FREEDOM.

Through the long ages of grinding slavery behind us, Freedom, that unknown goal of human pilgrimage, has hovered, a veiled splendour, upon the horizon of men's hopes. Veiled in the trembling ignorance of rank and kind, their misty unreasoning terror of all that revealed itself as power, whether it was an apparently incomprehensible and unconquerable natural force, or the ascendency of superior strength, ability or cunning in human society. The inward attitude of servile adoration to the stock of social evil that has hitherto been set before us, has been so fact beyond our understanding, that it is the veil which hides Freedom from the eyes of men. Sometimes it takes the form of the blind fear of a savage of his "medicine" or his fetish, sometimes of the equally blind reverence of an Englishman for his property; and the resemblance of the awe with which he himself acts, to his own economic slavery wormed out of him by the force of representation. But whatever the form, the reality is the same, ignorance, subjection, cowardly submission.

What is human progress but the advance of the swelling tide of revolt against this tyranny of the nightmares of ignorant dread, which has held men the slaves of external nature, of one another, and of themselves? Science and the arts, knowledge and all its varied shapes of practical application by ingenuity and skill, the binding and enlightening force of affection and social feeling, the protest of individuals and of peoples by word and deed against religious, economic, political and social opsis existing within and without, are weapons in the hands of the Rebels against the Powers of Darkness sheltered behind their shield of authority, divine and human. But they are weapons not all equally effective at all times. Each has its period of special utility.

We are living at the close of an era during which the marvellous increase of knowledge left social feeling behind, and enabled the few who monopolised the newly acquired power over nature to create an artificial civilisation, based upon their exclusive claim to retain private, personal possession of the increased wealth produced.

Property—not the claim to use, but to a right to prevent others from using—enables individuals who have appropriated the means of production, to hold in subjection all those who possess nothing but their vital energy, and who must work that they may live. No work is possible without land, materials, and tools or machinery; thus the masters of these things are the masters also of the destitute workers, and can live in idleness upon their labour, paying them in wages only enough of the produce to keep them alive, only employing so many of them as they find profitable and leaving the rest to their fate.

Such a world as this is not to be borne. Knowledge cannot forever be monopolised, and social feeling is innate in human nature, and both are fomenting within our hide-bound Society as the yeast in the dough. Our age is on the eve of a revolt against property, in the name of the common claims of all to a common share in the results of the common labour of all.

Therefore, we are Socialists, disbelievers in Property, advocates of the equal claims of each man and woman to work for the community as seems good to him or her—calling no man master, and of the equal claims of each to satisfy as seems good to him, his natural needs from the common fund of the earth which has been given to us to use. We look for this socialisation of wealth, not to restraints imposed by authority upon property, but to the removal, by the direct personal action of the people themselves, of the restraints which secure property against the common use and utility. For the property is the embodiment of the ogical spirit of domination, and we do not look to Satan to cast out Satan.

We have no faith in legal methods of reform. Fixed and arbitrary written law is, and has always been, the instrument employed by anti-social individuals to secure their authority, whether legislated or usurped, when the maintenance of that authority by open violence has become impossible. Social feeling, and the social habits formed and corrected by common experience, are the actual cement of associated life. It is the spurious embodiment of a portion of this social custom in law, which has made law tolerable, and even sacred in the eyes of the lawless, that we endeavout to shatter. But in proportion as the oppression of law is removed, the true binding force of the influence of social feeling upon individual responsibility becomes apparent and is increased. We look for the destruction of monopoly, not by the imposition of artificial restraints, but by the abolition of all arbitrary restraints whatever. Without law, property would be impossible, and labour and enjoyment free.

Therefore, we are Anarchists, disbelievers in the government of man by man in any shape and under any pretexts. The human freedom to which our eyes are raised in no negative abstraction of license for individual egoism, whether it be nased collectively as majority rule or isolated as personal tyranny. We dream of the positive freedom which is essentially one with social feeling; of free scope for the social impulses, now distorted and compressed by Property, and its guardian the Law; of free scope for that individual sense of responsibility, of respect for self and for others, which is vitiated by every form of collective interference, from the enforcing of contracts to the bringing of criminals; of free scope for the spontaneity and individuality of each human being, such as is impossible when one hand and fast line is fitted to all conduct. Science is teaching mankind that such crime as is not the manufacture of our vile economic and legal system, can only be rationally as well as humanely treated by fraternal medical care, for it results from deformity of disease, and a hard and fast rule of conduct enforced by condemnation is neither guide nor remedy, nothing but a perennial source of injustice amongst men.

