is what Bondaref has done for morality. Many men, in many ages, have gone around this truth; some have recommended the benefit of labour for exercise, others as an example to the common people, some have advocated it as essential to industry; some, as more sensible than play; but all, with certain reservations or conditions. Even Ruskin, who came so near saying almost what Bondaref has said, has not given it the emphasis of certainty that Bondaref did. He said ("Fors Clavigera," Letter 97, quoted by Tolstoy): "It is physically impossible that true knowledge or pure morality should exist among any classes of a nation who do not work with their hands for their bread." But Bondaref has stated that "Bread-Labour is the fundamental religious Law of Life," the infringement of which involves inevitable ills and sufferings; the observance of it is demanded of us by the universe and its laws. He says that every man should consider the duty of physical labour as his first, chief, and indubitably sacred obligation. For it is evident on the very face that if a man does not produce his own food, it must be done for him. We cannot all grow corn!—No, but we can perform an equivalent.

The economist has terribly confused the issue by distinguishing physical from brain labour. This is a false distinction, having no real existence; labour is of one kind only, having, like most things, a dual aspect; physical labour directed by brain; they cannot be separated, even in the most ridiculous examples. Thinking is not work, nor is work thinking. The navy works; primitive as is his work, it is useless-undirected by brain.

Carlyle said the greatest events of life are the births of thinkers; still, no matter how great a thinker may be, his thought is useless without the industry of labour that moulds his thought into concrete form, to body it forth and give it to the world by book or voice. Brain labour has been made an apology for getting on the back of the people, a thing that can only be done under subjection by means of the civil law that makes it possible for one section of the community to exploit the other, for in primitive society few escape the duty of finding their daily food.

The object of science is to discover truth and apply it. Here we find Bondaref giving us the principle that should

underlie all social science. A society ruled by science could do no otherwise than adopt this fundamental principle for the organising of its units.

But whilst bread-labour must be recognised as the moral law of life, it will be necessary in a well directed community to have a guiding principle in the relation of the units to each other. The keynote of Socialism in this respect is equality. The idea of equality is inseparable from subjection; under a Sciensocratic state there could be no such question.

Having considered two principles, we may go on to state the third, which is Freedom of Individuality. Sciensocrats are Individualist, at the same time they are Collectivist. In the human body every cell has an individual life of its own, but it acts in its social capacity collectively; so in the social body the units must be free to work out their own destiny in their own way, at their own time; but in all things that concern the social organism they will act collectively.

No people can either be happy or prosperous who are not free. Freedom is essential to the growth of character and the development of genius. Therefore, instead of making laws to curtail the free action of men, Sciensocrats would unmake laws to extend their liberty, until the time came when artificial law would be unnecessary.

As we found that Government existed to keep men subjected, so we find that the laws of Governments are made in furtherance of the same purpose: all artificial law is regulation of the manner in which the classes on the top are to exploit the classes beneath.

Here, then, we find the third great principle upon which we shall build the nations of the future.

We now find three fundamental principles which by steady, discreet application to life will be capable of giving the impetus to social science that is so needed:—(1) Health of social unit; (2) Bread-labour; (3) Freedom of individuality.

(To be concluded.)

## DOWN WITH WAR!

The Franco-British Exhibition, that great fair of the Entente, is passing away. A capital display of the human power, some will say, and they will feel proud on remembering the marvellous inventive fecundity of the human brain. As to ourselves, we all know what sufferings, what misery, what awful slavery lie behind the bright and glittering heap of products exhibited. We have all seen what disgusting spectacles of vice and immorality such masquerades have ever offered us. We all agree that such an apotheosis of the activity of the race should exist only between free citizens, all ready and happy to contribute their share of genius and beauty to the common welfare. Of course, the Exhibition has been just the opposite of this. It has been turned to the benefit only of our masters, and once more the immense herd of producers has been forgotten.

Of course, in your English papers, as well as here in our French ones, we have all read that a good result of such initiative has been to seal definitely the Entente between the two sister nations. No doubt a number of "Sirs" and "gentlemen" feel now most satisfied with such a good result. They imagine it is a serious guarantee that peace will endure in Europe; that both England and France will march fraternally along the high road of progress. That by this mutual agreement their strength and security, their happiness and prosperity will increase more and more; and that each one of the two races will learn from the other many good lessons for its own profit. But we all know how frail, how precarious, peace has always been when not consolidated by the firm will of the people, when that will has not been loudly and energetically expressed in the ears of our rulers. Surely at present words of peace are in the mouth of every statesman in Europe, and it seems as if pacifist ideas were scattered all around in the diplomatic atmosphere. When the horrible underground drama of Courrières occurred in France, Kaiser Wilhelm said to some German workers, "You have been to the rescue of your French brothers." To-day, amidst a bombastic military parade, the same Kaiser has just sung a hymn to the God of Peace. And our Clemenceau and our Pichon, while casting angry looks towards the Rhine, do not miss any opportunity to affirm that they are as harmless and inoffensive as lambs.

Yet we have no confidence at all in these gentlemen, for we all know that capitalism hides itself behind them; that new guns, new shrapnels, new 'Dreadnoughts,' and new airships are now prepared for the State's sake and glory; and that all these

mischievous playthings are not made only to be shown in the exhibitions.