We believe every sane adult human being to possess an equal and indefeasible claim to direct his life from within by the light of his own conscience, to the sole responsibility of guiding his own action as well as forming his own opinions. Further, we believe that the acknowledgment of this claim is a necessary preliminary to rational voluntary agreement, the only permanent basis of harmonious life in common. Therefore, we reject every method of enforcing assent, as in itself a hindrance to effectual co-operation, and further, a direct incentive to anti-social feeling. We deplore a wrong to human nature, individually, and therefore collectively, all use of forces for the purpose of coercing others; but we assert the social duty of each to defend, by force if need be, his dignity as a free human being, and the like dignity in others, from every form of insult and oppression.

We claim for each and all the personal right and social obligation to be free. We hold the complete social recognition and acknowledgment of such a claim to be the goal of human progress in the future, as its growth has been the gauge of development of Society in the past, of the advance of man from the blind social impulse of the grignon animal to the conscious social feeling of the free human being.

Such, in rough outline, is the general aspect of the Anarchist Socialism our paper is intended to set forth, and by the touchstone of this belief we purpose to try the current ideas and modes of action of existing Society.

THE COMING REVOLUTION.

We are living on the eve of great events. Before the end of this century it will be possible to see great revolutionary movements breaking up our social conditions in Europe and probably also in the United States of America.

Social storms cannot be forecast with the same accuracy as those which cross the Atlantic on their way to our shores. But still, there are tokens permitting us to predict the approach of those great disturbances which periodically visit mankind to redress wrongs accumulated by past centuries, to freshen the atmosphere, to blow away monopolies and prejudices.

There is a certain periodicity in these great uprisings of the oppressed. The end of each of the last five centuries has been marked by great movements which have helped Freedom to gain ground in France, in England, in the Netherlands, in Switzerland and in Bohemia. The great German historian of our century, Grimm, saw in this periodicity a law; while the Italian patriot and philosopher Ferrari, devoting special attention to the phenomena of evolution and revolution, tried to explain its causes. Explained, or not, it has been a fact for five centuries past.

No doubt our century will be no exception to the rule. It is sufficient to look around us, to observe. All those facts which foreshadow the approach of revolutions in times past, cannot but strike the unprejudiced observer.

The commercial crisis grows worse and worse. Millions of workers, driven away from the country to the ever growing cities, are wandering about work. We see the monopoly of cities, the unheard of misery growing up in those centres where all the wretchedness of the world is spent in an unhealthy luxury, amidst the ruins and degradation of the poor.

Nowhere, in no quarter, any prospect of improvement. The crisis
and grow worse. Having its cause in the circumstance that those who produce wealth cannot purchase it; that customers must be sought elsewhere than at the producers' doors; that all such customers in India, in Africa, and everywhere else are there two or three competitors—the crisis cannot be only a temporary one. Some great modification of our system of production must be made, and it must be made at once, for the crisis cannot wait no longer than it cannot.

The political institutions in which so much faith was put half a century ago, have proved a failure. The huge machinery of the State rumbles on in Paris, in London, in St. Petersburg, in India, in Africa; and everywhere it is found that the crisis cannot be only a temporary one. Some great modification of our system of production must be made, and it must be made at once, for the crisis cannot wait no longer than it cannot.

The democratic institutions of the United States have proved a worse failure than all those of Europe.

"n new departure must be made,"—such is the general outcry.

Meaning a new social force has grown up in our midst—the workman, the producer of wealth. A mere increase of wages, a mere reduction of hours, are the sole demands of the workmen of Europe. They go farther. They perceive how small their share of the immense wealth they have produced of late; how unprotected they are—even the happiest of them—in the wars and downs of our industry; how dependent the industries themselves must be for control, that is, on the needs of customers far away. And they want to produce for themselves the wealth they can produce with the perfected machinery of our times.

Every day increases their bugbear for equality. The wealth they produce, the higher enjoyment of science and art which now they guarantee to a few—they wish to enjoy for themselves. They wish no longer to send their children of fifteen or thirteen to the mines, now that new servants are rendered unnecessary by machinery themselves.

And in proportion as the longing for Equality and Freedom grows; in proportion as the workman, becoming more closely acquainted with the world, becomes aware that they are the brutes and beasts, nerves, and brains as himself; in proportion as he feels the power of the press, and the new passions, the narrow views, and the vices of his rulers, respect for the Great Unknown—the Government—looms before him as a force which we are decaying institutions standing, in proportion as his grey wig of the lawyer becomes as little impressive as the corone of the peer and the speech of the Prime Minister.

The spirit of revolt spreads in the masses. The most insignificant circumstance becomes the cause of an outbreak. This has always been the case on the eve of revolutions. A childish game becomes a disturbance of bloodshed; an interference of the police; an armed conflict; meetings become riots, and strikes lead to civil war.

Take all these facts together, analyse their mutual action, and you know that before long there has been on the eve of revolutions a doubt no longer the close approach of the Revolution of the nineteenth century.

But few years will elapse before Governments will be overthrown on the Continent. Already in 1848 the insurrections in Italy and France spread all over the Continent, barricades in Paris were immediately repeated in the barricades at Vienna and Berlin. Now that Europeans are so closely connected by steam and electricity; now that the same ideas inspire the Norwegian workmen and the Italian peasants, the rapid spread of the revolution is yet more inevitable. Governments will be overthrown. Republics and Communism will be proclaimed. And upon such a Commune a Commissariat that will impose the modifications of the present system of production and political organisation on new principles.

Spanish and Russian, German and French, Belgian and Italian peasants will seize the soil of which they have been depopulated. Workmen in towns will seize factories and mills. Acts of expropriation will take place. New forms of life will be submitted to a trial; new despots will arise; new political and personal life of government will arise.

Successful, or partially unsuccessful—all revolutions have succeeded in a measure. The Bourgeois returned to France, but the feudal institutions did not return with them nor the absolute rule of the king. Partially defeated or not, the coming revolution will give, as it has always given, the watchword to the evolution of the next century.

Will England remain untouched by this movement? The middle classes of England have the reputation of being far-sighted enough to make the necessary concessions in time: will they be able to do this again?

Forty years ago they could say to the workmen in revolt: Be our police; do not let the radicals, who would let us go head in the conquest of the world-market. The situation is no longer the same, nor the points at issue. The promise of continually enriching the country for other purposes than the workers themselves has never been kept. Were it again repeated, it would be out of date. So also with representative government.

The points of contest also are not the same. As long as Germany and France were impacts of the galliardisation that for Parnell and the French and German revolution could have no hold on English minds. But the German and French workmen go farther now. They ask economic justice, ask for the better economic conditions; then their insurrection will be for Socialism, not for political representation; and the ideas of the Continental workmen will find a living echo in England.

Are the English middle classes prepared to take the lead in the new movement? Are they prepared to strive for the better economic conditions, for Socialism? Will they be aware of the new tendencies? Do they recognise their justice? No. And the waves of the European revolution will not longer break against the cliffs of England: they will sweep some of them away.

It is no use to sneer, and cry, "Why these revolutions?" No use for the sailor to scorn the cyclone and to cry, "Why should it approach my ship?" The gale has originated in times past, in remote regions. Cold mist and hot air have been struggling long before the great rupture of the earth—therefore it is that it cannot.

So it is with social gales also. Centuries of injustice, ages of oppression and misery, ages of diadum of the subject and poor, have prepared the storm.

We, a handful of men who see the gale coming, and warn the careless, and are pelted with stones for that warning,—we are as unable to prevent the storm as to accelerate its arrival. Its first coming will depend on how much of that which we take hold of. But we may, and must, show its real causes. We must endeavour to discover and to enunciate in plain words the hopes, the faint, indistinct ideal which set great passions in motion. Better understood, the more earnestly taken to heart, the greater will be the results achieved, and the less numerous the useless victims.

These hopes are hopes of getting rid of capitalist oppression, of abolishing the rule of man by man, of Equality, of Freedom, of Anarchy. And those who fight for these tendencies—deeply rooted in, and cherished by, Humanity—will win in the struggle! Without these principles no society is possible.

THE TRIUMPH OF CIVILISATION.

Or the outskirt of a great city,
A street of fashionable mansions well withdrawn from all the noise
Of the great common—like a dream in a jungle;
And in the street—the only figure there—in the middle of the road,
In the bitter wind—
Red-nailed thin-shoed, with ankles bare and old boots—
A woman bent and haggard, croaking a djingal song.