If our masters of the hour were really as pacific as they pretend, they would be glad to see men advising soldiers to refuse to serve in time of war; but we know by experience how angry they are at the rapid growth of the antimilitarist spirit among the workers. Here, in France, Clemenceau goes on prosecuting ferociously those who advocate it; and Hervé remains in gaol for the crime of having raised his voice against the robberies and rascalities committed in Morocco. In reality, the attitude of our Governments and diplomatists is a perpetual menace to our quietude, and we are not at all sure that, going to sleep at night, we may not awake the next morning amidst the beat of the drums and the flourish of the trumpets.

Recently a delegation of English workers visited Germany and presented to their brothers a pacific address signed by Trade Unionists. Assuredly, this may prove of some use to both our German and English comrades, but we want more than that. We want both the English and German comrades to remember that it is of primary interest for them, not only to communicate with each other as often as possible, to exchange children and write friendly messages over the frontiers, but also, and above all, to protest loudly against any warlike feelings, demonstrations, or inventions by the men who rule us; to help one another in the pulling down of the odious, mediaeval, bloodthirsty militarist idol; to give one another fraternal assistance in all the great conflicts between Labour and Capital.

Our Clemenceau would never think of fighting if both the the English and German workers would seize these opportunities and raise their voices against war in chorus with our French Confederation of Workers.

ARISTIDE PRATELLE.

## LOVE'S PATRIOT.

I saw a lad, a beautiful lad,  
With a far-off look in his eye,  
Who smiled not on the battle-flag  
When the cavalry troop marched by.  
And sorely vexed, I asked the lad  
Where might his country be,  
Who cared not for our country's flag  
And the braye from oversea?  
Oh, my country is the Land of Love,  
Thus did the lad reply;  
"My country is the Land of Love,  
And a patriot there am I."  
"And who is your king, my patriot boy,  
Whom loyally you obey?"  
"My king is Freedom," quoth the lad,  
"And he never says me nay."  
"Then you do as you like in your Land of Love,  
Where every man is free?"  
"Nay, we do as we love," replied the lad,  
And his smile fell full on me.

ERNEST CROSBY.

## An Appeal for "Freedom."

The difficulty of printing *Freedom* in these times of depression compels us to ask all friends and sympathisers to render what financial assistance they can to enable us to appear regularly.

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## NOTES.

### The Unemployed.

Our readers will not be surprised to find so much of our space in the present issue devoted to the question of the unemployed. The suggestions made in our special article we trust will have fair consideration from all who are sincerely anxious to grapple with this terrible problem. We all feel how much can and must be done; we all know how little will be done by those in power. That is why we Anarchists ignore all appeals to Government, Borough Councils, and the like. At the present moment in England there are plenty of men, and women also, who would willingly give voluntary help to the starving multitudes if ways and means were once opened to them. Elected bodies may do something if the unemployed continue to show their persistent fighting spirit. But the hunger-stricken families cannot wait for the miserable doles that will be offered them some months hence. That is why a call for immediate and direct action by the people themselves is a thing of the first necessity. We hope it may meet with a response that will make the rich understand once for all that they must help.

### Robbers of the Land.

In spite of what has been said and written about the "enclosure" of common land, it is pretty certain the people as a whole have but the faintest idea of the wholesale robbery (with violence) that the landlord robbers are guilty of. In the *Geographical Journal* (January, 1907) Dr. Gilbert Slater, writing on this subject, gave figures and printed maps that should be utilised by the lecturers who are travelling with the "vans" in London and the provinces. We regret we have only space to quote figures giving the percentages of the total area of each county enclosed "by Act of Parliament":—

Northampton	51.5	Herts	13.1
Huntingdon	46.5	Yorks (West Riding)	11.6
Rutland	46.5	Dorset	8.7
Bedford	46.0	Suffolk	7.5
Oxford	45.6	Surrey	6.4
Yorks (East Riding)	40.1	Yorks (North Riding)	6.3
Leicester	38.2	Hereford	3.6
Cambridge	36.3	Somerset	3.5
Bucks	34.2	Stafford	2.8
Notts	32.5	Essex	2.2
Norfolk	32.3	Sussex	1.9
Lincoln	29.3	Northumberland	1.7
Berkshire	26.0	Cumberland	1.7
Warwick	25.0	Durham	0.7
Wiltshire	24.1	Westmoreland	0.6
Gloucester	22.5	Cheshire	0.5
Middlesex	19.7	Monmouth	0.4
Worcester	16.5	Shropshire	0.3
Derby	15.9		

A nice little lesson in the art of robbery! And the robbers are protected by the forces of "law and order." And the unemployed are batoned for asking for work!

### Newcastle.

The doings of the political parties in Newcastle have this amount of interest for we Anarchists—they prove that we are absolutely in the right when we say that Socialism will never be gained by political methods. The quarrels and disputes that are constantly arising between the various parties—the Labour Party, the S.D.P. and certain sections of the I.L.P.—all go to

prove that even if any great principle was involved in political action, the possibility of carrying it to any practical issue is out of the question so far as Socialism is concerned. Every one can see that Socialism is the last thing in the world to stand any chance when all the trickery and opportunism of electoral tactics come to the front. And it is not only in England that we see the lust for power killing the ideal. Germany has just given us another instance of it; and the same lesson can be learned from France and Italy. And what are the consequences? Why, simply this: that political action by Social Democrats has driven true Socialism further from us than it was from the revolutionists of '48.

### A Safe Five per Cent.

What a wonderful thing this Christianity is! It not only comes up smiling after every knock-down blow given it by scientific research, but even declares that the great truths discovered by science were clearly foreshadowed in its sacred writings. More than that, it has now been demonstrated beyond all doubt that to be a true Socialist you must be a Christian! But it is in the domain of commerce that it executes some of the queerest "right-about-face" movements ever seen outside an acrobatic display. We all have some knowledge of the Salvation Army and the gospel it preaches to the submerged tenth. Most of us are acquainted with the benign face of General Booth, and are aware how this saintly man harmonises the Christian faith with the sweating system in the East End. But one of the happiest thoughts in this direction was surely the formation of a "Christian Trading Company for New Guinea." Under the title of "The Papuan Industries, Limited," a company of Christian capitalists has started an enterprise that bids fair to ensure five per cent. to the shareholders, and to prove an undisguised blessing to the poor Papuans. Mr. George Cadbury and Mr. W. H. Lever are in it, and we can rest assured that, mingled with the process of extracting the five per cent. will be found the most touching sentiments of Christian fortitude and resignation.

## THE INDUSTRIAL CRISIS AND THE JINGOES.

The reason for the present industrial crisis every Anarchist and true Socialist knows, and it can be told in few words. It is a fact that in present society the production of all sorts of things is not regulated by the needs of those for whom all these goods are produced; it is not regulated at all; but each individual employer of labour is guided only by his own and his friends' guessings as to what promises to be for the next few years an advantageous speculation.

Why speculation grows more wild at certain times than at others depends upon various causes which we shall not discuss here. But we must indicate one special cause which has been at work for the last few years, and this was the development of the Jingo spirit and the rumours of war which were continually afloat, and had their real foundation in the warlike dispositions of the American and English Jingo of the MacKinley, Roosevelt, and Chamberlain school.

"War is coming between the United States and Japan," the American Jingo said; "let us in the meantime lay in large stores of steel, copper, zinc, cottons, cloth, leather—all that will be devoured in no time by the war, and all that will be paid for at any price by the State—and we shall make colossal fortunes!"

"War is going on between Russia and Japan; you will see what demands of iron, steel, zinc, machinery, ships, ironclads, torpedoes, and of all sorts of 'weapons of civilisation' there will be after the war is over, when their navies and their guns will have been put out of service." And so it would have been in reality, if Japan had not been so utterly ruined by the war and the London money-lenders, and if a revolution had not broken out in Russia.

"Let us only stir up a war with Germany, under the pretext of destroying her navy and putting an end to her colonial expansion. Let us only stir up the French to attack Germany, and you will see what colossal fortunes we shall make—as we did make after the Franco-German War of 1871! There are good times in view for us!" And these "patriots" stirred up the Lansdownes and the Clemenceaux, and war was about to break out—twice—and the cunning ones were heaping up iron and steel in their storehouses, and buying all accessories for steel production; they were spinning and weaving at full speed, tanning and buying hides,—all of them in their clubs talking among themselves, with gleaming eyes, of the fortunes that had been made at Manchester and Birmingham in 1872, and

lately were made again during that dance of the millions which the Boer War had produced, and which the next war will produce on a still greater scale.

And now the markets are glutted with goods which find no buyers, and the Jingoës, who have called down upon us the calamity of unemployment, know nothing better to propose than dear food and new wars!

Conservative or Liberal, all these manufacturers, who are always on the look out for some speculation which would open to them the big State purse, *ought to be made responsible for the present unemployment; every one of them individually.* They have profited by these war rumours; let them now give back to the nation these profits, and bear their share of responsibility—aye, and a heavy share, too—in the calamity which besets the nation.

## THE UNEMPLOYED AGITATION.

### Leeds.

Leeds has not escaped the industrial crisis and trade depression which have embraced all the industrial centres of England, and the Leeds workers at present suffer from starvation caused by unemployment, with very gloomy prospects for the coming winter. It is estimated by the press that about 15,000 people are at present out of work in Leeds. But it seems that most of them are determined rather to die on the barricades fighting for their right to live, than to die in quietness by the slow process of hunger, as the case has been with the poor unemployed hitherto.

Our comrades being the first to recognise that something definite must be done in order to relieve these starving multitudes from their miserable position at once, took up propaganda work among these poor people, the result of which is the formation of "The Leeds Non-Political Permanent Committee on Unemployment," whose chief aims are to organise the unemployed on the basis of direct action throughout the British Isles, not to allow any political party to exploit the movement, and to organise the employed and the unemployed workers into one body of men demanding their full share of their products. To make a house-to-house canvass in order to find out the exact number of unemployed and all the cases of dire distress, so as to show the people what misery prevails in the midst of wealth and civilisation. And to continue our efforts until every worker in England will be assured of work that will give him food and a decent home. To this end, the Committee (consisting of over 350 members) desires to co-operate with all other Committees in England working with a like object, and earnestly asks secretaries of same to write to the Secretary at the Committee room, 14 St. James Street, Leeds.