And the great windows stare upon her wretchedness, and stare across the road upon each other,
With big fool eyes;
But a door is opened, not a face is seen,
Nor form of life down all the drummy street,
And they destroy the existence of humanity—
Other than hers.

NOTES.

Professor Sidgwick has compiled for the British Association a list of permissible exceptions to the principle of laissez-faire. There is an opening now for some gentlemen to compile a list of permitted exceptions to the other principle: that of interference by armed government. It would be shorter and much less comprehensive than Professor Sidgwick's.

To understand the Governmental application of laissez-faire, learn the two following rules of thumb. 1. When the proprietors molest the proletariat, laissez-faire. 2. When the proletariat resist the propriety, interfere to help them. The Governmental imposition of some exceptions to these rules. For examples of their working, apply to Sir Redress Baller, Co. Clare, Ireland, any time during the winter.

Mr. Fisher Unwin has published a book advocating Home Rule with Imperial Federation as an alternative, which is not a nationalist book. They are certainly a simple people, these Irish brothers in misfortune, to believe that starvation and injustice are peculiar to their country. The Belgians are a "nation", with Home Rule, manufactures, and all that Mr. Partridge demands. Irishmen desirous of appreciating the benefits that these things bring to the workers, had better make a trip to Charlecot, and watch the pitmen and their daughters at work in the mines there. But indeed as much may be learnt without going further than England. If the Irish workers really believe that the English workers are their oppressors instead of their fellow sufferers under the yoke of Proprietorship, they are fighting in the dark, and when they win, will find themselves exactly what they are at present—the slaves of a class.

Mr. Parnell, having found his Land Bill likely to be defeated on the second reading, has allowed it to be carried. Are we to conclude from this that for Parnell and the Irish workers their leaders aware of the new tendencies? Do they recognise their justice? No. And the waves of the European revolution will not longer break against the cliffs of England: they will sweep some of them away.

It is no use to sneer, and cry, "Why these revolutions?" No use for the sailor to scorn the cyclone and to cry, "Why should it approach my ship?" The gale has originated in times past, in remote regions. Cold mist and hot air have been struggling long before the great rupture of the earth—therefore it is that it cannot.

So it is with social gales also. Centuries of injustice, ages of oppression and misery, ages of diadem of the subject and poor, have prepared the storm.

We, a handful of men who see the gale coming, and warn the careless, and are pelted with stones for that warning,—we are as unable to prevent the storm as to accelerate its arrival. Its first coming will depend on how much of that which we take hold of. But we may, and must, show its real causes. We must endeavour to discover and to enunciate in plain words the hopes, the faint, indistinct ideal which set great passions in motion. Better understood, the more earnestly taken to heart, the greater will be the results achieved, and the less numerous the useless victims.

These hopes are hopes of getting rid of capitalist oppression, of abolishing the rule of man by man, of Equality, of Freedom, of Anarchy. And those who fight for these tendencies—deeply rooted in, and cherished by, Humanity—will win in the struggle! Without these principles no society is possible.
The privileges of property at stake, is not going to beulled by any editor alive. Just now, who the gods devote to destruction they first make Whigs.

whilst Governments snarl at each others heels, the workers are giving convincing proof that they recognise a common cause throughout out. The capital of the French delegates, at the International Trade Conference at Paris, the speeches at Hull, all are links in the lengthening chain of Internationalism upon which monopolists would break them, and that does not come to them, no mind. The railways are worked with French gold. French manufactures and Spanish mines flourish on English capital. The recent correspondence in the Daily Telegraph on the defeat of English goods in the world market, has shown that if it fails of the law of competition, and seeks the cheapest labour as the source of the greatest profit. The Workers, it seems, are taking the lesson to heart, and preparing to meet international exploitation by international federation of labour.

The accomplished President of the Royal Academy has at last unveiled his fresco, "The Arts of Peace," at the South Kensington Museum. After many years spent amid an industrial system which, statesman, is the fate of society, and his disappointment, and his determination to take the cause of labour so vigorously, that it has become necessary to deprive him of his employment, indigit for sedition, and otherwise decline to inteser him. Nye has the heart of polite England at last, not by passionate speech, but by the mute rhetoric of his fist. He has, in short, punched the head of a Frenchman in the capital of France, and would have punched the heads of two others had they not withdrawn somewhat hastily.