I may say that our agitation has become popular, and public sympathy has been so roused that our open-air meetings held twice a day in Victoria Square have crowds counted in thousands. The first thing the above Committee did was to address a letter to the Lord Mayor, pointing out the terrible state of affairs in Leeds, and asking for something definite to be done immediately, and concluding thus: "The unemployed are in no state of mind to listen to specious platitudes; deeds and not words are what they now want." The reply, as expected, was full of promises, which could not be satisfactory to hungry people. So on September 17 a crowd 5,000 strong gathered in Victoria Square and demanded that the 200 hungry people who it was known had not had any food that day, in spite of its being at the late hour of 9 p.m., should be fed. The crowd demanded that these men must get food that night, and at 10.30 the Lord Mayor was brought to town by the wish of the crowd, who sent a deputation to the Town Hall to telephone for him. The deputation waited on him and laid their claim before him, stating that if the hungry people did not get food that night, in a peaceful manner, they would have to get it by force. And so they would have done had not the Lord Mayor acted as advised by comrade Alfred Kitson (who was one of the deputation) and given some money so that food might be procured at once. The Lord Mayor gave £5; the Chief Constable and others also contributed, and a collection in the crowd followed, which together realised a sum of over £7. The unemployed then marched to the headquarters at St. James Street, where the whole of the money collected was spent in food at midnight.

This direct action on the part of comrade Kitson (who is the organiser of the unemployed), backed up by the thousands of unemployed workers, has once for all taught us the lesson that it is only by direct methods that the workers can achieve their aims in all their demands; and encouraged by the first step on the 17th, and organised in their thousands, the unemployed in Leeds now stand on the basis of direct action. Unless something is done immediately by the authorities to relieve the sufferings of the poor, the public of Leeds will witness something they have never seen before, and which will shake all those at present in power.

The next move was a great demonstration on September 24; when it was estimated that 20,000 people joined in making their voice heard. And the first thing to do in showing the power of the workers will be an organised No Rent crusade. Every worker in Leeds who would help solve the unemployed problem should aid the unemployed to gain their ends by refusing to pay rent to the landlords. So you see the workers have at last realised their position. Let us now hope they

will soon realise their power, and that other towns will soon follow the example of Leeds.

E. F.

P.S.—Will Unemployed Committees please communicate with us in order to exchange views?

### Manchester.

The authorities and other parasites have had brought home to them in unmistakable fashion the, to them, startling fact that the unemployed are still with us, and are deserving fellows, "some of them, don't y' know," to quote their favourite parson. We in Manchester had taken no active part in their agitation, not wishing to further split them up, leaving that to the political humbugs, who accomplish the same easily. However, Despres being called on to speak to them a week or two ago, gave it them straight from the shoulder, and got on the nerves of a would-be leader, a young man "who can't be happy," who imagines himself a martyr, helped thereto by the sheep in the crowd who applaud sentiment. Kean coming along and finding a dearth of speakers, also gave them the *only* remedy, earning from the press, venal here as else, the title of a "back-to-the-land" enthusiast, and being systematically boycotted otherwise. Though working hard in the cause, speaking three or four times every day in a Golgotha of meeting-places, a police yard, and working a considerable section into trying to think a little for themselves, he found his efforts rendered null and void by low-down tricks of political humbugs, deliberate misrepresentation, and a pandering to local prejudice.

After Kean had been unanimously chosen by the unemployed in this yard to speak the thought nearest to their minds at a town's meeting *re* a proper solution of the problem—namely, for the bosses to get off their backs—he was suddenly squeezed out by sheer weight of numbers, political quacks all of them, who candidly state the agitation will have a distinct effect on forthcoming elections. Not to be discouraged by mean tricks, he attended the town's meeting and pluckily rose to denounce place-seekers, office-hunters, and the whole gang of smug respectables on the platform alongside the Lord Mayor (who is chained, for fear he should break loose, I expect), when an old opponent, Birkacre by name, yelled out, "He's not a Manchester man, and I object to him having a say." This being put to the meeting, packed with cuffed, collared, and starched imitations of men, who hate the truth, our comrade found his carefully prepared denunciations brought to naught by prejudice pure and simple, steered by I.L.P. and S.D.P. humbugs on the platform, who are playing the same old game as of yore, shouting "Vote, vote, vote!" instead of "Revolt, revolt, revolt!"

C.

## CHARLES KEAN'S VISIT TO LIVERPOOL.

The Liverpool Group has again enjoyed a visit from one of the stalwarts in the personality of Charles Kean. The Sunday prior to the visit Kavanagh returned from Manchester with a glowing account of Kean's work on behalf of the unemployed there. The sale of FREEDOM and pamphlets had been phenomenal, this surely being a true index of successful meetings.

On Sunday, September 27, we held three meetings, morning and evening being devoted to Anarchism and Direct Action, and the afternoon to the question of unemployment. For the unemployed meeting one of our comrades had rigged up a huge banner with the device, "No sympathy, doles, or charity, but justice!" After several comrades belonging to the S.D.P. had spoken on the necessity of using the ballot-box properly as a solution of the problem, Kean got up and gave a graphic description of the political Socialists' tactics *re* the Manchester unemployed; how by their action they had deliberately compromised with the city dignitaries, in view of the forthcoming elections, and ignored the real issues at stake.

What the unemployed want, said Kean, is the right to life and leisure, not the right to work; and this can only be achieved by demanding free access to the land. Given that, the agricultural element of the town life would gravitate towards the country again, thus decimating the town population and creating a demand for labour from the employers, instead of, as at present, the demand for labour coming from the workers. Once get hold of the land, not only will the unemployed problem be solved, but the workers will have possession of the most valuable asset in their struggle for economic freedom. "Do not delude yourselves by thinking the Government will ever give you the land; you will get it only by taking it yourselves. If, say, the unemployed of Manchester made up its mind to take this decisive step, every other town and city would be encouraged to follow the example, and consequently there would be a general rising."

His address on Anarchism and Direct Action was different to what we have been treated to. He analyses the basis of Government and shows its antagonism to the struggles of the people for economic freedom—for the full expression of their activities. How it bolsters up every institution to perpetuate its own existence, and he points out that so long as Governments exist, the subjection of the people is inevitable.

In dealing with Direct Action, Kean takes an unusual course. Hitherto we have laid particular emphasis on the need for a class-conscious Industrial Union embracing every phase of industrial activity—such as the I.U.D.A.—as a means to emancipate Labour; but Kean considers organisation secondary in importance. The first thing essential

is to point out to the individual that he himself is directly responsible for the existence of government and all the prevailing social evils. By pandering to his brute passions, he is helping to swell the revenues that support the State, and thereby perpetuating his own slavery. By mixing with the crowd that lines the street on the occasion of State or civic processions, he pays homage to the gaudy show of pomp and power that hides behind it the Juggernaut of Despotism. By ceasing to participate in these things, he is helping to break the spell of hypnotism that centuries of custom have woven into the national life and thought, resulting not only in the prostitution of our industrial life to a useless class, but in the perversion of the intellectual and moral activities of mankind.

To get a right understanding of man's destiny, of his relation to the world, of what is highest and base, of what is useful and useless, of a code of life that stands the test of universal application,—this must be the aim of every man, the necessary prelude to Direct Action, individual or collective. In other words, he who would be free must first break his own fetters, and he will then be ready to break the fetters that bind the people.

We had good collections and sold all our literature, so Charles Kean's visit will be remembered with the other successful visits we are favoured with from time to time.

BEAVAN.

## THE NATURE OF THE STATE.

In this heroic age, given to war and conquest and violence, the precepts of peace and good will seem to have been almost submerged. The pulpit, the press, and the school unite in teaching patriotism and in proclaiming the glory and beneficence of war; and one may search literature almost in vain for one note of that "Peace on earth, and good will toward men" in which the world still professes to believe; and yet these benign precepts are supposed to be the basis of all the civilisation of the Western world.

The doctrine of non-resistance if ever referred to is treated with derision and scorn. At its best the doctrine can only be held by dreamers and theorists, and can have no place in daily life. Every government on earth furnishes proof that there is nothing practical or vital in its teachings. Every government on earth is the personification of violence and force, and yet the doctrine of non-resistance is as old as human thought—even more than this, the instinct is as old as life upon the earth.

The doctrine of non-resistance to evil does not rest upon the words of Christ alone. Buddha, Confucius, Plato, Socrates, show the evil and destruction of war, of conquest, of violence, and of hatred, and have taught the beneficence of peace, of forgiveness, of non-resistance to evil. But modern thought is not content to rest the conduct of life upon the theories of moralists. The rules of life that govern men and states must to-day be in keeping with science and conform to the highest reason and judgment of man. It is here that non-resistance seems to have failed to make any practical progress in the world. That men should "turn the other cheek," should "love their enemies," should "resist not evil," has ever seemed fine to teach to children, to preach on Sundays, to round a period in a senseless oratorical flight; but it has been taken for granted that these sentiments cannot furnish the real foundation for strong characters or great states.

It is idle to discuss "non-resistance" in its effect upon the world without adopting some standard of excellence by which to judge results. Here, as elsewhere in human conduct, after all is said and done, men must come back to the fundamental principle that the conduct which makes for life is wise and right. Nature in her tireless labour has ever been developing a higher order and a completer life. Sometimes for long periods it seems as if the world were on the backward course, but even this would prove that life really is the highest end to be attained. Whatever tends to happiness tends to life,—joy is life, and misery is death.

In his long and toilsome pilgrimage, man has come to his present estate through endless struggle, through brutal violence administered and received. And the question of the correctness of non-resistance as a theory, like any other theory, does not depend upon whether it can be enforced and lived now or to-morrow, but whether it is the highest ideal of life that is given us to conceive. In one sense nothing is practical excepting what is; everything must have been developed out of all the conditions of life that now exist or have existed on the earth. But to state this means little in the settlement of ethical questions, for man's future condition depends quite as much upon his mental attitude as upon any other fact that shapes his course.

Everywhere it seems to have been taken for granted that

force and violence are necessary to man's welfare upon the earth. Endless volumes have been written, and countless lives been sacrificed, in an effort to prove that one form of government is better than another; but few seem seriously to have considered the proposition that all government rests on violence and force, is sustained by soldiers, policemen and courts, and is contrary to the ideal peace and order which make for the happiness and progress of the human race. Now and then it is even admitted that in the far distant ages yet to come men may so far develop toward the angelic that political governments will have no need to be. This admission, like the common concept, presumes that governments are good; that their duties undertaken and performed consist in repressing the evil and the lawless, and protecting and caring for the helpless and the weak.

If the history of the state proved that governing bodies were ever formed for this purpose or filled this function, there might be some basis for the assumption that government is necessary to preserve order and to defend the weak. But the origin and evolution of the political state show quite another thing—it shows that the state was born in aggression, and that in all the various stages through which it has passed its essential characteristics have been preserved.