Burns must reflect with some irony on the fact that whilst he strove to raise men up, he was villified on all hands by the capitalist press, although he displayed exceptional powers of a high class in doing so; whilst he has Revolution, he who is hailed as a hero, because the man was a Frenchman, though in every sporting public-house in London there are half-a-dozen pugilists who can knock down an avowed Englishman, for that his honour, the International case. The moral, however, would seem to be: "French forcible suppression of thieving, and you will be desperately utilised and persecuted: protect you, and you will be respected and supported." The workers might reflect it, but the lesson is a money one. They must be sure to remember how they must, like Burns, not only be willing to fight, but know how to win.

Anarchism kills individualism.

Individualism is a round square, a contradiction in set terms. As a cube is not a bell, so "Individualism" is not Anarchism. What, then, is Individualism? It is the chaos of to-day in social and industrial life, which springs from the licentious play of self-will. Self-will is the will to be somewhat, and to have hold and sway something in isolation from other such wills, and in opposition to them. Property, dominion, government, law, are embodiments of this self-will.

Individualism is this striving, grabbing, over-reaching, and self-seeking of atoms, that seek to possess human individuality, but go about their work the wrong way. It calls itself civilization, fair competition, free trade, and many other fine names. It is, in reality, internecine war and suicide. The kick-and-catch-and-keep-who-can hereby-bury of a Rugby football match is not a picture of true Society. Its omnibus, its social and self-consuming movements do not constitute social conduct.

How, then, have the jostling parties gone astray and befuddled the human spirit, and played a display of ill-diverted energies, called civilization? Through ignorance, or unconsciousness of what individuality is and what it is to be a real individual.

What, then, is individuality? Individuality is constraint, specialty, distinction, natural existence, and not separateness. But individualism cannot distinguish without dividing, and in this separating loses the distinction it seeks after. No dry old stick, no hard straight and stiff rod is more barren than a self, cut off a² isolated. It is a bare "I", unproduced, indivisible.

There is no real living and fruitful I, apart from Thou and You. Personality implies communion. The individual implies the commune. This is essential and inseparable.

It is because Anarchists see with both eyes solidly; i.e., because they are not blind to the twofold fact of the freedom of human life in union, that they are sometimes obliged to free themselves from the chains of "I with them." If it is evidences like only, it is a rightly distinguishing mind to clear them. They will, to begin with, contend that individuality is a necessary element of the idea of Anarchism. If society is the possibility of the individual, so equally the individual is the possibility of society.

Each is by itself an abstraction, an incomplete thought, something as yet merely possible. But, that which is, the concrete actual fact, is a men and women living together in free and equal association. Therefore, to destroy the idea of society is to destroy Anarchism. For society is only realised and alive in the individual members.

Society has no motive that does not issue from its individual members, that makes them what they are. It is in the fact of life of individuals that resides in and produces the idea of life for community, therefore, are equally constitutive of our idea of human life. They may be as the poles Mueller, but they are as the pole-piece. Every stick in a ladder and every axle is two-poled. And upon this bipolar axis revolves Anarchism.

A rigid and extreme Collectivism is as abstract as the other hand. It is, like Individualism, the impossible stick with only one end. Thinking to affirm Communism more vehemently and with more effect, it ignores individuality. Society—with a big "S"—is for its dogmas the be-all and end-all. But individuals are at once the parents and children of society, and we have reason to disbelieve in a big notion of society which makes it devours both its progenitors and progeny, and live on in self-contained magnificence. To an evenly-balanced Anarchist mind, thinking in things as we are in their concrete reality and integrity, there would be nothing grand or profound in all this for it will have shown itself to be nothing more than Individualism grown to be stupider and more flatulent and null than ever. In removing Individualism, you confusing it with individuality, Collectivist thought has fallen into a deeper pit on the other side.

This is what always comes of abstract thinking which fails to find and build upon the whole of experience. The essential aspect is not: that whole. There is the co-extensive and co-operative inner side. Grasping the total fact of social life, Anarchism recognises and values individuality, which is the result and end-product, not the means, not the form of solidarity, not the substance, no free initiative, creativeness, spontaneity, autonomy. Man made and is making the economies, if the economies made and are making man; and it will take men and women to unmake and remake the economies.