The beginnings of the state can be traced back to the early history of the human race when the strongest savage seized the largest club and with this weapon enforced his rule upon the other members of the tribe. By means of strength and cunning he became the chief and exercised this power, not to protect the weak but to take the good things of the earth for himself and his. One man by his unaided strength could not long keep the tribe in subjection to his will, so he chose lieutenants and aids, and these too were taken for their strength and prowess, and were given a goodly portion of the fruits of power for the loyalty and help they lent their chief. No plans for the general good ever formed a portion of the scheme of government evolved by these barbarous chiefs. The great mass were slaves, and their lives and liberty held at the absolute disposal of the strong.

Ages of evolution have only modified the rigours of the first rude states. The divine right to rule, the absolute character of official power, is practically the same to-day in most of the nations of the world as with the early chiefs who executed their mandates with a club. The ancient knight who, with battle-axe and coat of mail, enforced his rule upon the weak, was only the forerunner of the tax-gatherer and tax-devourer of to-day. Even in democratic countries, where the people are supposed to choose their rulers, the nature of government is the same. Growing from the old ideas of absolute power, these democracies have assumed that some sort of government was indispensable to the mass, and no sooner had they thrown off one form of bondage than another yoke was placed upon their necks, only to prove in time that this new burden was no less galling than the old. Neither do the people govern in democracies more than in any other lands. They do not even choose their rulers. These rulers choose themselves, and by force and cunning and intrigue arrive at the same results that their primitive ancestor reached with the aid of a club.

And who are these rulers without whose aid the evil and corrupt would destroy and subvert the defenceless and the weak? From the earliest time these self-appointed rulers have been conspicuous for all those vices that they so persistently charge to the common people, whose rapacity, cruelty and lawlessness they so bravely curb. The history of the past and present alike proves beyond a doubt that if there is, or ever was, any large class from whom society needed to be saved, it is those same rulers who have been placed in absolute charge of the lives and destinies of their fellow men. From the early kings who, with blood-red hands, forbade their subjects to kill their fellow men, to the modern legislator, who, with the bribe money in his pocket, still makes bribery a crime, these rulers have ever made laws not to govern themselves but to enforce obedience on their serfs.

The purpose of this autocratic power has ever been the same. In the early tribe the chief took the land and the fruits of the earth, and parceled them amongst his retainers who helped preserve his strength. Every government since then has used its power to divide the earth amongst the favoured few and by force and violence to keep the toiling, patient, suffering millions from any portion of the common bounties of the world.

In many of the nations of the earth the real governing power has stood behind the throne, has suffered its creatures and its puppets to be the nominal rulers of nations and states; but in every case the real rulers are the strong, and the state is used by them to perpetuate their power and serve their avarice and greed.—CLARENCE S. DARROW.

**LIFE.**

*According to the Gospel of Pay, Pay, Pay!*

The King says: Pay me and I will reign.  
 The President: It's a case of "pay" again.  
 The Politician: Pay's my motive in the main.  
 The Landlord: Pay rent, I own the land.  
 The Capitalist: Profit is the "pay" that I command.  
 The Usurer: Pay cent. per cent., that's all I understand.  
 The Doctor: Pay me to keep you well.  
 The Teacher: Pay me for all I tell.  
 The Priest: Pay me—or go to hell.  
 The Judge: Pay that laws shall be obeyed.  
 The Gaoler: Pay to have your victim flayed.  
 The Executioner: Pay me; hanging's a lawful trade.  
 The Lawyer: Pay well and I will lie,  
 The Detective: Pay me, and I will spy.  
 The Soldier: Pay me to fight—and die.

'Tis the chorus of the world through civilisation's span;  
 "Pay, pay, pay!"—and corrupt the heart of man!

A. M.

**YOUNG SOCIALIST CONGRESS AT STOCKHOLM.**

[A free translation of extracts from a report of the Congress held by the Young Socialist League at Stockholm, Sweden, in August, 1908.]

**NON-PARLIAMENTARY ACTION.**

A very interesting and thorough debate on this subject took place at the Congress. The debate dealt not so much with Parliamentary action itself, as with practical propaganda. The resolutions put before the Congress made the following proposals:—

Socialism aims at abolishing the system of private ownership and substituting in its place a society founded on common ownership.

Parliamentary action, looked at in the most favourable light, leads only to an improvement of the existing oppressive order, and in consequence only to an amelioration of the injustices of modern society, but not to the abolition of the capitalist system.

From experience we know that a Workers' Party which occupies itself with Parliamentary action loses its position as a revolutionary organisation and places itself on the same level as the middle-class reform party.

Through Parliamentary action, the workers are taught to imagine that voting is the main thing, and that real Socialistic agitation is of secondary consideration. Furthermore, the masses remain ignorant and apathetic as far as the true principles of Socialism are concerned, and are cradled in the idea that it is sufficient for them to pay taxes and to vote for Social Democratic candidates at Parliamentary and local elections.

As the Social Democratic press advocates legal means and submission to laws—which this press must advocate since it recommends the enactment of laws—the results are that the workers, who recognise Parliamentary tactics become the most submissive and loyal citizens. And yet in order to struggle for Socialism they must be thinking individuals, with initiative of their own, hating and resisting authority and all middle-class conceptions.