Communism will therefore have an ethical doctrine and discipline, quite as well as an economical doctrine and system. Individuality is indestructible and cannot be abrogated. Individuals may not be discerned and depose themselves without ruin of the whole, of which they are the free living units. Collectivist dominion over things or state property, quite as much as the private property of Individualism, is such self-effecative centalised representative legislation and administration, as much as any present kind of authority or government, tends to such self-effacement. Individuals must be friendly and reasonable enough to form a commune of their own accord and motion. The consumers must be small enough to be free, and autonomous. The Collectivist must be free and spontaneous. Practical unanimity is essential to every movement towards communism, and to every after-movement within the community. There may be no majority-rule, and no coercion whatever, be it ever so mild, reasonable, and just in seeming. So sacred is individuality, so fundamental and indispensable in the structure of any stable and really human society. The goodwill of each and all to live and use and work and enjoy together is the only sure foundation.

Individualism is independence imbecile and palsied. Anarchism is universal interdependence.

A hubbub of independent beings like modern civilisation can produce nothing beyond a hubbub. Such a whirling pillar of dust is not the living fruitful tree of the world. Communism is not independent. That is our last word to the Individualist of to-day and the so-called "Individualist-Anarchist," with his mutual banking, free money, and other expedients for mitigating the present regime of Individualism.

Freedom is not independence, or any other atomism. Its essence is brotherly and human loving-kindness, that binds and yet expands. That which he is, enabling him to operate or co-operate, is this freedom; and not to be what he is. Diminish or destroy the self-interest and you can in tegral whole, different and distinct from other men; and that which makes him what he is, enabling him to operate or co-operate, is this freedom, or destroy the differences and distinctions that make the self-identity or unity of society a possible and intelligible reality. Each man is to be said, there is no difference without identity. To the Collectivist, there is no identity without collection.

Each man's distinctness or individuality in feeling, willing, acting, is inalienable. And were it not so, then with its ceasing would cease Society.
FREEDOM.

October, 1866

THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM.

This spirit of revolt has been the saving grace of humanity. The whole story of our race is full of the resistance of the weak to the will of the powerful, of the struggle of individuals for the maintenance of the rights of human beings, of the anti-social social spirit of domination of certain individuals, the strongest, subtilist, and most scrupulous of the community. Without such resistance to the authority usurped by man on man, no nation would have been able to become as we know it to become as unsocial as hawks and tigers. That fate has been spared us. On the contrary, the struggle for freedom has continually increased in volume and in intensity. The blind instinct which seems to have prompted its earlier manifestations is slowly passing into a conscious purpose. It has spread into every department of life, and the victories it has won are to be but the earnest of those which lie in store.

To those who with sympathetic eyes watch this spirit of revolt seething beneath the thin gloss of our so-called civilization, the struggle for freedom appears at the present time to have fallen, by three broad roads, into the hands of the public. The spirit of freedom, whose expression in the same, is manifestly a process of growth and development, and the manifestations differ with the diversity of conditions. For the emancipation of the blacks is as wide as the world, and each land, each community, each individual must be allowed to express itself in its own way. Strikes, boycotts, riots, workmen's conferences, national and international trade's unions, Irish outrages; the title-war in Wales, and the residence of Highlandleders to the greed of the land-holders; outbreaks in the United States, France, Germany, and the bomb of Chicago Anarchists, and the free speech contest of English Socialists; newspaper renunciations with the injustice of the law and its administration and the powerlessness of the Leicester anti-vaccinators; the abstention from the voting urn of French workmen and the return of political prisoners as members of Parliament by the people of Italy,—these and all such actions of protests against authority, violate the rights of man, revolting abroad in Europe and America as well as we welcome them. They are clearing the way towards a fuller and more brotherly social life; sometimes roughly, indeed, but the path is better with roughness than with necessity is essential.

We propose, therefore, to devote a portion of our space to a few illustrative instances of such passing phases of the great revolt as fall beneath our notice, and of the social conditions which are its proximate cause. In the first place, we will call attention to the wrongs and the courage, the failures and the triumphs of our brethren throughout the world we may, each and all, derive inspiration, warning, and encouragement, and learn that to feel deeply, act courageously, and isolated and fruitless, is in reality part of the universal war against oppression in all its forms, in which, consciously or unconsciously, we must all take our share, and fight for human freedom or against it.

GREAT BRITAIN.

One of the most interesting present phases of the great revolt is the agitation of the workingmen for the maintenance of their Tenent masters. Foreign competition has reduced the value of agricultural produce by something like half. But the non-production of wheat and the high rents for land are shown to be the cause of this. Hence the common laborers have been led to the conclusion that their employment is in danger, and to demand for the maintenance of their Tenent masters. Foreign competition has reduced the value of agricultural produce by something like half. But the non-production of wheat and the high rents for land are shown to be the cause of this. Hence the common laborers have been led to the conclusion that their employment is in danger, and to demand for the maintenance of their Tenent masters.

The last few weeks have afforded some good illustrations of three aspects assumed by the spirit of revolt in our times. First, we have the outbreak of a horde of children, some of whom have been seen by the huddled masses of the world, as the miserable children, of the child prisoners, the wretched little victims of Perquemel, and their grown up companions in misfortune, the convicts at Blackburne and La Raoupe. These are the strikes, commercial combinations of masses of workers, the miserable fraction of the produce of their labor which their masters dare not to them. There are instances of such actions, and who attempted to resist the demands of the workingmen, are excellent instances, and are known to laborers alike. Illegitimate children have attended the forced sale of cattle, and have been prevented being sold and clothing by bodies of 80 or 90 men. One case has been known to church for the destruction of cattle on each side, and many others have been frightened into offering a refusal. There are, of course, present instances, in a way, of the only first-class lessons to the Welsh people in the art of hiding themselves from the land-hackers.

FRANCE.

The next few weeks have afforded some good illustrations of three aspects assumed by the spirit of revolt in our times. First, we have the outbreak of a horde of children, some of whom have been seen by the huddled masses of the world, as the miserable children, of the child prisoners, the wretched little victims of Perquemel, and their grown up companions in misfortune, the convicts at Blackburne and La Raoupe. These are the strikes, commercial combinations of masses of workers, the miserable fraction of the produce of their labor which their masters dare not to them. There are instances of such actions, and who attempted to resist the demands of the workingmen, are excellent instances, and are known to laborers alike. Illegitimate children have attended the forced sale of cattle, and have been prevented being sold and clothing by bodies of 80 or 90 men. One case has been known to church for the destruction of cattle on each side, and many others have been frightened into offering a refusal. There are, of course, present instances, in a way, of the only first-class lessons to the Welsh people in the art of hiding themselves from the land-hackers.

BELGIUM.

Nearly three hundred working men and women have been sentenced since last March to terms of imprisonment varying from eight days to five years, on suspicion of taking part in the spring riots. On suspicion merely, for in the majority of cases the charge was unestablished. The more active and energetic instigator of the riots, Lemmens, has been sentenced to two years imprisonment, and has been an example of the way in which the government has dealt with some of their more prominent opponents. The government has arrested and imprisoned some of the leaders of the movement, and has called in the military to maintain order. The government has also arrested and imprisoned some of the leaders of the movement, and has called in the military to maintain order.

AMERICA.

The United States can boast the possession of republican institutions, manhood suffrage, trial by jury, and the protection of the free press. In New England and the states of the South, the power of the individual is supreme, and the right to personal liberty is guaranteed. In the West, the power of the individual is supreme, and the right to personal liberty is guaranteed. The federal government has power to regulate the press, but does not interfere with its freedom of speech. The state governments have power to regulate the press, but do not interfere with its freedom of speech. The federal government has power to regulate the press, but does not interfere with its freedom of speech. The state governments have power to regulate the press, but do not interfere with its freedom of speech.

ITALY.

In spite of their hard won "political liberty," the Italian people are falling prey to the grinding slavery of the capitalist system, and especially to its most ruthless form, the commercial company. They protest against this oppression by a succession of strikes for higher wages or shorter hours. The increasing numbers of strikes and the increasing force of the workingmen's associations show the increasing strength of the workingmen's movement. The governments in power are forced to yield to the demands of the workingmen, and the workingmen have gained a footing in the government. The workingmen have gained a footing in the government. The workingmen have gained a footing in the government. The workingmen have gained a footing in the government. The workingmen have gained a footing in the government.

Notices.

All communications to be addressed to The Editor of Freedom, 54 Beverley Street, Fleet Street, E.C.

FREEDOM can be bought at W. Howes, 126 Fleet Street; Free Thought Publishing Company, 63 Fleet Street.

"FREEDOM" FUND.

[For expression of opinion.]

RECEIVED—E. C., £5; N. P., £2; M., £1. 11d.; C. S., 10s.

Printed and Published by J. W. Winship, 23 Bowes Street, London, E.C.

AK.