As the Congress is of the opinion that Parliamentary action does not lead to the goal for which they are striving—i.e., the Socialist Society—it expresses itself as follows:—

It will serve no useful purpose for the workers to acquire political power, since this power will always remain in the hands of those who for the time being possess the communal wealth by holding the reins of office; but it is for the workers to obtain control of the economic forces, and as a means to this end the most effective weapons are the Social General Strike and the application of true Co-operative principles.

In consequence thereof, the Congress recommends the members of the League to show enthusiasm and energy in the work of the Co-operative and Trade Union movements. Further, to educate the members of Trade Unions up to the ideal that their organisations are the really effective ones in the struggle against the capitalist society, and are destined to be the productive associations of the future. It is furthermore essential to agitate for a Social General Strike, and to consider generally those tendencies which will compel the workers to adopt new Trade Union tactics.

What is now needed in particular is a strong agitation against the attempt to centralise the Trade Unions, and to defeat any such attempt in its first stages. The tendencies of centralisation are to rob the members of the right to decide for themselves, and to concentrate the power in the hands of a few persons, who too often forget that they themselves once were working men, and out of political or other considerations not infrequently make agreements with the employers to the detriment of the workers.

**ANTIMILITARIST PROPAGANDA.**

The proposal that the continuation of the Antimilitarist propaganda

must be, if possible, more energetic than hitherto, was unanimously decided on.

**ALCOHOLIC DRINK.**

It was stated that most of the delegates were abstainers, but although they did not desire to dictate any rules to the members of the movement, they recommended abstinence from alcoholic drinks, thus following the example of many of the members of the old International.

Up to the present the organisation has been a League of Young Socialists, but as their ideas are spreading rapidly, they decided to alter its name and form, so that older Socialists with revolutionary ideas would not be deterred from joining.

**Notes from France.**

Two comrades, Victor Meric and Delannoy, who produce the publication *Les Hommes du Jour*, have each been sentenced to one year's imprisonment and a fine of £120, for publishing a cartoon showing the French commander in Morocco, General d'Amade, dressed in butcher's clothes, with his arms drenched with blood. Clemenceau has since promoted d'Amade to the rank of general of division.

Although nothing has been proved against the accused in the affair of Draveil Vigneux, our comrades are still in prison.

**PROPAGANDA NOTES.**

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

**MANCHESTER.**

Our open-air propaganda has been attended with marked success in the month just passed. Sales of literature have been good, and many inquiries made as to a place of meeting where sympathisers and comrades could foregather to discuss a plan of campaign. The efforts of our Liverpool comrades, often under discouraging circumstances, are beyond praise. They have assisted the local comrades manfully and well. We are still, however, without a recognised gathering ground, and the need of the same is acutely felt. Now, comrades, come along with your suggestions, and make the people realise that you mean business.

On August 23 M. Kavanagh was our speaker, dealing with the subject dear to us all in a way all his own, being able to gain and keep the ear of the crowd excellently. On the 30th, A. Despres, though suffering from a severe cold, struggled through from Liverpool, and with the able assistance of Kelly and Levy (who took the morning meeting), we again held two most successful meetings. It having been suggested that Despres should hold a series of meetings all through the week commencing on September 6, this was done, though with no pronounced effect, due to lack of advertisement and adverse weather. The meetings on the 13th were much better favoured, both by climatic conditions and good audiences, and much good work was accomplished. On Sunday, September 20, Matt Kavanagh was our speaker by arrangement; and being quite unexpectedly reinforced by our sterling comrade Charlie Kean, we held a most successful meeting. Rained off in the afternoon, we attended an S.D.P. demonstration in the Free Trade Hall with the intention of selling literature, and disposed of all we took with us. I was much amused by the way Kean and Kavanagh heckled the big gun of the S.D.P., Boss Hyndman, who stated that a citizen army was one phase of Direct Action. Our evening meeting, though ragged enough to begin with, ended up very fairly. The crowd were out for excitement mostly, as the unemployed had been restive during the day, attending churches to gain the sympathy of black-coated parasites, who are "So awfully sorry, don't y' know, my deaw fellows, but—er—I—er—really don't know what to do; but do be patient, you'll be all right"—when you're dead.

We held propaganda meetings on Monday night, the 21st, and on Wednesday, the 23rd, both leading to interesting and profitable discussions. Kean on Wednesday had the assistance of Kelly in driving our ideals right home and rousing enthusiasm, the stock of literature again being depleted. Altogether a month's work well worth recording considering the few really active members in the group here.

COATES.

**DEPTFORD.**

This part of London seems to-day more alive to social problems than has been witnessed for some years past. Huge gatherings attend our meetings both Sunday morning and night, with good sale of FREEDOM; also on Wednesday. Our comrade Sam Carter seems to grow more popular with the people at every turn on the platform. Of late our meetings have been partly given over to various people who, in our opinion, are doing good work in helping on the progress of humanity. On Sunday, September 27, an ex-Buddhist priest of the name of Payne occupied the platform, and dealt out some heavy blows at the hypocritical religion of to-day. Before he finished he had stirred up the people, and a hot time followed, with a host of questioners.

The local press are spreading our principles by advertising our comrade who had the misfortune to be taken before the magistrate at

Woolwich recently, on a trumped-up charge of swearing—calling a man a liar. He was bound over to keep the peace for three months or pay a fine of 40s.

The unemployed here are creating scenes by demonstrations and meetings, calling upon the people for their support. A well-known Socialist family, Fowler by name, have taken up the cause. They preach direct action, and distinctly point out to the people that their salvation lies, not in Parliament, but in themselves. E. G.

#### CANNING TOWN.

A most successful meeting was held at Beckton Road on Sunday evening, October 4. Comrade Carter was the principal speaker, and his remarks about some of the local leaders were so pointed that one of them, an ex-Councillor, vented his wrath on our comrade, whose sallies immensely pleased his audience. Another comrade spoke upon the religious question, showing that man made gods and then knelt down and worshipped them. This speaker held his audience in good style, in spite of opposition from rival speakers. Comrade Goulding said that as force was used against us, we must use the same means against our enemies. He urged his hearers to bring their wives and sweethearts to the meetings, so that they could fight side by side for freedom.

Carter will again speak at Beckton Road on Sunday, October 11, at 6.30 p.m. E. G.

#### A NEW CLUB IN THE WEST END.

A Club has just been opened at 83 Charlotte Street, W. (close to Tottenham Court Road), by the International Working Men's Society, which is composed of English, French, German, and Yiddish comrades. An active committee has been formed, and it is hoped that the Club will soon become a strong centre of propaganda. All comrades are heartily invited to join at once, thereby helping to put it on a good financial basis. The subscription is 1s. per month; ladies, 6d. The Club is open every day.

#### Books Received.

*British Aristocracy and the House of Lords.* By Edward Carpenter. 6d. net. London: A. C. Fifield, 44 Fleet Street, E.C.  
*Acracia.* Suplemento a "Tierra y Libertad." Nos. 1 and 2. 10c. Barcelona: Arco San Pablo 8.

#### Notice to Lecture Secretaries.

S. C. Potter, The Camp, Billericay, Essex, is open to discuss Socialism and Anarchism with I.L.P. and S.D.P. branches in London during the winter months. Conditions: Permission to sell Anarchist literature, and travelling expenses from Upper Holloway, London, N.

#### To Readers in Paris.

FREEDOM and MOTHER EARTH can be obtained at Kiosk No. 214, Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle (opposite No. 26). Orders taken for English and American publications.

#### Anarchist-Socialist Sunday School.

The East London Anarchist-Socialist Sunday School meets at 3.30 every Sunday at the Workers' Friend Club and Institute, 163 Jubilee Street, Mile End. Children in the district invited. An Esperanto class for adults and children is specially conducted by Comrade Dusa.

#### Group Notice.

The Newcastle-on-Tyne International Anarchist Communist Group hold their meetings and lectures every Wednesday at 8 p.m. in 51 Douglas Terrace.

#### MONTHLY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

(September 10—October 8.)

**FREEDOM Guarantee Fund**—Meklenberg 1s. 6d., S. S. 1s., A. H. Holt 2s. 6d., H. Glasse 6s., T. F. Macdonald £1.  
**FREEDOM Subscriptions.**—C. Everhard 1s. 6d., H. Clauson 2s., N. D. 1s. 6d., R. Gordon 4s., T. del Marmol 1s. 6d., L. Carter 2s., P. W. Gifford 2s., B. Phelps 1s. 6d., P. Gadsby 1s. 6d., H. M. Kelly 4s.  
**Sales of FREEDOM.**—J. Isenbourn 4s. 6d., S. Wermont 2s., O. Matthias 2s. 6d., P. Bourey 5s., A. Bird 2s., A. Goldberg 3s., D. Wormald 1s. 6d., Essex 1s., Hendersons 3s. 6d., R. Stuart 3s., B. Greenblatt 5s. 6d., C. Kean 2s. 3d., L. Macartney 1s. 6d., F. Goulding 1s., J. McAra 10s. 6d., S. Carter 5s. 2d.  
**Pamphlet and Book Sales.**—A. Holt 1s. 2d., E. Allen 3s. 6d., C. W. Dean 6s. 6d., T. S. 3s. 9d., Hendersons 1s. 3d., "Mother Earth" £2 19s. 6d., Essex 1s. 10d., F. Olsen 2s. 9d., J. Heywood 1s. 3d., C. Kean 6s., T. S. 1s. 6d., W. A. Collier £1 3s., L. Kavanagh 3s., A. Millar 1s., B. Phelps 1s. 9d., L. J. Jones 1s. 6d., S. Nacht 1s., J. McAra 1s. 6d., L. FitzRoy 3s. 6d., J. Isenbourn 16s. 6d., B. Greenblatt £1 10s. 6d.  
**Russian Prisoners Fund**—Collected by B. Greenblatt £1 5s.  
**Carter Fund**—Previously acknowledged £1 10s. 9d., Liverpool Group (2nd donation) 3s. 6d., M. Brodman 2s., F. Goulding 6d., Total £1 16s. 9d.

#### WHAT I BELIEVE.

By EMMA GOLDMAN.

Price 2½d.; post-free 3d., from FREEDOM Office.

#### MOTHER EARTH.

Published by EMMA GOLDMAN.  
Offices: 210 East 13th Street, New York City, U.S.A.  
Can be obtained from FREEDOM Office: 6d. monthly, post-free 7d.  
Back numbers supplied.

#### Co-operation

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TO-MORROW is made up each month in the To-Morrow Fellowship Home, where the Spirit of Brotherhood is the "spirit of the hive."  
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